Some Studies in the Glasgow Vernacular

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Dedicated to the memory of Scott William McAfee (1960-1981), 'Wee' Jeremy Norman (1949-1984) and Chi-Leung Wong (1950-1985).

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Contents

Summary

Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to investigate dialect maintenance and change, and linguistic attitudes, in an inner city area of Glasgow. Glasgow dialect is an urban variety of Scots which existed as a distinctive variety by the beginning of this century. It was found to be losing traditional lexis, especially from active use. This is partly balanced by neologisms, including slang. Lexicographical details are given of neologisms, and the dictionary record refined with regard to those words investigated in detail by means of a questionnaire. Features of morphology and lexical incidence were found to be maintained more strongly, and broad speech was recorded from all ages and both sexes. Qualitative comments from the informants provide insight into the significance to speakers themselves of the continuing erosion of the traditional dialect, particularly in terms of the 'generation gap', which is also relevant to swearing and linguistic decorum. This is placed against the background of the modernisation of the working-class and the uniformation of societies in the post-war world.

Abbreviations and conventions

/ / enclose phonemes

[ ] enclose phonetic realisations

< > enclose graphemes and spellings

CSD The Concise Scots Dictionary

DSUE A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English

EDD The English Dialect Dictionary

GEAR Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal

LAS The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland

LSS Linguistic Survey of Scotland

N Number in sample

SED Survey of English Dialects

SND The Scottish National Dictionary

Ah knew a linguist wance
wanst ah knew a linguist

she used tay git oanty mi
ah wish I could talk like you
ahv lost my accent

thi crux iz sayz ah
shiftin ma register
tay speak tay a linguist

would you swear tay swerr
and not abjure
the extra-semantic kinetics
uv the fuckin poor

ach
mobile society
mobile ma arse
(Tom Leonard, Ghostie Men, 1980)

You will search, babe,
At any cost.
But how long, babe,
Can you search for what's not lost?
Ev'rybody will help you,
Some people are very kind.
But if I can save you any time,
Come on, give it to me,
I'll keep it with mine.
(from Bob Dylan, 'I'll keep it with mine')

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Outline of the research

1.1.1 Urban dialectology

The research reported here is a study in urban dialectology. The dialect studied is that of Glasgow, specifically the East End of Glasgow, a working-class inner city area.

The methods used are partly quantitative, and in that respect the research has benefited from the theoretical and methodological advances made in sociolinguistics. However, I prefer the term dialectology for the following reasons. The term sociolinguistics has come to be identified, in Britain and the USA, with the work of Labov and others, notably, in Britain, Trudgill, J. and L. Milroy, Romaine and Macaulay; in the USA, Shuy and D. and G. Sankoff. The Labovian tradition, or micro-sociolinguistics, developed out of dialectology in the USA. In the American context of a less-deeply rooted and more urban society than Europe, dialectologists had from the outset of survey work included urban (town, though not city) as well as rural localities (Kurath, 1973). However, as sociologists pointed out (for instance, Pickford, 1956) their methods of hand-picking informants produced results quite unrepresentative of the urban populations. The solution, first carried out by Labov in a rural location, Martha's Vineyard, was to adopt sampling techniques from sociology. In his Lower East Side, New York, study Labov actually took over a ready-made sample from a sociological project (Labov, 1972a). At the same time, dialectologists were beginning to modernise their field techniques, by using portable tape-recorders, instead of making a phonetic notation of informants' responses on the spot.

These innovations in methodology inevitably changed the agenda of the subject in ways not necessarily foreseen or desired in themselves. Data abstracted from recorded speech have a degree of scientific objectivity lacking in informants' replies to questions about their speech. However, there are whole categories of data that are hardly ever obtained in this way. This applies mainly to

dialect vocabulary - not only to very rare or obsolescent items, but to all but the most common words. The occurrence of vocabulary items is constrained not only by topic, but by the formality or style of speech. This also affects the occurrence of non-standard syntax and morphology (for instance, cf. Jones, 1985). Sociolinguists have too often shrugged off the fact that the speech recorded in taped interviews is not necessarily representative of informants' full range of styles. Shuy et al. (1968) for instance write that the style elicited was

> not quite casual but also not formal. It was a good sample of the speech used by children to adults (perhaps similar to classroom language) and by adults to respected strangers. (ch.3)

Few are prepared to start again in the knowledge that there is a deeper vernacular to be heard (a notable exception is Sutcliffe, 1982).

There is also a structural reason for concentrating, not on vocabulary and grammar, but on phonology and phonetics. The phoneme systems are small and finite, and the phonemes are the building blocks of words. All of them must occur, indeed many times over, even in quite short samples of speech.[1] Micro-sociolinguistics has accordingly concentrated on phonetic analysis. This emphasis has been presented positively as having the methodological advantages mentioned above (Labov, 1972a: 8). Even when linguistically rich vernacular speech had been recorded, for instance in the context of informants' own social networks (Labov, 1972b; L. Milroy, 1980) it has seemed a natural choice to concentrate on the phonetic aspects. (Labov has also studied oral narrative techniques. The Belfast researchers have also latterly turned their attention to syntax: see Harris, 1984.)

Sociolinguistics has thus been established as a sound empirical approach capable of making scientific theoretical contributions to linguistics. This is in line with the increasingly scientific, rather than humanistic, approach of the social sciences generally. Unfortunately the model of scientific endeavour has been physical and mathematical rather than taxonomic-descriptive (Romaine,

1982a; Runciman, 1983).[2] A sufficiently high degree of abstraction away from historically contingent cases has only been achieved by radically impoverishing the data.

Whether this is ultimately justified depends upon the value of the theoretical contributions made and whether these could have been attained by less time-consuming and intrusive methods. There is one body of work, variation theory, which stands or falls with the Chomskyan paradigm, itself under heavy fire for its isolation of linguistic structure from meaning and communication (Moore and Carling, 1982; Baker and Hacker, 1984).[3] The other major contribution has been to the theory of linguistic, or more properly phonetic, change, a highly specialist interest which attracts little attention from non-linguists. The relationship of micro-sociolinguistics to sociology is not such that the former could make important contributions to the latter, since social parameters such as age, sex, class, and social network structure are usually treated as the independent variables, known in advance, with which the linguistic variables are correlated, with a view to shedding light on the latter.[4] The patterns that emerge, such as differences in the linguistic behaviour of the sexes, classes or core v. peripheral members of networks, are usually interpreted in common-sense terms without any further sociological input. This has led to historically and culturally specific phenomena, such as the more 'correct' speech of women in the urban West, being advanced as hypotheses of potentially universal validity, leading to the arguably wasteful intellectual work of refuting them (cf. Romaine, 1982a; reviewed by Macafee, 1983b).

Sociolinguists tend to see it as self-evident that theoretical abstraction is the highest goal. While rejecting Labov's view that 'purely descriptive studies' are worthless, Trudgill (1974: 4) writes that

> Studies which are able to [shed light on various aspects of linguistic theory] are obviously of more value than those that are not.

Dialectology, on the other hand, was always aligned with a humane tradition that valued insight into specific historical circumstances as a form of self-knowledge. As L'Association humaniste grecque put it at the First International Congress on Dialectology (van Windekens, ed., 1964: 277):

> On remarque aujourd'hui une inégalité parmi les deux branches de la civilisation contemporaine, la civilisation technique-matérielle d'une part et la civilisation morale-spirituelle (culture) de l'autre. La première s'est étendue et développée très vite par suite des progrès étonnants de la technique. Ceci entraîne nécessairement le besoin de rétablir l'équilibre en fortifiant et en régénérant l'autre branche de la civilisation, c'est à dire, la civilisation morale-spirituelle, grâce à laquelle la civilisation dans sa totalité devient essentiellement humaine et vraiment digne de l'homme.

The criticism that would-be scientific work in the social and cultural sphere is frequently barren of insight is one that is often heard, and it is very damaging in practice to the standing of these subjects in the wider community, but it is difficult to make such criticism connect with its object, since 'insight', 'civilisation' and 'human dignity' are not terms to which a scientist can attach any definition qua scientist. Hudson, for instance, is reduced to an ad hominem argument:

> There is a philistine and self-deceptive assumption among the scientifically inclined that all avenues other than their own amount to 'anecdote'. But if a psychologist, however self-consciously scientific, is in need of personal insight - if his marriage has collapsed or his children hate him - he does not turn to the professional journals in search of it. He goes to Donne or Chekhov, Freud or Laing. As receptacles of our knowledge about people, in other words, both literary and clinical modes at present show every sign of being superior to science ... (1980:452).

This difference of philosophical orientation, then, is the main reason for preferring the term dialectology. (Dialectology also suggests a concern with a broader range of linguistic data.) Following from this, the interdisciplinary connections of dialectology tend to be with disciplines such as ethnography, anthropology, geography and social history.

The main methodological innovation in the present research is the use of qualitative methods, borrowed in the first instance from oral history. I arrived at this method almost by accident. Since I was my own fieldworker, it was important to me to have at least some aspects of the research that I could discuss explicitly with my informants, for practical reasons of ease in interaction, as much as ethical ones, of treating them as authoritative sources, rather than experimental subjects. I drew up a list of about one hundred Glasgow words, based on sources such as local dialect literature, and preliminary interviews with older women and with children. Without my being aware of it, I had been directed towards the agenda of an on-going debate on linguistic change amongst the older members of the community. The results were very rewarding. I obtained a large corpus of comment on language and social history, from which selections and digests are given at various points in this work. Subsequently, Walker, ed. (1985) became available, making it possible to place my ad hoc explorations within a general intellectual framework.

1.1.2 Qualitative methods

Qualitative studies are becoming increasingly popular in social research, whether as a preliminary, to generate hypotheses for more narrowly-focussed quantitative work, or as ends in themselves. The essence of the qualitative method is to listen to what people have to say about a policy, situation or process that directly affects them, and to distil their comments into a manageable summary of opinion on that question. The art of qualitative research is to create situations in which people will talk freely and openly. There are often contradictions and subtleties to be discovered in 'private versions' if these can be elicited, as opposed to the

stereotyped, consensual 'public version' that the community may have evolved (Cornwell, 1984).

The advantages of qualitative methods are discussed by Walker (1985). Briefly, these are:

a) qualitative research allows the discovery of unanticipated information;

b) it draws on the inside knowledge that informants have of situations in which they are involved;

c) it can handle topics that are not (or not yet) suitable for quantitative research because they are, for instance too complicated, or too subtle, or concerned with shifting phenomena such as interaction, or processes of change;

d) it makes good use of rich and varied information without being constrained to discard what does not fit a pre-conceived analytical format.

From the point of view of linguistics, the overwhelming advantage might be said to be the direct relevance of qualitative data for teleological forms of explanation, i.e. explanations in terms of the goals and motives of sentient creatures. The positivist scientific model mentioned above demands explanations in terms of cause and effect, which neither sociology nor sociolinguistics are able to provide convincingly (Romaine, 1984). The most imaginative new approaches in linguistics, however, are teleological in their outlook, for instance discourse analysis (see e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Brown and Levinson, 1978) and text linguistics (see e.g. de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

The present research combines quantitative and qualitative elements. The interaction between the two types of data has proved to be very fruitful. Since informants' expressed views and ideas are available for comparison with the quantified data, there is less need to rely on post hoc 'common-sense' interpretations of their motives, which can be, and have been, biased by researchers'

own class- or gender-centred world-views.[5] This is not to say that there is always qualitative material bearing directly on the problems raised by the observed patterns of language behaviour and change. For one thing, this latter information is created in the process of research and exists at a level of generalisation not available to any one individual within the community. In practice, the most productive interaction between the two types of data turned out to lie in contradictions between them, and in attempting to explain these, the researcher is again in the position of importing interpretations into the work. The ideal solution would be to return to the informants to obtain their comments on the findings, and to test hypotheses in more indirect ways, and to do this as often as necessary, or until the topic was exhausted. That this has not been done in the present research is a matter of the restrictions of time. Instead I have relied on interpretations of broad social trends by commentators such as Mead (1970, 1978) and Greer (1984).

1.1.3 Dialect levelling

A topic that emerged very strongly from the qualitative data was what I will call, by way of shorthand, the topic of the 'generation gap'. This eventually became the central theme of the research, because it was in this area that contradictions appeared between the two types of data. The older generation seemed to exaggerate the loss of dialect vocabulary amongst the young people. This was also, in effect, to contradict the shape of the curve of decline (Chapter 4). They also pointed out on many ocasions that they used to use a given word, but no longer did so, an important refinement of the type of question asked in the interviews, along the lines of 'Would you use word x?' The contradiction was therefore between the relatively smooth decline in passive knowledge that I was able to confirm, and the rather abrupt decline in active use (of certain words) that the older speakers had participated in. There are other relevant stereotypes that emerge in Chapter 4, but for which there is no corresponding quantitative data. These relate, for instance, to a supposed breakdown of the rules of linguistic decorum that distinguish rough from respectable language.

It is not surprising, given a qualitative input from dialect speakers themselves, that the resulting emphasis should be on the levelling or decline of dialect.[6] This historical trend is very obvious, both for minority languages and for non-standard dialects. Martinet, for instance, writes:

> Breton yields before French very much like Gascon or Walloon. In all three cases French works through "bilinguals", slowly undermining the local vernaculars and, at last, eliminating them at one stroke by a break in the transmission. The fact that Breton is Celtic, Walloon is Oïl, and Gascon is Oc seems less important than the inability of the three speech communities to oppose to the advance of French any locally evolved linguistic medium of cultural prestige. (1954-55: 7)

Hammarström considers that:

> the converging movement, the smoothing out of dialectal differences, is the most important thing happening in the dialects of today. This fact does not appear to interest dialectologists very much, which means that present-day dialectology is almost entirely overlooking a very important point. (1960: 80)

In Sweden and the German-speaking countries, sociolinguists have found that local dialects are tending to level to new regional dialects (Thelander, 1980; Clyne, 1984: ch.3), and Petyt (1985) reports the same levelling of the dialects of Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield into a North Yorkshire regional dialect - or, for most speakers, regional accent. (From the examples given, it may be that the Swedish and German regional dialects are also more the equivalent of what have been called - e.g. by Wakelin, 1972 - 'modified regional standards' in Britain, such as Scottish Standard English.)

However, the continuing erosion of traditional dialects in England and Lowland Scotland is no longer treated as a central issue by most sociolinguists, although there is concern amongst the

general public, and fieldwork-oriented bodies such as the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language (Sheffield) and the Scottish National Dictionary Association are responsive to this.

The major projects of this century on dialectology and dialect lexicography - The Scottish National Dictionary (SND), the Survey of English Dialects (SED), the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (LSS) - tend to be valedictory in tone, and to give an exaggerated impression of the strength and purity of traditional dialects in the recent past, by seeking out the most archaic dialect in living memory.[7] The levelling of traditional dialects towards the standard figures as a background assumption, motivating the type of informants sought (the SED's ideal being the non-mobile older rural male, or NORM as Chambers and Trudgill, 1980, nickname him); and the type of question asked (the postal questionnaires of the LSS emphasise the dialect of 'your own locality' rather than the individual's own usage).

British workers have written very pessimistically of the demise of traditional dialects. Murison (1977: 56) considers that the dialects of the industrial areas in particular are more 'broken English' than Scots, in view of 'the general currency of standard and substandard and slang English'. Unfortunately, this kind of comparison between the past and the present can be invidious, undermining attempts to gain respect, or at least tolerance, especially in the educational system, for the living dialects. Others are resolutely cheerful. Aitken (1976) reminds us that the death of Scots has been asserted since the eighteenth century, yet the language refuses to die. He points out how few of the 30,000 or so entries in the SND are actually marked as 'obsolete'. Some reassurances, however, sound hollow. Upton et al. (1987: 12) quote Joseph Wright's 1898 comment that 'pure dialect speech' is rapidly disappearing. While agreeing with this, they rephrase it as 'an acceleration in the pace of dialectal change' and observe that:

> Such levelling as there has been is most evident in standardisation of grammar and in erosion of obsolescent sections of vocabulary, including, for example, many variants

> of older agricultural terms. This is, however, simply part of a continuing process of change, which has left regional accents relatively unscathed. (1987: 12)

Neither of these ideological positions - pessimistic valediction or optimistic propaganda - is getting us any closer to understanding the cultural significance of what is going on, certainly not so far as the dialect speakers themselves are concerned. This is where qualitative research can be valuable. I do not claim to have probed this topic very deeply: this research was not originally planned as a contribution of this kind. However, I will offer some pointers from the qualitative material, available largely because my informants felt compelled to tell me these things (Chapter 4).

1.1.4 Uniformation

Any specific case of language shift - whether an abrupt shift in a bilingual (including bidialectal) context or a gradual levelling of one dialect towards another - can be interpreted in terms specific to the society in which it occurs. However, it is clear that there are larger forces at work - the shift is never from a world language or standardised koiné towards a minority language or non-standard dialect.[8]

Again this is so obvious that it may seem inevitable or almost natural. In explanation, Thelander (1980) appeals to the general idea of 'modern life'. An isolated attempt to give substance to this idea in a sociolinguistic context is Hertzler (1966). She coins the term uniformation as the opposite of the differentiation that has traditionally been the concern of dialectologists. This is a blanket term for a range of centralising and homogenising forces in the twentieth century, which she lists in outline. She remarks that :

> Very many socially conscious laymen and social scientists have overlooked, ignored, avoided dealing with, or only casually treated [uniformation]. (p. 171)

So far as linguistics is concerned, this remains true, but fortunately there is now some very perceptive social and critical work to which we can turn for insight (for instance Mead, 1978; Greer, 1984).

It is difficult to bring such a global interpretation to bear on a small localised study. This was certainly a problem in the present research. It seemed that to account for the case of dialect levelling in the East End of Glasgow, it was necessary to enter into an account of the main economic and technological advances of the twentieth century, together with their social and cultural impact. This is indeed the territory sketched out by Hertzler. Nevertheless, it is important to set the individual case against the larger picture. The consequence of not doing so is that the explanations offered for specific cases of language shift may be hopelessly incommensurate with the scale of the forces at work. The idea of sociolinguistic prestige, for instance, offers us social ambition and snobbery as the explanation of change towards Standard English (developed from Labov's work as a testable hypothesis by social psychologists see e.g. Giles, 1979; Ryan, 1979; Giles and St. Clair, eds., 1979). This hardly does justice to the complexity of human feelings (cf. Chapter 4 below), even if there were no more than feelings involved. But there are also fundamental material bases for language shift (Chapter 6). Many of these are universal in modern societies, since they derive from technological innovations and forms of industrial organisation - forms of transport, mass communications, production and consumption - that in themselves largely consitute modernisation.

In a way this research has turned out to be about the modernisation (I find this term more meaningful than embourgeoisement - see Chapter 6 below) of the British working-class. The remainder of this chapter will give a brief sketch of the history and recent character of the working-class areas in which the research reported here was conducted, and likewise a sketch of the Glasgow dialect.

1.2 The making of an inner city

The East End of Glasgow is typical of the inner areas of British industrial cities in the 1980s. Harrison (1983: 22,23) identifies three factors that characterise these areas:

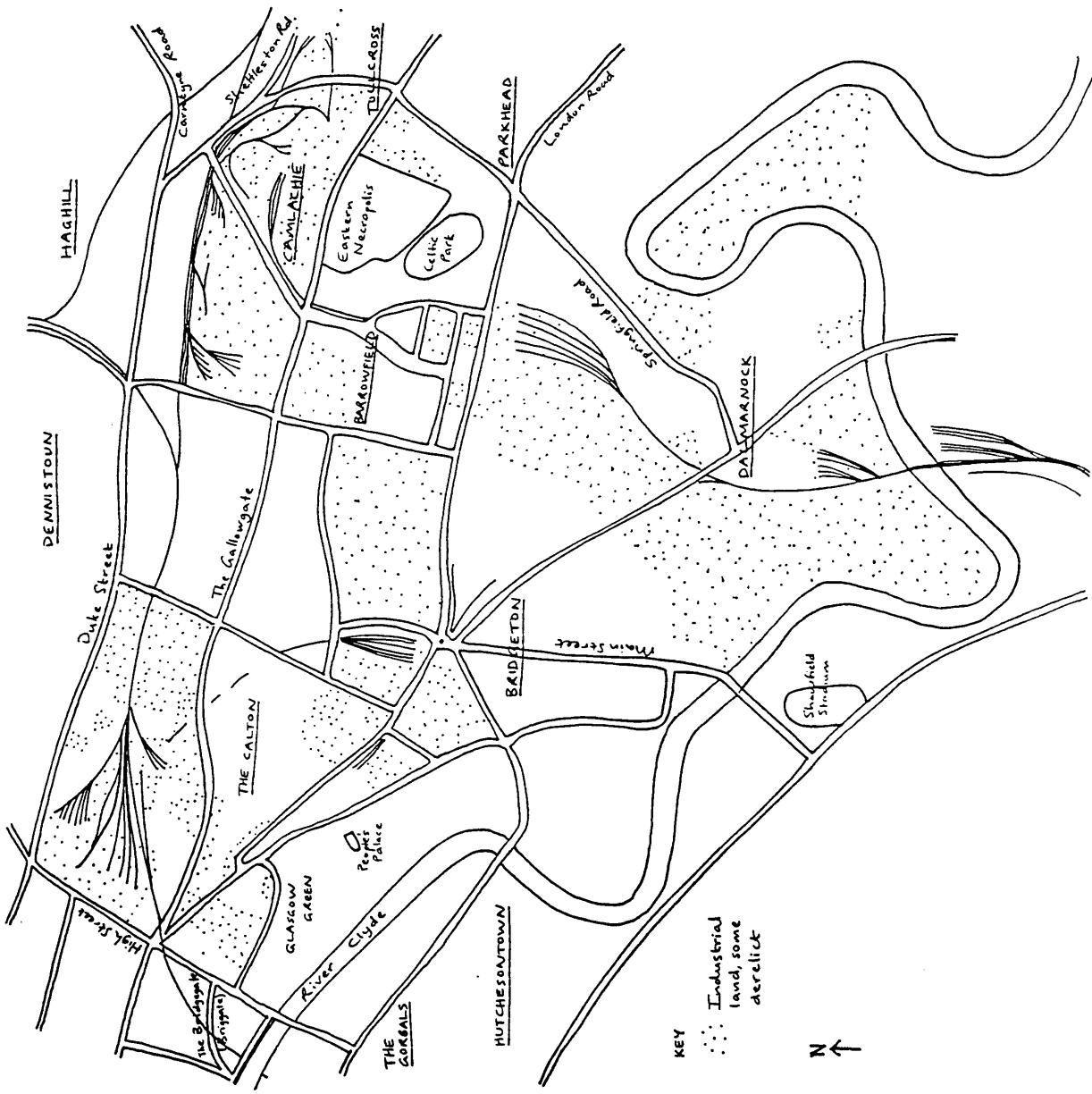
> a) the decline in competitiveness of the older industries on which they were founded has led to a shedding of labour, and the acquisition of local firms by larger, often multinational corporations. The condition of the population in such a branch-plant economy is then determined by 'an impersonal calculus of profit or rationalization pursued regardless of social costs';
>
> b) there is a legacy of bad housing, partly Victorian buildings reaching the end of their useful life, partly modern council housing 'frequently of the worst possible design';
>
> c) there is an above average concentration of de-skilled and unskilled manual workers.

A feature of the situation in London, but not in Glasgow, is the presence of cowed immigrants, who are fodder for sweatshops.

The East End is the less desirable area of many British cities. Because the prevailing winds are westerly, polluting and offensive industries such as chemical and leather works tended to be sited there. Map 1 shows some of the features of the industrial landscape of the East End of Glasgow.

At the height of its productivity in the late Victorian period, the economy of the West of Scotland was led by shipbuilding, using locally produced steel, itself using local coal resources. A second important complex of industries was in the area of (cotton) textiles. Scottish industry was heavily dependent on the overseas markets guaranteed by British dominance over world trade (the cotton industries of Egypt and India were destroyed, for instance). Imperial expansion also provided a market directly for warships. However, Scottish capital, even more than English, was

Map 1. The East End of Glasgow showing major roads, rail lines, and districts.



also exported overseas to take advantage of cheap colonial labour, leading to an extreme form of what is known as the 'product cycle':

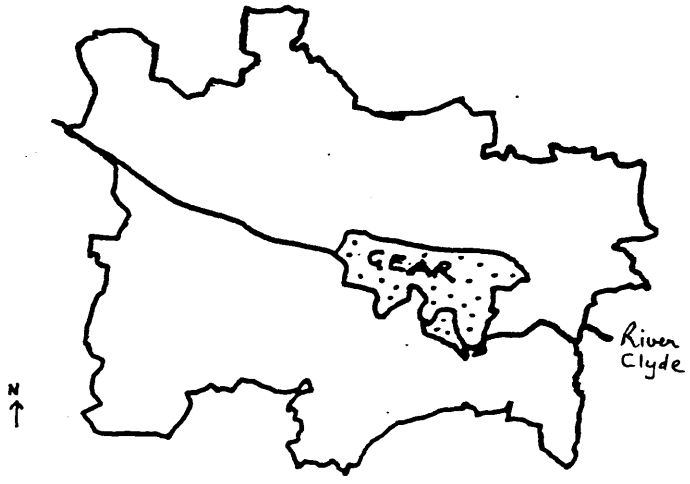
> a) product innovation and growth of domestic sales;
>
> b) saturation of domestic market; export overseas at first to similar economies, later to under-developed ones;
>
> c) export of capital and overseas manufacture of product;
>
> d) importation of the product and stagnation and decline of domestic production. (Dickson et al., 1980: ch.5)[9]

The First World War gave a temporary boost to Glasgow industry, but also led to permanent losses of overseas markets. The Second World War and subsequent reconstruction again boosted the economy, but thereafter:

> Glasgow has continuously suffered the most extreme economic distress. Total employment in the conurbation has shown a steepening fall in jobs with a loss of 400 per annum in the 1950s, of 4,000 per annum in the 1960s and early 1970s and of 25,000 per annum in the late 1970s and early 1980s. (Hausner and Robson, 1985: 16)

The last textile mill in the East End, Hollins' Mill in Boden Street, closed in 1987, ironically marking the 200th anniversary of the Weavers' strike (People's Palace exhibition, 1987). The economy of the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) area (Map 2, and see below) is now dominated by large plants in declining industries. Between 1971 and 1981, employment in the area fell from 49,000 to 36,000.

Map 2. The area covered by the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project.



From the 1920s, much of the control of Scottish industry came into the grip of finance capitalism, as firms turned to the banks, and control moved southwards (Dickson et al., 1980: ch.6). Virtually all of the major employers in the GEAR area are controlled from outside Scotland.[10] The dominance of finance over manufacturing capital in the British economy (a legacy of Empire) is unusual:

> In no other metropolitan country is international capital so overwhelmingly politically powerful. ... In few countries of the First World are national capital and national economy so lacking in equivalence and so un-consonant in their interests. (Massey, 1986: 47)

The split was accentuated in the 1950s, the last decade before deindustrialisation set in, and a period of massive overseas investment. On the other hand, US capital has flowed inwards. US investment in Britain was second only to Canada by 1969 (Niven, 1975), but whereas Canada regarded such a situation as serious enough to require legislation, in the UK it went unmonitored until it suddenly emerged as an area of concern in the 1970s (Firn, 1975). Since the 1973 oil crisis and the intervention of the

International Monetary Fund in 1975, a low-wage, low-skill capital-importing economy appears to be the course on which we are set.[11]

The second characteristic of the inner city is the legacy of bad housing. Conditions in Victorian Glasgow have been described too often to require repetition here.[12] In the nineteenth century, the medieval core and the weavers' cottages of Anderston, the Calton and Bridgeton were increasingly replaced by tenements, a Scottish tradition of building favoured by the capacity of Scots law to handle multiple ownership, and the existence of feu-duty on land (McLean, 1983, ch.2). The spaces between tenements were often built up with backlands (see 3.5.8 below), both dwellings and workshops, leading to very high population densities. About two thirds of the population of Glasgow lived in tenements in 1914, when torpedo workmen sent up from Woolwich struck in protest at being expected to live in them (Gauldie, 1976).

The Clyde Valley Regional Plan of 1946 recommended the containment of Glasgow and the dispersal of a quarter of a million people to New Towns and existing towns beyond the city. The local authority in Glasgow were jealous of their powers and reluctant to lose population, but the case for dispersal was accepted after the 1951 Census showed that 43.4% of the population of Glasgow were overcrowded (Smith, 1985).

The 1957 development plan aimed at the redevelopment of about 30% of the urban area. In the 1950s, multi-storey system-built blocks began to be constructed. Macmillan as Housing Minister in 1951 approved of them because of the sheer speed with which they could be built, achieving the political goal of rapid post-war reconstruction (Cook, 1975; Coleman, 1985). Between 1965 and 1970, 25,000 new dwellings (all but a handful in public ownership) were built, and the proportion of dwellings with no bath or shower was reduced from 38% to 25%, while the proportion with no internal toilet was reduced from 22% to 12%. Even so, Glasgow's housing remained the worst in the country (Robertson, 1985). McKay and Cox (1979) blame green belt restrictions and the ending of central government aid for land purchase in 1959 for the banishing of most of this local authority building to the periphery, leaving

expensive inner city sites to private commercial development, a form of blight that produces a '<u>cordon insanitaire</u>' around the central business area: the land becomes too valuable for any form of free market development other than offices (Ravetz, 1980).

The loss of population from the inner city had certain adverse effects: apart from the disruption of working-class families and communities, it deprived local businesses of custom. Slum clearance also drove many owner-occupiers permanently out of the private sector,[13] and deprived many local businesses of very cheap accommodation.[14]

In the period 1971-81, the population of the GEAR area was reduced from 80,000 to 38,000. The drop in the City/Calton area was 82%; in Bridgeton and Dalmarnock 65%; in Camlachie 47%. The proportion of properties lacking basic amenities dropped from 52% to 10%. The demolition of tenements has left the public sector providing 72% of housing (at 1982 figures - building of private housing is now well advanced under the GEAR plan).

The East End population has higher than the Glasgow average of the retired, the handicapped and one-parent families. Unskilled workers form 19% of the workforce as against a 10% average (GEAR report, 1982). Much of the East End has a high figure (3.5-5.6%) for population reported as permanently sick (Greater Glasgow Health Board, 1983). The proportions at or below the DHSS poverty line in 1982, by Department of Health and Social Security local office, include: Bridgeton 53.4%, Dalmarnock 52%, City 38.2% (Young, 1983).

Most of the post-war housing in the East End is in the form of three or four storey blocks of flats, with some system-built large blocks and high-rises. Although this is an unattractive and impersonal environment, especially for children (cf. Jacobs' 1961 description of the busy street life that is her ideal of the civilised urban environment), it compares favourably with the peripheral estates.

The problems of the denuded inner city were recognised in the 1970s. In 1975 the Scottish Developent Agency was set up. Its responsibility included the GEAR project (1976-86). By the time of my fieldwork, in 1984-85, GEAR had done a great deal to revitalise the area, short of attracting a significant measure of new employment.

Given that the inner city population is relatively immobile, both socially and geographically, we might expect that here, if anywhere, the urban dialect would be maintained.

1.3 Irish and Scots elements in the population

Cities draw their population from every accessible source of surplus agricultural labour, as well as from refugees and other migrants. The main elements in the population of Glasgow as it expanded in the nineteenth century were:

a) long-established Glaswegians, descended from burghers and artisans;

b) Lowlanders from the surrounding countryside;

c) Highlanders, speakers of Gaelic and sometimes also Highland English. At the 1861 Census, those born in Scottish counties other than Lanark, in which Glasgow is situated, formed 30% of the Glasgow population (Table XXXIX, p.lx, vol.II), 15% of these (4.6% of the Glasgow total) being from the Highland counties of Bute, Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland (figures based on Table III, p.332, vol.II);

d) Irish men and women, speakers of Hibernian English, both native Catholics and descendants of Ulster Scots returning to the West of Scotland. The Irish formed 15.7% of the Glasgow population in 1861 (Table XXXIX);

e) English men and women. Those born in England, Wales and the Channel Islands formed 2.7% of the population of Glasgow in 1861 (Table XXXIX);

f) latterly (mid 1880s-1914) also Russian and Polish Jews and Italians (Flinn et al., 1977).

A large proportion of Highlanders went into unskilled work, but others were distributed through the different levels of the urban workforce (Withers, 1986). There is a stereotype of Highlanders in the Glasgow police (Caughie, 1984).

From the outset there were tensions between the native Lowlanders and the Irish. Nevertheless, certain Hibernian English traits have come to characterise the speech of working-class Glaswegians generally. (One of these, the lowering of /e/ to /ɛ/ before /r/ is examined in Chapter 5. See also 1.6.2 below.)

In the early nineteenth century there was a high level of seasonal migration from Ireland to the South-west of Scotland. Immigration on a large scale to the cities followed after the potato famines of the 1840s. The Irish were recruited into factory work which at first 'could not readily attract the literate lowland Scots' (Slaven, 1975: 8).[15] However, the competition of Irish labour soon became a source of conflict, especially as employers were able to use the Irish peasantry as a reserve pool to break strikes and drive down wages.

The native Lowlanders tended to blame the Catholic Irish for the problems of industrialisation, for instance overcrowding, crime and deteriorating sanitary conditions. The Victorian doctrine of self-reliance attributed poverty to laziness and profligacy. The Irish were seen as having a weakness for drink and gambling. The native workforce, on the other hand have a historical reputation for industry, skill and self-respect. They were 'dour, dogged, hard-working and superlatively thrifty' in the words of James Maxton (quoted by Young, 1979: 165). Through the Scottish tradition of comprehensive parish schools, they shared a common culture with the rest of Scottish society, though in a urban context this began to the eroded by the creation of academies and high schools for the children of the wealthy (Dickson et al., 1980).

Whereas the Lowland workforce had already begun to be converted into a waged proletariat in the bothies of the large capitalist farms, the Irish came from a background that Mokyr in his (1983) analysis of the circumstances leading up to the famines, describes as typical of subsistence peasant culture. There was a high consumption of leisure, in contrast to the Protestant work ethic of

industrialised Scotland. The particular conditions of subsistence in Ireland made it difficult to accumulate wealth, since the basic source of heat (peat) and the basic food (the potato) were both non-tradeable, the potato because it could not be stored, peat because it was difficult to transport. This then favoured peasant consumption, and the eighteenth century Irish peasantry were well fed and heated, though poorly housed and clad. He suggests that their lack of success amongst other immigrant groups to the United States was partly due to low numeracy. The 19th century Irish were priest-ridden and schooled more in modesty and deference than in the three R's. In principle, this deferential manner (which the Scots working class despised) should have made them desirable employees, and there are some indications that they were found suitable - docile and hard-working - as an industrial proletariat in countries of emigration (p. 258). But there is another side to the Irish peasant which Mokyr also reveals - the Irish cultivated the land largely under a regime of absentee landlords. As a measure of the malignity of this regime, in the summer of 1847 Britain abandoned Ireland to starve, closing down the programme of soup kitchens. Peasant resistance (mainly to land use changes) sometimes took violent forms, orchestrated through secret societies or 'cartels' in the countryside, hardly a sign of docility.

In the Glasgow context, the Irish were a very coherent group, able to exercise an influence on local politics. McLean (1983), who devotes a chapter to this subject, calculates the proportion of Catholics in the Glasgow Labour Group as about one fifth over the period 1922-1973, the same as the proportion of Catholics in the general population (most, though not all, of whom would be of Irish descent). This is actually remarkable for a minority group and helps to explain the perception of a high Catholic profile in local government. A specific focus of Protestant resentment is the immunity of the Catholic schools, taken over by the State in 1918, to the secularisation that had befallen the Presbyterian schools taken over in 1872 ('Rome on the rates'; Bruce 1985: 28).

The native Scots were able to keep the Catholic Irish out of skilled work to a large extent and to maintain wage differentials between skilled and unskilled work higher than those in England

(Dickson et al, 1980: ch.5).[16] The prerogatives of skilled craftsmen were undermined by the substitution of female and unskilled labour (dilution) during the First World War. The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920 further narrowed the gap between skilled and unskilled - payments for both were at the same rate (Roberts, 1973). In the view of McLean it was the issues of housing and dilution rather than any revolutionary ideology that were behind the phenomenon of 'Red Clydeside'. The Protestant élite who systematically excluded the unskilled workers (amongst them the larger part of the Catholic population) from apprenticeships, and from participation in engineering and the shipyards, were 'the last generation of working-class Scots for whom 19th century Presbyterian theological controversy still lived' (McLean, 1983: 99).

Likewise, Bruce , who has made an extensive study of Scottish anti-Catholicism, considers that it has become largely 'vicarious, feeding off the conflict in Ulster' (1985: 66).[17] 'Bitter' was the word used to describe those whose sense that they were somehow not enjoying the fruits of the Protestant Ascendancy broke out into bigotry. The lady in the following story is an extreme example:

> 46F10CS: That was - no mind? - that Aunty Mary doon in McLean Street. She used tae have orange curtains up. Ah mean, ye went intae er hoose: King Billy croassin the Boyne. An Ah tane ma man up - he was a Catholic - she says, 'Bring oot ma best tea-set, Beenie' - this is ma Maw, she was talkin tae her - Johnny an Ruby comin up - goes up an John finishes the tea - doon at the boattom: King Billy croassin the Boyne! Aw Ah never - Ah mean, ye'd actually need tae a been therr tae a seen the expression oan is face! An the quilt was orange an that! An the curtains! (81F)

Such deeply tribal feelings are now mainly confined to the football terraces.[18]

Before the redevelopment of the city, whole streets and areas had the reputation of being Catholic or Protestant areas. (Several different streets had the nickname of 'Irish Channel'.) However,

as Bruce describes, the local base of ethnic divisions has been undermined by the redevelopment of the inner city:

> All communal activities were disrupted but such dislocation was particularly damaging to activities built around an ethnic identity. ... In the thirties one could readily identify the Grassmarket [in Edinburgh] as being a Catholic area and Bridgeton in Glasgow as being Protestant. (p. 103)

Also important was the enforced mixing of males in the armed forces, where 'ritual avoidance' was not possible. On the whole this contact fostered tolerance. The political base was undermined as power has increasingly been transferred from elected representatives to transient professionals. Religion has, of course, ceased to play its previous role in the life of individuals and the community. The Orange Lodge is only nominally religious, no longer paying even lip-service to Temperance or Sabbatarianism. Ironically the ministers who are willing to work in working class areas are often liberal radicals who are oblivious to working class anti-Catholicism, and the mass media are likewise inclined towards the centre.

1.4 Rough or respectable

One of the questions raised by the qualitative data (Chapter 4) but not answered in this work, is whether the distinction between 'rough' and 'respectable' behaviour, including the rules of linguistic decorum, is breaking down. This distinction - a matter of degree, rather than a hard and fast dichotomy - between types of behaviour and types of people was formerly a very important stratifying criterion within the working-class.

Marwick (1982) suggests that the distinction between the rough and respectable working-class disappeared in the 1950s. One factor was the breaking up and arbitrary reshuffling of working-class communities. The stigma of the slums was carried forward to some extent in Glasgow, since different categories of housing estate were constructed to different standards in the post-war period.

Families from the slums were graded by health visitors and a large proportion assigned to slum rehousing rather than ordinary rehousing (after going through a ritual humiliation of having their belongings fumigated or disposed of; Damer, 1974). Some of the slum rehousing estates such as the 'Wine Alley' that Damer studied quickly acquired a bad reputation that would tend to brand anyone living there. But this kind of indiscriminate prejudice is not really the equivalent of the policing by gossip implied by the 'rough - respectable' distinction in the context of an overcrowded and closely-knit community.

In the old 'urban village' way of life, best described by Roberts (1971) in his reconstruction of Edwardian Salford, each street or part of a street had a 'social rating' and so did each family and indeed individual, e.g. one daughter could be 'dead common' (in Glasgow, gallus - see 3.6.12 below - or a wee herry), while another was 'refined'. Although stratification was quite marked, known probity conferred a certain status in itself.

66F4PC recalls women being publicly vilified in effigy:

> Yaised tae - Ah used tae see them: the likes i if a lassie had a wean - oh, she was - oh, she was bad, Beenie, oh she was bad. They used tae - they used tae pit a rope fae the wan side i the road tae the other - or if a mother ran away an left er weans - an hing er up aw done wi straw. (81F)

Standards of behaviour in public were subject to a plethora of bye-laws, governing for instance the cleaning of common stairs, loitering, causing annoyance, and obstruction of the footway. It was relatively easy to fall foul of the law and lose respectability on such minor offences. Magistrates in Scotland seem to have been particularly inclined to jail offenders. Roberts quotes figures for 1902:

> In England and Wales the number of prisoners received in local goals was 621 per 100,000 of the population; in Ireland, 744; but in Scotland the rate for the unco' bad stood at 1,489!
>
> (1971, 1983: 60 fn.1)

There are four pairs of characteristics that tend to coincide in the older Glasgow stereotype:

> Irish - Scots
> Catholic - Protestant
> unskilled - skilled
> rough - respectable.[19]

There probably were differences in family style between the Irish and the Scots. The autocratic Calvinist father was strict with his children, putting narrow restrictions on the daughters especially.[20] (Roberts considers that this came to an end after the First World War - parochialism and parental authoritarianism were somehow rubbed off by the war experience.) The Irish, on the other hand, had a reputation for letting their children run wild. Indulgence towards children has since become characteristic of the working-class generally.

So long as the father did not undermine her position by excessive drinking and the brutality that often went with alcoholism, the mother of a family was responsible for the standards of cleanliness and conduct of the whole family. The work of women before the 1950s in keeping a house and a family healthy, clean and decent was hard toil, especially in conditions of financial instability and slum housing. Rodger (1985) calculates that in 1911, 27.16 of male workers in Glasgow were in occupations subject to interrupted time (such as dockers, porters, navvies, and workers in the construction and garment trades). For families who had to manage on such unreliable incomes, rents were a particular problem, since in Scotland rents were usually long-let - one year, negotiated up to 4 months in advance of entry. There was a consequent tendency to choose accommodation at the minimal level that the family could expect to afford. Even skilled and semi-skilled workers who could afford better housing could not necessarily find it. To Ferguson and Cunnison it was:

> striking that under existing conditions many families find themselves driven, by shortage of available houses, to

> accommodation of lower quality than they might have ... been able to afford (1951: 61)

– a quarter even of those with skilled or semi-skilled fathers in their sample were in slums or near-slums, with a detrimental effect, as they demonstrate, on physique, school attendance and achievement of the sons.

Even in the 1950s, then, there was in Glasgow a recognisable type: the stunted slum child. The moral effect on children of living in the grossly overcrowded conditions of slum tenements (more than five people to a room) is usually glossed over (or alternatively, luridly sensationalised, as in Burrowes, Jamesie's People, 1984). What it really means is that it was difficult for adults to protect the innocence of childhood when children could easily overhear everything that was said and done. Again, this characteristic of 'rough' families has become generalised. The prematurely knowing and cynical child that Postman (1985) sees as the typical product of the TV age is yesterday's street arab, only cleaner.

Another change since the 1950s is that the sexual division of labour in the family has been destabilised, without being fundamentally changed. This is too complex a subject to enter into here (see e.g. Wilson, 1976) but we might just note that in the pre-war working-class community, men and women had separate social networks that supported them in their separate roles. Women remained particularly close to their mothers. When a husband and a wife were together, that constituted mixed company, and respectable men did not bring into the home the kind of language and behaviour that was acceptable in an all-male workplace. There is thus a gender dimension to roughness. (We will see in Chapter 3 that words categorised as rough or slangy are also likely to be labelled as men's language, and to show sex differences in active use and possibly in passive knowledge.) It is almost as if men were regarded as naturally rough, becoming respectable only under the taming influence of mothers and wives, on whom the burden of maintaining respectability therefore falls without respite. This is, of course, the classical double standard.[21]

Something that is happening in the current phase of nostalgia for tenement life is that characteristics of the 'rough' Glaswegian are coming to be identified as the working-class Glasgow heritage. For instance, Adam McNaughton's "Skyscraper Wean" (or "The Jeely Piece Song") has made famous the image of a (wrapped!) sandwich being thrown to a child out of a tenement window. In the following exchange, between two sisters-in-law, I would suggest that 46F5PB, who is more self-conscious about her participation in the project, is offering the public version, and 46F4PB the private version:

> 46F4PB: An like, there was a family lived - likes i he [previous speaker] says, they lived in the next close tae us only it was a different buildin, an they'd shout, 'Haw, Mawwww Brooooin! Haw, Mawwww Brooooin! Throw us ower a piece!' Or 'an effin piece', ye know. Whatever they liked. Ye know. An we were classed as the toffs. We didnae probably have any more than thaim, maybe less, ye know. Wee bit more respectable.
> 46F5PB: We would say, 'Mum, throw me down a jeely piece.'
> 46F4PB: Ah would be told tae come up for it! But eh. (9B)

Throwing food around may well have been 'rough' behaviour.

The stereotyping of a rough - or even criminal - male Glasgow in films and television dramas is discussed by Bain (1984). The same process is evident in recent popular books on Glasgow dialect such as Mackie's The Illustrated Glasgow Glossary (1984), Munro's The Patter (1985) and Mason's C'mon Geeze yer Patter (1987). The first two in particular do a very good job of recording the idiom of the older generation (in Mackie's case) and the younger (in Munro's). (Indeed, Munro includes much of the same children's slang collected in the present research.) But although these books do include everyday language, and Munro especially often comments on the stylistic restrictions on words, nevertheless the comic 'phrasebook' presentation tends to give the impression that Glaswegians go around all the time saying things like, 'Ach, Ah'll away tae ma scratcher,' or 'Yer heid's fulla broken boatles.' On the contrary, speakers themselves - or at least older speakers -

distinguish between ordinary Scots and colourful language (which ranges from wit and amusing slang to 'rough' slang and abuse). Younger people may have a simpler view of language which simply distinguishes the vernacular and the standard. This is discussed below in Chapter 4.

1.5 The fieldwork area

1.5.1 Barrowfield

It is said of Barrowfield that 'even the Alsatians go about in pairs there' (young Dalmarnock man, 1985).

Barrowfield is a small scheme in Camlachie of post-war low-rise flats, originally flat-roofed, exiled from urbane life by barriers to pedestrian traffic on every side. The houses are surrounded by what Coleman (1985) calls 'confused space', for which nobody is individually responsible.[22]

Barrowfield is a 'dump estate'. Such areas of multiple deprivation have been created by housing allocation policy (English, 1976).[23] In the worst periods, crimes were committed outrageously against neighbours' property:

> 66F4PC: Ah goat a big fireplace, didn't Ah, Beenie? [...] A big, big stane fireplace.
> 6F10CS: Ye know, it goes fae wan waw tae the other.
> 66F4PC: It was fae therr tae therr.
> 46F10CS: Ye know.
> 66F4PC: The man come up, an Ah opened the door an then doon the sterr, but they were - ye thoat that they - they were like the worums: they come oot - they come oot the grun. The man only come up chappin ma door an come doon the sterr an ma fireplace was knocked. It was off!
> 46F10CS: Ah mean, it would take a good few i them tae lift this fireplace.
> 66F4PC: Aye, it took oor William an John an Douglas an somebody else tae lift it up the sterr. An that was men.

46F10CS: That was her - she was just wan sterr up. An the boay had is van aw loakt up at the back, e'd come up tae see if she was in ( ) deliver it..
66F4PC: Aye, Ah says, 'What!' E just shoutit up, 'Yer fireplace is knocked!' Ah says, 'Ma ...'
46F10CS: [...] Sure that's how a lot i people'll no get - cannae get furniture, ye know. The shops'll no thingwy them. But as Ah tell everybody, it disnae stoap me gettin furniture, because Ah say, aw they need tae dae is phone the police, an tell them when they're comin in tae the scheme, an what end, an what time, dain't they, Pheemie? That's what we dae, an they escort them in an oot. In fact that big - Kenny Y----, he meets them before they hit the Gallagate or London Road, an he gaes in the back i the van - e - when it gets emptied right enough sits in the front an takes them right oot.
66F4PC: Ma good-daughter was gettin carpets when we come back here an she went intae the shoap - did Ah no tell ye aboot this Beenie?
46F10CS: Naw.
66F4PC: An e says, 'We'll bring them,' e says, 'But you're responsible for anything -'
46F10CS: That gets knocked.
66F4PC: that's knocked. Even - Ah says, 'They'll staun an watch it' - didnae maitter whether it moved away fae the close - she was responsible for everything that was in that van.
46F10CS: That's right. (78F)

C: What can ye tell me about Barrafield?
45F9CC: That most it the stories ye hear about it are true. [...] Really ye can't leave a motor, because ye go back an there's no wheels. An the windows are smashed right away, of course. An anything removed from the interior. It really is bad, but that is mostly maybe two streets, that are bad streets an they seem tae have tae live up tae their reputation. But it's as if they put all the problem families into these two streets as well. Ye know there's quite a lot a decent people come from Barrafield. [...] But they don't like it. Ah don't

> really know many people that like Barrafield. There are young people willin tae take houses back in with their families, because they don't know anything else but Barrafield. They're - really are pretty grim. Up until maybe aboot three year ago, they hadn't a drug problem funnily enough, when the - the rest i the city were all talkin about it. Now they're into almost every kind i crime ye can think on. [...] Well, at one time the doctors were annoyed about their cars gaun in there an gettin broken intae, but it wasn't for drugs, it was just that the car was there an any car was open tae it. So. But Ah see they're havin that problem <u>again</u> in Barrafield. (62B)

Even though the criminals are known, people may be afraid to report them.[24] Nevertheless, in 1976, a group of mothers demanded that the Glasgow District Council Housing Department take action to evict anti-social tenants from the scheme. Police made 400 arrests in the first nine months of that year. (The area's councillor was victimised and twice beaten up near his home.) At the end of the same year, pressure from the Tenants' Association led to a modernisation programme for 600 houses, including putting on pitched roofs (Harper and McWhinnie, 1983). Community work and community policing have helped to build up local initiatives for self-help, which are now widely admired.

One of the few advantages of living in such an area is that it is generally possible (given the lack of demand) to obtain a flat for a family member, so some families have been able to reconstruct the mother-daughter partnerships of the old urban village. In Barrowfield, more than anywhere else, I found that young adults were interested in and prepared to take a pride in the old dialect.

1.5.2 The Calton

> 66M1CC: There used tae be a rhyme aboot the Calton [...]
> 'There was Hannaway's and Stannoway's an also Gavin Muir,
> There was Ingles's doon in Green Street - their drinks were awfa soor!'

> Cos they made what they caw soor drinks. [...] Aye, Hannaway's was a pub. Stannoway's was a barber. Gavin Muir was the auctioneer at the Barras. (55C)

Bridgeton and the Calton were laid out as weaving villages in the eighteenth century. Up to the slum clearances of the inter-war years, 18th century brick houses with red pantile roofs survived in the Calton, with outside taps and sinks added in the 19th century, often hemmed in as backlands behind 19th century tenements (King, 1985).

> 66M1CC: Aye, Ah can remember Tobago Street, the outside sterrs an a - a tap, out in the street practically, the people used tae have tae come oot an wash. [...] That was away back, aw, in the old old days. But Ah can remember that. (47C)

Before redevelopment, the Calton was known as a Catholic district. A number of model lodging houses added to the population of the poor. Rag-picking and hawking were concentrated in the Calton, and rags were exported on a large scale to Ireland. The importance of the trade was recognised by Glasgow Corporation, who built a covered market in Greendyke Street in 1875 (typical of the civic enterprise of the time). When this was demolished after the First World War, the traders moved to Paddy's Market (Shipbank Lane off the Bridgegate or Briggate). Many people relied on the flea-markets for second-hand clothes (see also 3.5.6 on midgie-rakin):

> 46F10CS: Aye, that was a - that was a godsend, that. [...] Every time ma Maw used tae take me tae the Briggait, Ah'd turn sick an she'd tae leave me staunin oot - Ah couldnae go through it! Ye know, the smell! Ah used tae boak ma guts up. (81F)

In 1926, a hirer-out of barrows to hawkers, Maggie McIver, provided a roofed, later enclosed, area in Moncur Street, which formed the nucleus of the present Barras, a weekend market of great reknown (King, 1983). An account of growing up in the Calton in the inter-war years can be found in McGinn (1987).

1.5.3 Bridgeton

CIM: So are you - are you all genuine Brigtonians? You lived all your life in Brigton?
10M9CB: Naw, we're Catholics. (42B)

Oh, don't wear a green scarf in Bridgeton, or a blue scarf in Cumberland Street,
Unless you're the heavy-weight champion, or hellova quick on your feet.
(Glasgow rhyme)[25]

Bridgeton (originally and locally known as Brigton), like the Calton, had some very bad slum housing, again including houses with outside taps surviving into living memory. There were also sound tenements, some of which have been allowed to remain to form a nucleus around Bridgeton Cross (known locally as the Toll) with its decorative Victorian street shelter, the Umbrella.

Bridgeton was known as a staunchly Protestant and Unionist district, though rehousing has now mixed the population. It was the home of a notorious Protestant gang, the Billy Boys, in the 1930s.[26]

A certain 'type' associated with Bridgeton is the female mill-worker (especially women now in their seventies or older): tough, independent-minded characters, who worked hard all their days and are beholden to nobody:

45F9CC: The type of character that was really common [i.e. prevalent] was the old millworker, know, they just left school an went right intae the mills an - hard work an saw that as their life. And they're real characters. But they're unfortunately - the last one Ah know really is ma ex-neighbour an she's aboot eighty now, an she's very ill. Ah mean, Ah used tae listen in fascination tae her, aboot when the farm was doon here an - just up there, aye! An there was a shop made scones an stuff, wi the farm produce. It was - it was really amazing, an - well, that's no all that long ago really. And she used

> tae talk aboot it all. That is the kind i character - it was like a stamp, really, they're very, very independent. Very brusque, an - Ah mean, they're the type - when Ah moved in they told ye, 'Right, stairs get done, an windows get done, an ye keep the place tidy!' an things like that. They made no bones that they wanted the pace kept like that. (62B).[27]

1.5.4 Dennistoun

Dennistoun is known as the land of 'pease brose and pianas' (66F19CD).[28] This suggests a pinched bourgeois gentility. Dennistoun is a mixed area, with detached middle class houses (in the 'Drives') as well as tenements, mostly of a better standard. The lands were feued for building by Alexander Dennistoun in the 1850s, his aim being to 'admit of a class of ornamental villas and self-contained Houses being erected at Moderate prices' (McUre, 1871-72: vol.3, 775). The prestige of the address is reflected in the jealousy with which the name is guarded:

> 16F6CD: Know how, some people, like ye say ye come fae Dennistoun, they go, 'Aw, that's a - a snobbish place.' [...] Or some people say, 'Aw, that's a dump,' ye know. Well, come up an see it noo. It's no. There's no any places like that left noo. [...] The only place that makes it look a bit ugly is along at Haghill! An that's aw, really.
> 16F7CD: Aye, but a loat i people call that 'Haghill', they don't call it Dennistoun. A lot a people - know how people at Haghill call it Dennistoun, but people in Dennistoun say it's Haghill an it's no Dennistoun! [...] Oh, there's a fight. There's always a fight aboot - between that - between callin it Haghill or Dennistoun. (45D)

The area of the fieldwork, then, covers a range of neighbourhoods with different characters: a 'problem' estate, cleared slum areas, both Catholic and Protestant, and an area where working-class and middle-class housing have always been mixed.

1.6 The Glasgow dialect

1.6.1 West Central Scots

The literature on the Glasgow dialect is reviewed in Macafee (1983a), which also gives a description of the dialect. I will give only a brief account here. There are various historical sketches of Scots (CSD Introduction; Murison, 1977; Romaine, 1982c; Templeton, 1973) and discussions of its sociolinguistic status (Aitken, 1984b; McClure, 1984; Macafee, 1981). Wilson (1926) describes Central Scots. Aitken (1977) gives a brief philological description of Scots, tracing Modern Scots back to the beginnings of the written corpus in the fourteenth century. Aitken (1984a) gives a table of correspondences between Scots and RP. This concentrates on the vowels, where most of the differentiae occur.

The modern Scots dialects are grouped by Murray (1873) into North-Eastern, Central and Southern. His mapping is used in the SND and in The Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD) and is only slightly modified by Speitel and Mather (1968). The CSD's terminology will be used here: i.e. the Glasgow dialect is located in the West Central area (SND's West Mid). A description of this regional dialect can be found in the Introduction to the SND, vol. I, with additional lexical information in The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland vols. I and II, and phonetic details in vol. III.

Central Scots is the dialect most familiar to Scots and non-Scots alike, since the bulk of the Lowland population are now concentrated in the central industrial belt, and this dialect is also the basis of mainstream literary Scots (for instance Burns and Galt in the West, Ramsay and Scott in the East). Apart from the peculiarities of Glasgow Scots, there are few systematic differences between East Central Scots (south of the Forth) and West Central Scots. Grant (Introduction to the SND) mentions (not necessarily in the terms used below):

a) the reduction of /nd/ and /ld/ to /n/ and /l/ (see Chapter 5 below);

b) /ɔ/ from Older Scots /a/ after /w,ʍ/ e.g. two, who (East Central /e/). See Map 3;

c) /ʌ/ in final unstressed position e.g. -ie, -ow, -fu' (East Central /e/). Since the enclitic negative particle now has /e/ in Glasgow, this may have spread from the East;[29]

d) the West does not share the [ʊ] phonetic realisation of /a/ found in East Central Scots south of the Forth (see Map 3). However certain words have a rounded vowel, which we can identify as /ɔ/, often before /r/ or /n/ e.g. far, han(d) (see Map 4 and Chapter 5);

e) in the West and in the East north of the Forth, words with Older Scots /ø:/ before a velar consonant, e.g. enough, hook, have /jʌ/ rather than /ju/. See Map 3;

f) Older Scots /o/ in labial environments gives /a/, e.g. off, top (see Chapter 5), except in some words such as porridge, bonnet, lodge(r) where it gives /ʌ/. See map 3.

The geographical distributions of some of these characteristics have now been refined by the LSS. Map 3 summarises the main isoglosses from LAS vol. III, and Map 4 adds some further details.

1.6.2 Glasgow dialect

The West Central dialect of Scots is the basis of the dialect of Glasgow, but the urban dialect has been modified in various ways, which can be grouped as:

a) dialect mixture

b) slang and cant

c) levelling towards Standard English as a lingua franca.

KEY 1. .... Within this line, there is no unrounded /a/ type vowel (data for pre-velar environments)
2. --- West of this line /ju/ does not occur before /x/
3. ⩸⩸⩸ West of this line, the vowel in the word <u>two</u> is a rounded /ɔ/ type vowel
4. ++++ Within this line, the vowel in the word <u>crop</u> is a rounded /ɔ/ or /o/ type vowel.

Map 3. Some isoglosses between West Central and East Central Scots. Based on LAS vol. III, Maps W42 TWO, W104 CROP, S29 A in Section 6, S55 U in Section 10.

Map 4. Rounded vowels in four words (<u>far</u>, <u>dark</u>, <u>hand</u>, <u>half</u>). Based on LAS vol. III, lists.

The number of words out of a possible four having a rounded vowel is shown. Where the number is underlined, this indicates that the dialect lacks (or virtually lacks) an unrounded /a/ vowel (cf. Isogloss 1 in Map 3).

A study of some of the features of morphology and lexical incidence occurring in a sample of recorded speech (Chapter 5 below) suggests that there is a linguistic system that could be described as the East End - probably the Glasgow - dialect.[30] There is variability within this system, e.g. between alternatives from Hibernian English and from West Central Scots (/ɛr/ and /er/) and between traditional dialect forms and interdialect forms (the term is from Trudgill, 1986), e.g. drap and droap. However, this variation was not observed to correlate with age, and even the link between /ɛr/ forms and Catholic ethnicity was very weak. It would seem that a distinctive urban dialect had emerged by about the turn of the century. This has itself been influential on other (especially Central) Scots dialects, a process no doubt accelerated by the dispersal of 'overspill' population (cf. Pollner's sociolinguistic study of Livingston New Town, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c).

The mixing of dialect systems can be historically abrupt when speakers become bidialectal (generally with the standard dialect) or, as in this case, when population movement creates a bidialectal community. However, one variety can also exert an influence on another by gradually infiltrating it (Thelander, 1980) through communication networks in which only a minority of speakers need be directly involved (Milroy and Milroy, 1985a; Trudgill, 1984, 1986). Other varieties of English continue to influence Glasgow dialect in this way.[31] Large cities like Glasgow participate more intensely in national and international networks of communication than small towns. The relationship between size, distance and intensity of communication (and therefore influence of various kinds) is sufficiently regular to be captured mathematically in a geographical model known as the gravity model and applied to linguistic geography by Trudgill (1974b). On this basis we would expect that London and Edinburgh would have a continuing influence on Glasgow, and that Edinburgh would be even more strongly influenced by Glasgow, with Belfast and Dundee also likely recipients of some Glasgow influence.[32]

We have already considered the ethnic mix in the Glasgow population. The Irish element has always been seen as linguistically crucial:

> An entirely new language is rapidly supplanting [Scotch], so that it is only in the smaller villages and rural districts that the Scotch language is now to be found in general use. This new language is popularly known as the "Glasgow-Irish," and has already several dialects, the principal being the Ayrshire-Irish, the Dundee-Irish, and the Dumfries-Irish. It is sometimes called Factory-Irish and occasionally Factory-Scotch, while in England it is generally known as Scotch-Irish.
>
> (Trotter, 1901: 23)

Glasgow dialect is likewise dismissed by Grant (SND, Introduction, Vol.I: xxvii) as 'hopelessly corrupt' because of 'the influx of Irish and foreign migrants'. Partly, this influence was to dilute the local Scots dialect, but there are also some specific Hibernian English traits in Glasgow dialect. The influence of Hibernian English can be difficult to trace, since Ulster Scots is itself based mainly on the dialect of the South-west of Scotland (J. Milroy, 1982). Some items which may be of Hibernian English origin are:

a) individual lexical items such as wan (one), wunst (once), twicet (twice);

b) the second person plural pronoun youse;

c) auxiliary have + a or 've, e.g. ' I would rather they had've been on the committee ...' Adams (1948) suggests that this may be a survival of Old English ge- before the past participle. (However, Jones [1985:167] also records an example from Tyneside);

d) sentence tags of the form so + pronoun + operator, e.g. so it is;

e) sure as a sentence adverb, e.g. 'Sure that's how a lot i people cannae get furniture ...'

f) Glasgow is intermediate between Edinburgh and Belfast in its intonation patterns. For 'open' meanings (e.g. yes/no questions) the terminal pitch movement in a tone group is a high rise as in other varieties of English. For 'closed' meanings (e.g. statements and wh-questions), in Belfast the final stressed syllable starts very low and rises, unlike the more usual English and Scots falling intonation. Glasgow speakers variably display both falls and low rises in this latter category (Cruttenden, 1981; Currie, 1979; Macafee, 1983a).

Other similarities between Glasgow and Northern Hibernian English accents are the centralised realisation of /u/ and the lowered and retracted realisation of /ɪ/ (not only before /l/ as in General Scots, e.g. Wullie). Belfast and Glasgow share some recent innovations such as a tendency to merge /ʍ/ with /w/ and /x/ with /k/ and to lenite intervocalic /ð/ - in Glaswegian to [ɻ], which is then captured by /r/, as [ɾ] realisations also occur (Macafee, 1983a). It should be borne in mind that Glasgow and Belfast are geographically close, and with Glasgow the larger city, it is likely to exert more influence on Belfast than vice versa. Also, in the case of the /ʍ, w/ and /x, k/ mergers, both may be influenced by non-Scottish, non-Hibernian varieties that no longer preserve the /ʍ/ and /x/ phonemes.

The influence of Highland English is slight, amounting only to miscellaneous lexical loans such as keelie and bothan. Present-day Highland English has high prestige in Scotland, being essentially Scottish Standard English, introduced as a second language. The nineteenth century migrants, however, must have included many who spoke English only imperfectly. As learners, they would have little influence on native speakers, except to add to the general milieu favouring Standard English as a lingua franca.

Both Hibernian and English influence would have favoured the simplification of strong verbs to one form for past tense and past participle. Trotter (1901) curiously traces the origins of 'Glasgow-Irish' to 'flunkey English' or dialectal English, spoken by 'bloods' and 'snobs' in Glasgow racing circles. These 'swells'

accepted past tense forms used as past participles as 'English grammar as used by real English' (1901: 24).

Younger speakers in Glasgow can be heard to vocalise post-vocalic and syllabic /l/ (e.g. well, table), and to substitute /f/ for /θ/.[33] Both of these are features of working-class London English. Younger speakers also occasionally delete word-final /r/ (cf. the speech of Edinburgh children described by Romaine, 1978).[34]

We turn now to the second feature of the urban dialect, the use of cant and slang. Slang is a term that lacks a strict definition. It refers to a category of lexis characterised by some or all of a set of properties which are themselves vague: slang items are colloquial neologisms coined in certain semantic fields where there tends to be a rapid turnover of fashionable terminology, e.g. tabu areas, expletives, superlatives, and abuse. The 'professional' registers of outcast groups, also termed cant and argot, are often also counted as slang, and merge into it. For a discussion, see Agutter (1979). Slang items are usually transient and as such are often missed or omitted from all but the specialised slang dictionaries, unless they are particularly widespread or occur in major written sources.

It probably is the case that slang is more copious in urban dialects, although Forces slang is widespread amongst men of a certain age, and cinema and now television spread American and General British slang very widely. Cities attract travellers such as showmen, circus people, market traders and other itinerants. These latter groups are a source of colourful slang, which, together with the cant of the criminal under-class, may spread into the urban dialect generally.

The SND usually omits items that could be considered slang, but appears to have made an exception for McArthur and Long's No Mean City (1935) (e.g. breadsnapper, clabber jigging, hairy n., winch v., and the dubious nit the jorrie). Whether because of lack of interest or lack of suitable informants, the SND collected very little Glasgow vocabulary from oral sources, and then only erratically: for instance the source (Aberdeen 15) for the Glasgow expression doolander, is the editor himself. The CSD (reviewed in

Macafee, 1985a) adds a few items such as nicknames for football clubs, but is largely tied to the parent dictionaries. The main dictionary of British slang, Partridge's Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (DSUE) again glosses No Mean City and draws on some other Glasgow gangland novels of similar vintage, but its coverage is apparently mainly of London, Australian and Forces slang. Phonological variation can make it difficult to locate material from Glasgow sources even when it does figure in Partridge (e.g. bampot = barmpot, cane = ken, chib = chive). The Glasgow dialect remains poorly documented. It was not difficult to add hundreds of words or senses or forms of words (mostly, of course, slang) to the SND in the course of a few months' fieldwork and with the help of teachers and pupils in a handful of Glasgow schools. This material is given in Appendix C.

The discussion in Chapter 4 suggests that older speakers in particular clearly distinguish slang from ordinary Scots words, and the material on individual words in Chapter 3 confirms that there are different patterns of variation (especially by sex, and sometimes by age) for words classifiable as slang.

1.7 Why Glasgow dialect matters

The urban dialect that results from the mixture described above lacks the overt prestige of classical Scots. The following is typical:

> Glaswegians, in their native habitat, have succeeded in debasing both the English language and the guid Scots tongue. What is left is city-slang at its worst, without an ounce of linguistic beauty to glean amongst the dross of Scottish-English-Irish-American verbiage.
>
> (Purdie, 1983: 60)

Several Glasgow novelists have apparently felt their linguistic environment to be a great handicap and have put this sentiment into the mouths of semi-autobiographical characters, for instance:

> This gutter patois which had been cast by a mode of life devoid of all hope or tenderness. This self-protective fobbing off language which was not made to range, or explore, or express; a language cast for sneers and abuse and aggression; a language cast out of the absence of possibility; a language cast out of a certain set of feelings - from poverties, dust, drunkenness, tenements, endurance, hard physical labour; a reductive, cowardly, timid, snivelling language cast out of jeers and violence and diffidence; a language of vulgar keelie scepticism.
>
> (Hind, 1966, 1984: 226)

Compare also the qualitative material collected by Macaulay (1977).[35]

Nevertheless, it is important to Scottish - and British - culture that Glasgow dialect should be taken seriously. There is, firstly, the question of social justice. (This will not be dealt with as such in this work.) Respect for the culture and language that a child brings to school is more easily exacted by visible minorities such as racial and religious groups. It will be ironic, as well as dangerously divisive, if middle-class liberal opinion in Britain is able to appreciate and respect the Eastern and Caribbean heritage, but not that of the urban working-class.

Respect is not the same thing as indiscriminate toleration. On the basis of the popular opinion summarised in Chapter 4, I would suggest that working-class parents' and grandparents' own definitions of respectable language should be consciously reinforced (by the mass media and the schools). That is, 'bad language' can and should be treated as a matter of personal conduct at which offence can be taken; but the use of the local dialect is best treated simply as a pedagogical matter. A teacher might insist on pupils speaking Standard English within the context of a lesson, just as he or she might insist on French or German. Older non-academic pupils, however, become resentful of attempts to 'ensure compliance with expressive, non-pedagogic or character moulding goals' (Reynold, 1976). For pupils like these to persist in speaking the local dialect is not cause for offence between

mature adults (the sort of basis on which they can often make a 'truce' with the school). This need not be the laissez-faire policy that Harrison deplores, where the blackboard jungle becomes a 'blackboard circus' and behaviour is tolerated that is not conducive to learning, application or respect for authority, thus cultivating unemployability (1983: 290).

Many of the conditions of population mobility and ease of communication with the world outside which always favoured dialect levelling in urban settings now apply equally to all parts of the country (the telephone and the private car, for instance, as well as the passive reception of radio and television). This 'demand-side' explanation for the importation of Standard English forms and especially lexical items, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The decline of Scots can be exaggerated. The SND idealises Scots by virtually excluding slang and urban dialect,[36] while, as we have seen, the methods of linguistic geography give a heightened image of the dialect of the oldest speakers at the time of the survey. These authoritative descriptions embody an ideology of Scots whereby it can only decline and must appear to decline very rapidly (Agutter and Cowan, 1981).[37]

By 'decline' I do not mean primarily the loss of speakers, although this is important. Scots was largely given up by the economically and politically powerful classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Scots is also declining in the sense that the corpus of the language is being eroded. This process will be seen below in Chapter 3 and to some extent in Chapter 5. Briefly, the stock of Scots words in active use is dwindling, the geographical distribution of many words is becoming patchy (producing relic distributions, or 'local', in the terminology of the CSD), and, stylistically, many words that were the usual everyday terms are becoming colourful and occasional in their use.

There are certain obstacles to measuring the rate of decline of Scots vocabulary, even in the crudest way. There is the problem of a base-line. The high point of the language is agreed to be the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the floreat of the great makars Henryson, Dunbar and Douglas, when anglicisation was as yet only a stylistic option in 'Chaucerian' verse (Aitken,

1983), and before the introduction of print, a strong anglicising factor in the late sixteenth century (Bald, 1926). However, a base-line as early as this would exclude a significant corpus of vocabulary created since, validated as 'guid Scots' for instance by its use in the work of Fergusson, Ramsay or Burns, and now also potentially declining. In the context of Glasgow dialect, the local terms whose decline is noticed by my informants may be no more than 100 to 150 years old.

A second problem is that of the normal rate of turnover of vocabulary. Some of the distinctively Scots vocabulary goes back to the Old English period, and much to the language contacts of the Middle Ages (Anglo-Danish, Anglo-Norman, Dutch, and early loans from Gaelic, Central French and Latin). However, it is not to be expected that every item introduced into the vocabulary would remain indefinitely even in ideal circumstances. The computerisation of the CSD data-base will soon make it possible to investigate the average life-span of various categories of dictionary entries (Robinson, 1987), so it would be pointless to attempt these estimates by hand. In this work I will assume that a long-term decline in the word-stock is self-evident, for the following reasons:

a) Scots continued to diverge from Southern (later Standard) English in every register up to the mid-sixteenth century. Thereafter, entire registers were switched over to Standard English;

b) most changes in material goods and methods of production now spring from national and international, rather than local innovation; enter world markets almost simultaneously; and come with ready-made (Standard English) terminology;

c) in the absence of significant bilingualism (in contrast to the medieval situation), new scotticisms must arise mainly through neologism and borrowing from other non-standard dialects of English;

d) neologisms coined by Scots writers in professional capacities, e.g. scientific and technical terms, are contributions to Standard English, not to Scots;

e) neologisms and loan-words into Scots - even if these are accepted as 'Scots' rather than 'slang' - could hardly balance the losses associated with the loss of registers and with material change.

If neologisms and imported non-standardisms are rejected as Scots, then, as suggested above, the language can change only to decline.

Urban dialects have more resources than rural ones to borrow or create new local words and idioms, though most neologisms will fall into the category of (ephemeral) slang. The emergence of a distinctive Glasgow dialect from the fairly stable 'urban village' life of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries could therefore be seen as an unusually strong trend towards local distinctiveness. Nevertheless, the underlying trend in Scots generally is one of dialect levelling, and in particular the erosion of the heritage of classical Scots vocabulary.

This outcome was not unwrocht-for and it is superficially rather surprising that the education system is so little congratulated upon it. However, closer examination shows that change in vernacular speech is by no means always in the direction indicated by the schools (L. Milroy, 1980). The lists of synonyms in Chapter 3 below show that local neologisms and British and American slang, as well as Standard English, are available as alternatives to Scots lexical items. Word-form (lexical incidence) shows interdialect and hyperdialectal forms. Morphology is augmented by borrowing from other British non-standard dialects (Kirk, 1981). In effect, those forms persist that are non-standard without at the same time expressing a distinctive conceptual order.

Thus the cause of greater mutual intelligibility is served in the most efficient way within a society that continues to be quite rigidly stratified by class. It remains only to ask - but not in the present work - whether the more unified culture into which we have entered is the one that we expected, and for which we have sacrificed much of the lived experience of our history.

Notes

1 With the exception of a few marginal items with a low functional load such as /ʒ/ and, in Scottish Standard English, /x/.

2 Chomsky (1975) sees his political analytical work as less challenging and therefore intellectually less worthwhile than his linguistic theory-building:

> For the analysis of ideology, ... a bit of open-mindedness, normal intelligence, and healthy skepticism will generally suffice. ... ... The problems that arise do not seem to me to pose much of an intellectual challenge. (3,4)

3 The problem arises whether the structured variation observed is to be regarded as pre-existing the act of speaking or whether it is an emergent property of speech in a social context. The structuralist approach demands that the language variety be describable as a set of abstract rules (langue, competence). Variation theory, or the 'quantitative paradigm' of sociolinguistics, follows Labov (1972b) in attempting to modify the rules of generative grammars into variable rules which will express in a single formula the range of variation in the data and the linguistic and extra-linguistic constraints upon it. Although the boundaries between varieties (languages and dialects) in the real world are insubstantial in time and space, it is considered necessary to impose boundaries on the empirical material in order to delimit the data that the rules must describe. Chomskyan grammar solves this problem by effectively limiting its enquiries to standard literary varieties, already artificially delimited. The attempt to introduce empirical, variable, data into this theoretical framework runs up against the working assumption of an idealised speaker in an idealised homogenous speech community

(Romaine, 1982b). Even though speakers behave differently, this assumption requires that they share the same rule system, and are thus enabled to understand each others's usage and its social significance. The problem remains theoretical rather than practical when the rules are only required to describe a finite corpus of empirical data varying within narrow linguistic bounds (e.g. the realisation of a phoneme, or the application or non-application of a rule deleting a phoneme).

4 An early exception is Heath (1980). Horvath (1985) uses principal components analysis to avoid this problem. Both discover the structure of groups in the sample from the linguistic data.

5 For instance, attempts to describe the speech of women in terms of its deviation from a male norm have been criticised by Cameron (1985) and Spender (1980). Reah (1982) criticises the assumption underlying Labov's (1972a) explanation of stylistic variation in speech, that more self-conscious styles are the same as more standard styles, since speakers can be self-consciously broad in their speech.

6 Linguists, on the other hand, tend to emphasise whatever differences are still in evidence, to the extent that sociolinguists apply the term vernacular, using it as the opposite of standard, to minute phonetic differences, and are prepared to take seriously the idea that speech communities are to be distinguished by the ordering of contraints on variable rules (cf. Milroy et al., 1983).

7 In the 1950s, in the case of the two linguistic surveys, over a wider span of time in the case of the SND. The SND is chiefly a record of the written language, but under Murison's editorship, a network of local sources was recruited to check the status of the draft dictionary entries.

8 Although there is a degree of reaction against this trend, in the form of a revival of ethnic identities in the West, the resort to organised, formal attempts to save elements of minority cultures and languages is itself a sign of lack of vitality. I will not take space here to review the literature in the sociology of language, since the phenomenon is so general in its broad outline, and the details of shift in bilingual contexts are not always relevant to bidialectal ones. Fasold (1984) provides an introduction to the subject, and the two collections of papers edited by Fishman (1968 and 1972) remain important.

9 There may be more specific reasons for the rapid burn-out of entrepreneurial drive in Glasgow. Jacobs (1985) presents a novel theory of macro-economics which accords a central place in economic life to cities. There is no space here to give more than the crudest summary of her argument, but it is apposite to our understanding of the decline of cities like Glasgow. The characteristic activity of a successful city is import-replacement, whereby imports become a stimulus to production, improvisation and growth, which may then expand outwards to create an economic region around the city. (The effect on the immediate region is seen as beneficial, but when the various forces exerted by a city impinge on more distant regions, they do so unpredictably and often destructively.) Since cities are at different points in the processes of growth and decline, national economic policies may be helpful to one and destructive to another. In particular, the consumption of cheap imports which are not being earned by the city's own productive activities is of no long-term value to economic life. The ideal economic unit is therefore the city state with its own currency, the modern exemplars being Hong Kong and Singapore. In a large nation with a number of cities, the feedback received from the currency will be appropriate to the largest city, but not necessarily to the other cities, and the disparity will increase with the passage of time. Thus London and its

region, the south-east of England, have come to dominate the British economy, and Glasgow, once the second city, has not created an economic region around it in the same way. In this situation, declining provincial cities like Glasgow can use political influence to extract subsidies from the city, but in a context of too-cheap imports (both foreign imports and those from other British cities) these simply disappear into consumption, and do not generate a burst of import-substitution.

At the same time, it should not be too readily assumed that the areas of Britain that are currently prospering are engaged in such healthy economic activity. The 'M25 corridor' in the south of England is heavily dependent on government defence contracts.

10 With recent closures and moves, the situation has worsened since 1985, when eight out of the ten major employers were non-Scottish (the figure quoted in Macafee, 1987). I am grateful to Michael Armstrong of the Glasgow District Planning Department for this information.

11 In other words, the internationalised finance interest has triumphed, but under some very peculiar rhetorical guises.

12 A recent and particularly good account can be found in Smout (1986). Checkland and Lamb, eds. (1982) is also especially valuable for its focus on health, statistics on health and mortality being the most substantial records of past poverty.

13 Latterly, rehabilitation rather than demolition has been favoured. The Labour local authority was for a long time hostile to the use of public funds to assist private owners (including slumlords). However, there was an acceptance after 1974 of a role for housing asssociations, who have done a great deal to rehabilitate the sounder tenements left after the slum clearance process. Indeed, Glasgow has managed to secure a disproportionate share of central government grants for rehabilitation (Robertson, 1985).

14 Including efficient sweatshops. This is ironic, since the best that the inner cities can now hope for is to attract sweatshops and low-paid service employment. One of the successes of the GEAR project in attracting employment has been the plan to build a leisure and retail centre on the site of the former engineering works at Parkhead Forge:

> 66M2CC: They're negotiatin another thing at the moment, Parkhead Forge.
> 66M4CB: Aye, forgoat tae tell ye aboot that, Parkheid Foarge.
> 66M2CC: Which took in thousands an thousands i workers. Now they're gaunnae build - they're gaunnae build a - an Asda! Shoppin Centre in it. If they've chased the people out the place, that was workin, who's gaunnae come in tae buy? They must be dependin on people comin in from the outskirts. For tae do away wi a work where people's earnin, an make them idle, an then put a shoppin centre up! That's no - it's no true. (55C)

15 The factory system of production developed out of the workhouse:

> When factory life did at last become the dominant feature of industrial activity it condemned the worker ... to the fate previously reserved for the pauper. (Laslett, 1983: 193)

16 M: Well, when Ah first went there it was very very strong Orange at the docks, and - naw, tae me certain gaffers just wouldnae start a Catholic. An of course ye goat a certain - Catholic gaffers - ye'd maybe get an oad one that didnae want much tae do wi the Protestant ones then, ye know. But it was mostly Protestants in the Glasgow docks, all comin from Northern Ireland in the first place, ye know. [...] Ah would imagine that's where the most i them stemmed from. An awfa lot i Irish at the Glasgow

docks, but there was never any trouble that way, let's put it that way, there wasnae any fightin amongst each other, or anythin like that. They were too bloomin busy workin! Workin hard for their money. Aye. [...] Each man that worked in the docks was allowed to take two sons intae the docks, right. Two sons only. that was it. If your father didn't hold a badge, then you couldn't get in tae the Glasgow docks. A right closed shop. ... Ye hear them talkin aboot closed shops now - ye could not get intae the Glasgow docks unless yer father was a docker before ye.
26M4PS: An when ye say a badge, what type i badge dae ye mean?
Alan: A union badge. Which you had tae pay every quarter. Ah mean, ye went in the morning for a job, ye'd tae put yer union badge up or ye wouldn't get a job. A very strong union, ye know. (83S)

17 There were Protestant bombings in Bridgeton and the Calton in the 1970s, linked to a small UDA and UVF presence in central Scotland (Bruce, 1985).

18 On the other hand, I have had some strange conversations, for instance one with 66F15 and 66F6PB in which Edward Kennedy figured as an IRA supporter. I have been assured (by 66M8PB) that the real Lord Provost of Glasgow is Cardinal Winning. Conversely, I have been assured that nobody ever really bothered about these things (66F4PC).

19 For instance, Bryant and Bryant (1982) quote a student study (early 1970s) on Govanhill, where the older residents are reported as complaining of 'rough Irish' causing a deterioration of the area.

20 46M9PS: Aw Ah can remember is ma mother's faither, right enough, but he was a very strict man. He was strict, ye know. Ye couldnae say a wrang word in front i him. Well, for instance, Ah can remember, Ah was only aboot four year

> auld, Ah can mind i it as plain as anythin, but. E was pokin the aul fire, the aul ribs, ye know the fire, wi the poker, an Ah asked a stupit question. Ah says, 'Is that poker waarm?' E just went like that oan ma legs. 'Don't ask such stupid questions.' Bugger burnt ma leg! That's true, John. [...] It was a stupit question, but that was the wey they - they were in thae days. (61B)

The youngest daughter was often expected not to marry, but to stay at home to look after the parents in their old age. Her social life would be circumscribed accordingly, from an early age, and she would be made to feel that inclinations that were encouraged in other girls were sordid and indecent in her. This was the case of 66F6PB, who nevertheless was secretly courted with her mother's connivance. Her husband turned out to be an invalid. He never worked after their marriage.

21 In seeking and gaining greater equality and independence, women have apparently lost some of this civilising power over men, resulting in a social crisis of family breakdown that Harvie for one attributes to ''growing instability and male irresponsibility' (1981: 68). There are some signs of a trend towards matriarchal families - the illegitmacy rate in Glasgow has risen from 6.5% to 15.3% (of a falling birth-rate) between 1930 and 1980 (Checkland and Lamb, eds., 1982, Appendix). Cornwell found that, although women tend to uphold the tabus that protect marriage, and consider it important that 'men should meet their financial obligations towards the women and children' (1985: 114), there may be changes in the air - some mothers would encourage pregnant daughters <u>not</u> to marry, since they can get a council house and the requisites of life in any case. (Most first pregnancies in this working-class district - Bethnal Green in London - are unplanned, but not, by that token, unwanted.)

22 There are some magnificent specimens of the Glasgow type of tower doocot in these spaces.

23 A scheme can gain a bad reputation, either because of the presence of anti-social tenants and bad neighbours or because of design faults in the structures themselves. Those who have the option begin to move out, and the hard-to-let properties begin to fill up with those who have no choice but to take the first tenancy offered to them: people made homeless by eviction or marital breakdown, single parents, and so on. Of course, these people are not necesarily anti-social, but they are no match for those who are.

I was also told (by 46F11CC) that Barrowfield was used in the 1950s, when the scheme was new, and before it acquired its bad reputation, to rehouse families who had a member suffering from tuberculosis.

24 If Seabrook's (1984) analysis is correct, the only permanent solution to this type of problem is to put in karate experts as resident housing officials. Civilised standards of justice are no match for the instant retaliation by which the hard men enforce their rule of disorder. The quality of life of everyone comes to depend on who is inside and who is at large at any given time.

25 I am grateful to P. G. Pinnacle for this rhyme.

26 There is a particularly colourfully decorated Orange Lodge in Tullis Street from which small bands issue most Sunday mornings in the summer with fife and drum.

Edwin Morgan's 'King Billy' describes the funeral of Billy Fullerton, the leader of the Billy Boys:

> Bareheaded, in dark suits, with flutes
> and drums, they brought him here, in procession
> seriously, King Billy of Brigton, dead
> from Bridgeton Cross ... (1985: 29,30)

66F3PC: He was a gentleman tae speak tae, int that right?
66F2PC: Aye, that's right.
66F3PC: A gentleman. An yet he was the head i the Billy - he was -
46F8PD: The Billy Boy.
66F3PC: King of the Billy Boys. Photies used tae be in the paper. (44B).

27 66F6PB is a woman of this type. Off tape, I heard tales of some of her exploits, including her own story of how she dealt with a troublesome boy in the same tower block, who was shouting abuse and putting things through her letter-box. She sat one evening beside her door with a hammer in her hand, and when the wee fingers came through the letter-box she thumped them. It never happened again.

28 Or, in more modern guise, 'sausages and pianas' (46M7PS).

29 I owe this observation to A. J. Aitken.

30 A manuscript letter of 1892, from a George MacDonald to a Norwegian linguist, Johann Sturm, describes the linguistic situation thus:

> ... Glasgow has grown with great rapidity within the last forty years. The great bulk of the working class population are in consequence not genuine Glasgowmen. Either they or their parents have come from some other part of Scotland, bringing the local dialect with them. We thus have in our city - and will have for another generation - a Babel of dialects. At the same time there can be no doubt that there is a Glasgow dialect - a something by which a Glasgow man can be detected anywhere. (transcribed by R. J. Lyall from the original, Oslo Universitetsbibliotek, MS 8^{0}, 2402 F6/IV, ff. 20 ff.)

The history of the urban dialect is outwith the scope of the present work. The nineteenth century material deserves critical examination. A distinctive mixture of General Scots, cant and unique items is found in Strathesk's (1884) Hawkie, edited from a chapman-beggar's own account of his life. Donaldson (1986: 91) warns that the Glasgow dialect of the nineteenth century novelist David Pae and others following him appears to be based on fanciful literary representations of English cant.

31 Whether the result of dialect contact is linguistically abrupt or gradual depends on the nature of the linguistic systems involved. In the case of phonological change, there can be abrupt transfer of words from one phoneme to another, or gradual approximation of two phonetic variants (Trudgill and Foxcroft, 1978; J. Milroy, 1984). Interdialect forms can arise as compromises between two systems, e.g. of lexical incidence. Lexical changes, however, mostly involve the simple, abrupt, addition of an item to the repertoire of a dialect.

32 London is a long way behind in the scale of gravitational pull from Glasgow, but some Scots has entered into British slang, e.g. fly adj. and melt v. The Glasgow-London route seems likely. The glottal stop [ʔ] as a realisation of /t/ may actually have originated in nineteenth century Glasgow before becoming a feature of London English (cf. Wells, 1982: 261). MacDonald's 1892 letter (see above, note 30) discusses the 'glottal catch' as a stereotype of Glasgow speech:

> Strangers hurl at us as a sort of Shibboleth such sentences as 'Pass the wa'er bo''le, Mr Pa'erson'.

The glottal stop was one of the features noted in Trotter's description of 'Glasgow-Irish' (1901).

33 <filfy> was written more than once in the responses to the schools questionnaire, and a third year boy at Albert Secondary wrote <bowthing> (presumably bowfin). A girl at Queen's Park supplied the reverse spelling <whey> for wi: cf. the merger of /w,ʍ/ mentioned above.

34 Skipping rhymes presently sung in Bridgeton include: 'Wee Sam, a piece on jam,' 'Wee Betty, a tin i spaghetti,' and 'Wee Linda, a boattle i ginger.'

35 I will not address the question whether Glasgow dialect is Scots (but see Chapter 4 for the terminology used by informants). If there were a standard variety of Scots (in more than literary use), Glasgow dialect would be 'non-standard Scots' (as would the dialect of the North-east, for instance), but in the absence of a focussed and codified Standard Scots, the term 'non-standard Scots' is meaningless.

36 The population who had left, and in the 1950s were still leaving, the land for urban life or emigration, were thereby cut off from the traditions perceived as authentic. At best they carried random fragments to contribute to what is often seen as a mixed and degraded urban argot. The speakers of the lexically rich rural dialects are a demographic rump in modern Scotland - whereas in the eighteenth century half of the population lived north of the Forth-Clyde line, the population is now concentrated in the industrialised Central Belt, and about one third of the population lives in the conurbation centred on Glasgow.

Of course, it would not be practical or desirable to include ephemeral slang indiscriminately in the Scottish dictionaries. However, some of this material will warrant a place if it becomes established in the language, losing its stylistic restriction as slang. Well-established items like bampot and ginger (soft drink) have been excluded, presumably as slang. There are also occasional neologisms associated with new referents, which are legitimate candidates for

inclusion (the Scottish National Dictionary Association's publicity material cites multy, a multi-storey flat or block). There are plans to up-date and supplement the SND and CSD, finances permitting (Macleod, 1987), and this would allow the implicit definition of Scots to be widened. The SND was, however, conceived as complete and final when vol.10 appeared in 1975.

37 Any new study that changes the terms of reference and asks about words in active use by speakers of various ages is in danger of making the recent decline seem very dramatic. On the contrary, there is no a priori reason to suppose that the rate of decline is any faster now than at other periods, and certainly not that we are now witnessing a terminal decline.

2. Theory and methodology

2.1 Theory

As explained in Chapter One, the methods used in this research were partly sociolinguistic, insofar as a sample of speakers was obtained, and an analysis made of their recorded speech (Chapter 5). However, the methods have been adapted to suit the locality and the aims of the research, and approaches developed in dialectology and oral history have also been used to arrive at a more rounded view of Glasgow dialect in its social context than quantitative sociolinguistics alone would have afforded. However, the theoretical discussion in this chapter will concentrate on sociolinguistics, as this is the currently dominant paradigm in variation studies.

2.1.1 Quantitative sociolinguistics

There are several good introductions to sociolinguistics that trace its development and explain its main concepts, methods and findings (e.g. Dittmar, 1976; Petyt, 1980; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980; Hudson, 1980; Downes, 1984; Wardhaugh, 1986). Chapter 2 of Gumperz (1982) is particularly useful for its historical outline of the different traditions within twentieth century linguistics which puts sociolinguistic work in context.

The basic methods of quantitative sociolinguistics were established by William Labov in the 1960s in Martha's Vineyard and New York's Lower East Side (1972a). Under his influence the study of speech variation moved away from the intellectual breadth (but methodological 'softness') of traditional dialectology, with its historical and ethnological interest. Instead there has been an alignment with the positivist tradition associated with Chomsky. Sociolinguistics attempts to bridge the gap between the empirical study of speech (de Saussure's _parole_, Chomsky's _performance_) and the abstract construction of models of language (de Saussure's _langue_, Chomsky's _competence_) (de Saussure, 1959; Chomsky, 1965). It does this by concentrating on the linguistic levels identified

by structuralism as the core of linguistics (syntax, morphology, and in sociolinguistics, especially phonology). An objectively selected sample of speakers is tape-recorded and the speech analysed in terms of a small number of quantifiable linguistic variables, which can be seen to correlate with extra-linguistic dimensions such as age, sex, ethnicity and some index of social class. Labov (1972a) was also able to manipulate the interview to obtain a range of styles.

The most important contributions of these early studies were, firstly, to demonstrate that variation previously considered random or 'free' is actually highly structured and thereby conveys information about the speaker, and that different social classes in cities like New York, so far from speaking 'different languages', differ only quantitatively on many variables, allowing them to be characterised as belonging to the same speech community. (However, on this latter point, it is possible to give a quite false impression of the linguistic distance between the classes by concentrating solely on phonological variables.) Moreover, speakers vary their style (in the narrowly sociolinguistic sense of style, i.e. along the standard / non-standard continuum) according to formality, exhibiting this sociolinguistic competence even at an early age (Romaine, 1979, in Edinburgh traced its development from six to ten year olds).

Secondly, Labov's work produced important insights into the mechanisms of linguistic change. Labov tested speakers in various ways to ascertain that they were able to notice and respond to the social information encoded in his linguistic variables, and established further that there was a relationship between speakers' sensitivity to variants and the occurrence of aberrant patterns of correlation between linguistic and social variables, such as the second highest class having more prestigious scores and thus 'crossing over' the highest, in the most formal styles (postvocalic /r/ in New York) (Labov, 1972a). The prestige attaching to linguistic variants from their use by higher class speakers was identifed as the motivation for their spread to other social strata (seen also in age differences, stylistic variation, and in the lead of women over men of the same class). Phonetic distance came to be seen as a metaphor of social distance.

With data from black youths in New York, Labov (1972b) attempts to explain the adherence of the lower classes to non-standard speech forms, despite the forces of linguistic prestige. In this study he employs another instrument borrowed from sociology, the social network. The strongest and most consistent Black English Vernacular was obtained from the core gang members, while the speech of the boys on the fringes of the gang network - the 'lames' - was more affected by the norms of the standard. The teenage peer-group is thus seen as the locus of an anti-school culture, which amongst other things confers positive values on the vernacular. Similar findings were reproduced in a British context (Reading) by Cheshire (1982). Trudgill (1972) gives further substance to the concept of a covert prestige balancing the overt prestige of Standard English and higher class accents. This was seen in his Norwich study in a cross-over at the bottom end of the class hierarchy, with the upper working-class producing more vernacular scores than the lower working-class (centralised realisations of of /ɛ/ before /l/), and confirmed by the tendency of men to under-report their usage of the standard when directly asked, which leads Trudgill to an explanation in terms of an association between the vernacular and (especially working-class) ideas of masculinity. (But as we have seen, the concept of masculinity is tied up with double standards, cf. 1.4 above.)

The network method was taken up and applied by L. Milroy in Belfast (1980), in this case with adults. Milroy was privileged to be able to spend time in the homes of some of her informants, recording family and neighbours as they dropped in. The strength of networks in three areas of the city was found to correlate with linguistic variation, in one notable case even over-riding the usual sex pattern (Milroy and Milroy, 1978): where young women had the 'multiplex' networks characteristic of men in the traditional working-class community (working and socialising together as well as living near each other, and perhaps also having kinship ties), while men of the same age group had a high level of unemployment, it was the women who produced the more vernacular results (for backing of /a/ in non-pre-velar environments).

In a later paper, Milroy and Milroy (1985a) show that individuals with loose network affiliations can act as links between closely-knit networks, and thus as importers of innovation into networks. Trudgill (1986: 56) ascribes a similar role to 'fifth columnists', children whose parents are not local, and who fail to acquire the local dialect and accent fully.

Other research has developed the Labovian approach in various directions, for instance correlating linguistic variables with other dimensions of social identity such as social mobility (Labov, 1966), social ambition (Douglas-Cowie, 1978) and urban integration (Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985); and considering individual life histories in more detail (Sankoff and Laberge, 1978; Newbrook, 1982). The linearity of phonetic variables has been challenged (Romaine, 1978) and some attempts have been made to overcome this problem (J. Milroy et al., 1983). The range of linguistic variables has been extended beyond phonology to grammar (for instance G. Sankoff, 1980; Romaine, 1982) as also in the work of creolists (for instance Bickerton, 1975; LePage and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Quantitative studies have been made in traditional dialect areas (for instance, Macaulay, 1977; Johnston, 1980; Petyt, 1985). The number and variety of linguistic variables examined has been made more comprehensive (for instance Pellowe et al., 1972; Horvath, 1985).

2.1.2 The dynamic model

The work of Bickerton (1975) on Guyanese creole English provides the main alternative model to the quantitative, correlational methods developed by Labov and his school. He places variability in the context of a decreolisation continuum (i.e. a space of variation ranging from deep creole to a regional standard).

The Labovian approach is adapted to the study of variation in accents in communities where all speakers have a dialect in common.[1] Bickerton's approach is in many ways more appropriate to the study of traditional dialects, and the comparison has been made in the past between a decreolisation continuum and the linguistic situation in Lowland Scotland (Romaine, 1975).

Linguistic change, which in both these situations is change towards international Standard English, is seen as progressing in stages, or waves (Bailey, 1973). Individual speakers reflect, in their synchronic linguistic practice, some stage in the diachronic process of change: different items are variable for different speakers. In the present work, as in L. Milroy (1980), the limitation of the sample to working-class speakers allows Scots items to be included as variables which would simply be absent from the speech of those higher up the social scale.[2]

In Bickerton's analysis, positions on the continuum are abstract levels, not fixed locations of actual speakers (1975: 116, fn.1). The same speaker can produce on different occasions texts that are assignable to widely separated points on the continuum. However, such speakers are in a minority. Most vary their code within a certain range of the continuum. This is paralleled for Scots by Aitken's (1979) impressionistic distinction between 'style-switchers' and 'style-drifters'. In both situations, abrupt switching is associated with rural speakers. However, it is hard to know what a speaker's range of varieties might be, since the researcher is able to observe only certain situations - many of them inhibiting, if only because of the observer's presence. The notion of sociolinguistic competence (2.1.1 above) extends Chomsky's basic idea of competence - a view of human creativity curiously emptied of intelligence, which reduces linguistic skills to the acting out of innate abilities. Code-switching, however, like bilingualism, has to be seen as a social skill, requiring motivation, practice, and perhaps also talent.

There is one important difference between traditional dialects and creoles in their relation to the standard variety. Bickerton (1975) stresses the degree of grammatical change within the decreolisation continuum. This has come about by successive restructurings of the creole syntax in the direction of the standard.[3] In this situation, then, variable language is not simply a mixture in different proportions of two or more originally distinct systems. The closest parallel in dialectology is the existence of <u>interdialect</u> forms (Trudgill, 1986; cf. Chambers and Trudgill's 1980 'fudged lects'). Some examples are described below

(Chapter 5), e.g. stroang rather than strang or strong; doannae rather than dinnae or don't. However, it has yet to be suggested that there can be more than one level of interdialect structure. (Every degree of quantitative mixture can, of course, be found.) A social dialect continuum is therefore a considerably simpler phenomenon than a decreolisation continuum.

The main descriptive tool in Bickerton's work is the implicational scale. His samples of speech can be arranged so that each is a step more standardised than the one before, and the presence of a given linguistic feature in the data implies that the earlier features will also be present.[4] An attempt is made below (Chapter 5) to arrange samples of Glasgow speech on a crude implicational scale, but the result is negative.[5] This indicates that the samples are all more or less of the same dialect system, simply mixed in different proportions with Standard English, though including a small element of interdialect forms. These are not sufficiently numerous in the data to investigate whether implicational relations hold amongst them.[6]

In a geographical dialect continuum there are often discontinuities caused by geographical or political barriers to communication that allow us to speak (loosely) of dialect areas. These discontinuities can be seen on composite dialect maps as bundles of isoglosses (see for instance Wakelin, 1972; Glauser, 1974; Speitel, 1978). No such natural breaks were discernible in Bickerton's decreolisation continuum: 'the isoglosses obstinately refuse to bundle' (1975: 77). He therefore deals with the idiolects of individual speakers, and the continuum provides the necessary conceptual framework for relating these. In this way, he avoids imposing artificial boundaries on the linguistic data to divide it into (a) discrete system(s) as de Saussure's idealisation of langue would demand.[7] He avoids also the arbitrary grouping of speakers into class and age categories.[8]

However, the problem of identifying and accounting for sub-varieties within a linguistic continuum is a recurrent one. In the Saussurean model, langue is assumed to be stable, so empirical study of the stability of language varieties was for a long time precluded. The work of LePage in this area is therefore an

important breakthrough (1980). He introduces the idea of focussing, whereby relatively stable patterns of variation emerge gradually from what can be quite chaotic situations of linguistic contact, as part of the process of social construction. He has observed over a long period the emergence of new social and linguistic identities in, amongst other societies, the rapidly changing ex-colony of Belize. L. Milroy (1982) has applied LePage's insight to the quite recent emergence of an urban vernacular out of a situation of dialect mixture in Belfast.

It is possible for one pole of a continuum to be focussed and the other not, and there may be relatively focussed varieties between the extremes. Thus, in Scotland, Scottish Standard English is focussed and its norms legitimised in Scottish schools, whereas the norms of Scots are a matter of indifference to most, contention to a few. The diffuseness of Scots presents a methodological problem in Chapter 5 below, where an attempt is made to measure the Scots-ness of speech samples - ordinarily it is in some sense the standard-ness of a sample that is measured.[9]

The idea of the focussing of language varieties as a historical process makes possible a dialectical view of linguistic change. Presumably, individuals respond to similar exigencies in similar ways, and linguistic behaviours thus harden gradually into the type of regularities that can be described as rules. Hymes' criticism that sociolinguistics offers only 'half a dialectic' (1977: 93), society acting on the individual but not the individual on society, can now be met. Individuals not only select from the language as they find it, but adapt, modify and add to existing structures in response to changing cultural, social and material conditions. Under favourable circumstances, quantitative change can be transformed into qualitative, a process in which child language acquisition of course plays an important part.[10]

The emergence of 'public versions' of linguistic issues (Chapter 4 below) is one mechanism of focussing where a non-standard variety like Glasgow dialect is concerned. Paradoxically, the decline of a proportion of Scots lexis in Glasgow (see Chapters 3 and 4 below) seems to be stimulating self-consciousness about the dialect, expressed for instance in the

local press and in the emergence of a local dialect literature. As Milton (1983) points out, the appearance of a dialect literature is often an unhealthy sign, since the typical dialect writer belongs to the first generation to be exposed to the full weight of a new standardising influence (in the case of the North-East Scots dialect writers born in the 1860s, this was the centralised school system). On internal evidence, the Glasgow dialect studied here would seem to be fairly focussed in practice, as indicated in Chapter 5 below by the apparent lack of implicational scaling, or of age variation at the levels of morphology and lexical incidence, and the apparent decline of ethnic differentiation (the /ɛr/ variable). On the other hand, the continuing uneven loss of lexis and word-forms makes the Scots dialects increasingly diffuse in relation to the partially codified norms of 'the gude Scots tongue' (Murison, 1977; cf. Macafee, 1981).

2.1.3 The 'evaluation problem'

Weinreich et al. (1968) specify, as one of the problems that a theory of linguistic change must address, the 'evaluation problem', that is, the social meaning of linguistic variation and change. In structural linguistics, to 'know' a language is to know an abstract system of rules, so that to 'know' a variable language is, by the same token, to know the correlations between linguistic and social parameters. The 'meaning' of variation is simply the shifting demarcations amongst social groups. In the light of subsequent developments in linguistics, this now seems too shallow. Structural linguistics generally has little to say about meaning in any useful sense.[11] As Fowler complains:

> ... there has so far been little detailed linguistic research into sociologically and ideologically interesting language. ... As for sociolinguistics, linguistic variation has been studied largely as an index of such sociological variables as stratification, role and status. Semantically empty variables such as single phonemes have been observed ... with little attention to the mediation of social meanings by varying linguistic structures. (1981: 27)[12]

A fundamentally different view of the nature of information processing has emerged from artificial intelligence (see de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981). Rather than unproblematic exchanges of information, guaranteed by shared rules, as in the structuralist idealisation, communication is seen to involve contextualised interpretation and intelligent guessing and probing at the other's intentions. This is likewise Gumperz' (1982) view (his term is 'recursive hypothesis testing'). The meaningfulness of sociolinguistic behaviour is missed in correlational studies:

> Language usage surveys can provide information about general trends in behavior. But since the interactive strategies, the constraints that govern participants' strategies vis-à-vis each other are not considered, they cannot account for the human ability to contextualize interpretation. Hence assumptions about the relationship of statistically analyzed sociolinguistic indices to individual behavior are not testable within the framework of group oriented sociolinguistic theory. (Gumperz, 1982: 35)

Code-switching and its capacity to express meanings will not form part of the present research, but it should be apparent from the emotive values attached to Glasgow dialect versus Standard English in general (Chapter 4 below) and individual words in particular (Chapter 3 below) that there is plenty of scope for the indirect expression of meanings (such as friendliness or hostility, approval or criticism, acceptance or rejection, power, status, and social distance) via code-selection and code-switching (including 'drifting'). (See Brown and Levinson, 1978: 115ff; and Macafee, 1983: 20ff.)

The evaluation problem as formulated also excludes historical considerations. This again is an inheritance from de Saussure's separation of synchronic and diachronic study. Synchronic studies of language attitudes have been concerned with prestige, overt and covert, and more broadly with status (as the source of the overt prestige of the written standard and the middle-class speech related to it) and peer-group solidarity (as the source of covert

prestige). Recently, Milroy and Milroy (1985b) have preferred to write of social and community norms, rather than status and solidarity.

L. Milroy's (1980) data is described in the context of social networks, but she also utilised diachronic information, giving a view of the Belfast vernacular as an entity existing in time.[13] Labov (1972b), however, equates the vernacular with the highly-specific quantitative sociolinguistic behaviour of core members of teenage gangs. Butters (1984) points out the difficulties of this position. Those who deviate from the model are not genuine vernacular speakers for Labov, even though they may be accepted as such by speakers of Black English Vernacular in practice. Adolescent groups can be a good source of broad speech, but it is absurd to set up the street culture and its associated styles as <u>the</u> vernacular culture and language, and teenage delinquents as the guardians of the vernacular, as Cheshire (1982) also seems to be in danger of doing. What is lacking here is, firstly, an understanding of traditional working-class culture, and secondly, a historical perspective which would allow the vernacular to be seen as the vehicle of a cultural heritage.[14]

If all of history is reduced to the single anodyne term 'change', then it is inevitable that, as Horvath (1985: 3) points out, sociolinguistics will make all social settings appear the same. Ultimately, the subject must reduce (through abstraction away from specific historical circumstances) to a theory of naturalness in linguistic change and contact, not a theory, far less a critical analytical practice, of <u>parole</u>.

2.1.4 Codability

If linguistic differentiation served only to express group membership (2.1.1 above), then any arbitrary variation would suffice, and indeed groups that give up their traditional language or dialect can still express their ethnicity through a creole, for instance, or even simply a distinctive accent of the dominant language (Giles, 1979).[14] As Halliday <u>et al</u>. (1964: 85) note with disapproval, as dialect lexis is lost, the term <u>dialect</u> comes

to be applied to differences merely of lexical incidence (as indeed is done in the present work).

Linguists are accustomed to regarding the relationship between meaning and form as arbitrary, and to illustrating this by citing synonymous terms from different languages (e.g. tree = arbre), but to appreciate the historical congruity of a culture and its language, we have to recognise that some meanings have in practice been lexically encoded in one language (or dialect) and not in another. The vocabulary of a language reveals what cognitive categories are highly codable, i.e. shared, named, and easily accessible to thought (Brown, 1958, Chapter 7). I do not propose to develop this line of argument in detail, nor to make a semantic classification of the Glasgow dialect lexis discussed in this work, but it may help us to comprehend the dialect-speaking community's cultural losses if we bear in mind some of the ways in which codability is language- (or dialect-) specific.

The simplest case is where some object is found in the material culture of one group and not another. In linguistic contact, the name of such a referent is usually introduced along with the object.[15] Elastics/ Chinese ropes/ chinks (3.2.2 below) is an example of a new referent within the sub-culture of children (which is relatively insulated from the dominant culture).[16]

Like material objects, culturally specific practices, crafts, skills, institutions and so on, are separable from the traditional language and can be carried on in the context of an adopted language (though their original name may be borrowed into the latter). Again children's games provide examples: see 3.2 and Appendix C below. Rituals like creelin the bride-to-be, or guisin at Hallowe'en (3.2.7), and verbal genres like sherrickin (3.9.3) would also be included here.

Even without the existence of distinctive referents, concepts are differently organised in different languages. Cognitive systems have some visible expressions in behaviour, but their nature is intrinsically linguistic.[17] The language points to the distinctions that someone acquiring it must learn to make:

> The total list of ... categories that a child must learn is a cognitive inventory of its culture. (Brown, 1958: 195)

Some recent work linking dialect and culture in the British Isles includes North (1982), which also provides a review of the literature, Widdowson (1972), Henry (1985), Mackay (1987) and Fenton (1985-86, 1986, 1987).

For individuals, cognitive categories are filled not only with vicarious learning, but with direct experience. Words can act, then, as triggers to personal memories. In the fieldwork for the present research, asking about dialect words turned out to be a very good method of eliciting personal anecdotes ('private versions') (Macafee, forthcoming).

Areas of special interest to a people are more finely differentiated, e.g. the Subanum terminology of skin diseases (Frake, 1961). Within a complex society, the division of labour is reflected in the specialist terminologies of crafts and professions. Putnam (1975: 227-99) writes of a 'division of linguistic labour' whereby some people in a society are professionally required to know the identifying criteria of a category (e.g. gold as a metallic element), while other simply use the term. The power to classify and confer names is a kind of symbolic potency, and it is a power that élites abrogate to themselves - in modern western societies, these are the experts and the advertisers. The main areas of resistance are children's language (James, 1979, 1982) and the 'anti-language' of delinquents and criminals (Halliday, 1976; cf. 3.6.12 below). The slang of these groups figures largely in any list of non-standard neologisms (cf. Appendix C). The adoption of Standard English terms, brand names, and so on, replacing or marginalising local dialect words, can be seen as a loss of cultural potency, and is so felt by many creative writers. In the areas of life that still resist encroachment from modern influences, traditional sayings help to form an insulating barrier against these influences (Widdowson, 1972).

Phenomena can be categorised at different levels of contrast: e.g. birds are distinguished from insects, then within the category

of birds (as the generic or superordinate term) we have doos, speugs, stuckies, etc. (to cite the bird life of the inner city). Generic terms are not always found, e.g. it is said that the Guaraní, who distinguish a wide variety of parrots, have no generic term for 'parrot'. Brown (1958: 257) considers that the existence of generic and specific terms for the same phenomena is a sign of a more differentiated society, with a linguistic division of labour (to use Putnam's expression). Frake (1961) however, sees it as a sign that the phenomenon is talked about in a greater number of distinct social contexts: the Subanum make their small talk about ailments as well as discussing them seriously. This is an aspect of the relationship between standard and dialect lexis that derserves further attention. Here we can only note that when loan-words, including standard terms, enter a lexicon, the re-organisation of the semantic field that often follows can involve these different levels of contrast. An example might be the restriction of sugarallie (3.3.5) to refer to hard liquorice stick, while the cognate liquorice itself is both the generic and, in contrast to sugarallie, a specific term. (Sugarallie, with its restricted role, is the marked term, liquorice, which functions at both levels, is the unmarked term.) Other cases of the dialect word becoming restricted to a specific, obsolescent, type of the phenomenon will be found in Chapter 3 (see e.g. 3.5.2, 3.5.4, 3.5.10).

So far we have considered only denotation, but much of the uniqueness of a language lies in the encoding of a constellation of denotations and connotations, particularly through etymological derivation and metaphorical transfer. For instance, waggity-wa (3.5.3) is a fairly transparent compound, embodying an imagery of motion; butts (3.6.2) potentially recalls the earlier cart with water butts; swedger (3.3.1), if it is indeed to be derived from assuage, potentially connotes the effect of sweets on the appetite or digestion - 'potentially' because such etymological connections are for most people and on most occasions 'dead' (Brown, 1958: 242). But they form part of a collective memory that can be drawn upon as a cultural resource. Similarly with metaphor. Obvious examples here would include turn it up (3.6.5), balloon,

sody-heidit (both under 3.7.1), chanty wrassler (3.7.4), bachle (3.7.7) and boot (3.7.11). What is encoded in a metaphor is not just the denotation, but the assertion of a similarity between two phonomena (Lakoff and Johnston, 1980: ch.22). In these ways, a lexicon embodies past perceptions, insights, prejudices and witticisms.

We might also add, as peculiarities of encoding, word-play, e.g. occifer (3.9.2); spelling pronunciations, e.g. thibbet (3.4.2); diminutives, e.g. the -ie- of fernietickles (3.6.3); reduplication, e.g. mingmong (3.7.12); and sound symbolism, e.g. the oral closure and nasal release produced by the /ŋ/ sound in numerous words for 'smelly' (3.6.10).

The vocabulary, then, is part of a cultural heritage that includes idioms, clichés, proverbs, greetings and other ritual utterances, proverbs, rhymes, jingles, tongue-twisters, and verbal art in whatever form.

2.2. Methodology

2.2.1. Fieldwork

Little of the experience of fieldwork finds its way into published accounts of research. Penhallurick (1985) and Thomas (1982) are helpful, and Shuy et al. (1968) is especially useful because of their frank exposure of fieldworkers' mistakes and weaknesses: it is reassuring to find that one's failings are not unprecedented. But it is only by listening to other people's work that one can really gain an impression of the interactions that take place. I am therefore particularly grateful to fellow researchers and archivists who have allowed me to listen to sociolinguistic, folklore and oral history tapes.[18]

Sociolinguists sometimes write as if future development of the discipline might eliminate the unpredictability of interaction between the fieldworker and the informant (Pellowe et al., 1972; L. Milroy, 1986), but as Bickerton (1975) maintains, choice of style is not fully determined by any external factors. In Labovian studies it has generally been easy to manipulate interviewees into

more formal styles, especially if their literacy could be relied upon, in which case reading lists and passages can be used. But several studies have failed to record satisfactorily casual speech. This is presumably why Macaulay (1977) and Pollner (1985a) do not attempt to separate casual and careful styles of conversation in their data, and Johnston (1983), attempting to do this, finds different variables going in contradictory directions by style.

It is notoriously difficult to record spontaneous broad dialect speech. Nevertheless, it has been done, for instance by the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh (transcriptions appear in the journal, Tocher), by Miller et al. working on Edinburgh and Lothian speech (see e.g. Miller and Brown, 1982), and by creolists working on British Black English (e.g. Sutcliffe, 1982). So much depends on the fieldworker's rapport with the interviewee(s), that the fieldworker's own personality, background, and social skills are the crucial factors determining the success of the interview. Nevertheless, the format of the interview can help or hinder the fieldworker in her or his task.

The impressions I was able to form, from contact with other practitioners, and from listening to tape-recorded interviews, led me to identify five problem areas.

The first problem is that of content. The classical sociolinguistic approach to the interview makes it difficult to maintain a genuine interest in the content of the conversation. Labov felt that the topic of language made informants self-conscious and therefore stilted in their speech:

> Generally speaking, an interview which has as its professed object the language of the speaker will rate higher on the scale of formality than most conversation. (1972a: 79,80)

To avoid this, the fieldworker can either present some topic other than language as the ostensible subject of enquiry - which is less than ethical - or else dangle conversational hooks which will often be bland and desultory, since they have to be useful with a wide range of individuals. In these circumstances, the fieldworker has

to have a markedly vivacious personality, and be able to take an interest in whatever direction the conversation takes.

The second problem is that of group dynamics. One-to-one interviews and group sessions have very different dynamics. This could be theorised in various ways (Gilkes, 1983, gives a useful review of theories in social psychology). In terms of costs, the presence of known others increases the cost of convergence on the outsider's speech, as against self-exposure as a vernacular speaker. The group tends to dilute any fascination the educated status of the interviewer may have for the interviewees. There is a danger that an individual within the group will in fact attract its hostility by seeming to seek approval from the outsider, and the fieldworker has to beware of this happening.

In terms of politeness, a stranger who is clearly a class-outsider tends to receive the negative politeness of the standard variety (this avoids imposition), but the larger the group the less likely any one person is to attract such attentions. A group is likewise a safer environment for the outsider to offer the more risky positive politeness of using the vernacular (Brown and Levinson, 1978; Macafee, 1983).

Not only the quality of the recorded speech, but the quality of the discussion is improved by interviewing in groups. As Cornwell (1985) points out, the expert is the modern face of authority, and people tend to place considerable social distance between themselves and an outsider asking direct questions. Stories and anecdotes offered as illustrations are more likely to bring out individual experiences, and group discussions also favour more private accounts than one-to-one interviews.

This brings the risk of interference with the object of study: private accounts thus aired are legitimised and perhaps incorporated into the evolving public account:

> 66M7PD: We just - we just - of course, a loat i these gemms, ye know, they hadnae really - we hadnae really names for them. It was just things that happened, ye know. An then, of course, when the likes i you people started takin these censuses, an

> comin round an askin questions, then people started tae realise they had a name. (...) Well, a loat i the gemms we played, we'd nae specific names for them. Ah don't know where the names came fae efterwards. (52C)

The third problem is that of the speech event. Wolfson (1976) argues that the interview is a recognised speech event in English:

> which gives one of the participants in the interview event the unilateral right to ask questions and the other(s) the obligation to answer them. The distribution of power between the participants is thus clearly delimited and accepted as part of the speech event. (1976: 190)

This is not a genre in which spontaneous conversation has an appropriate place. Although Labov, in the Lower East Side study, succeeded in engaging his interviewees in conversation, he did this by distracting them from the ostensible interview with the famous question:

> Have you ever been in a situation where you thought you were in serious danger of being killed - where you thought to yourself, "This is it?" (1972a: 93)

Wolfson argues that there is no such speech event as the spontaneous interview, and describes the social discomfort of trying to create it. L. Milroy (1986) likewise expresses dissatisfaction with an approach where good results depend on breaking the rules of the discourse situation one has set up. Macaulay (1984) on the other hand thinks that Wolfson overstates the case, and contends that good samples can be obtained in one-to-one interviews. He is particularly interested in 'performed narratives' and has concentrated on informants who are 'professional talkers', quite at ease with the tape recorder. Though they may describe their style of speech as a compromise, he does not accept that this is necessarily uncomfortable for them. In practice his quoted examples are usefully broad.

The fourth problem is that of the social transaction. Where informants are recording material or information that they uniquely possess, both parties are secure in the knowledge that a significant transaction is taking place. If one is interested primarily in the form rather than the content of the informant's speech, it is the fieldworker or linguist who is in the position of authority, since the data will actually be created in the process of analysis. This is the extreme case, but an 'authority crisis' can occur wherever the informant is unsure about the value of his or her information, for instance where very ordinary commonplaces are being elicited, or the fieldworker is not responding adequately, in oral history work. A frequent reaction is to try to enrich the reminiscences by adopting a distanced, evaluative stance (cf. Labov, 1972b, ch.9).[19] Such distancing is often signalled metaphorically by the use of Standard English - the very opposite of the vernacular, anecdotal material that is sought (on metaphorical code-switching, see Blom and Gumperz, 1972).

Traditional dialectology seems to have been much better than sociolinguistics at defining the situation as one in which the informant, as authority, gives his or her time and information to the fieldworker. A debt is incurred and is seen to be incurred. It is my position that this debt cannot be repaid to the informant as an individual, but persists as an obligation to use the material with respect.

The fifth problem is that of social class tensions affecting the interaction between the fieldworker and the interviewees (see further 2.2.5 below). For instance, the inhibiting effect of an RP accent was demonstrated by Douglas-Cowie (1978).

In relation to the vernacular, I am, like most linguists, a 'lame' (Labov, 1972b: 290), having left the working-class for university education without ever entering into adult status within it. I tend to style-drift (in Aitken's 1979 terminology), and I sometimes have to be immersed in a working-class environment for a few days before I feel comfortable using what is left of my Lothian dialect. Nevertheless, I can understand Central Scots, no matter how broadly or rapidly spoken, and I can get a joke. Combined with the fact that I was enquiring <u>about</u> specific dialect words, this

would act as a guarantee of good faith (willingness and ability to see things from the community's point of view, and not to impose pre-conceived, impersonal or alien categories upon their experience), and of trustworthiness (a knowledge of dialect grounded in personal contact shows that a person has been trusted by other insiders).

As a fieldworker I had some advantages that helped to offset the barrier of education. On the one hand, in my own person I represent the upward mobility from the Scottish working class that many parents would desire for their own children. This is also a source of resentment and brings with it - one of the hidden injuries of class (see below) - an expulsion of the successful young from the community, but there was still a positive feeling between myself and some informants which I think came from this source. In helping me they affirmed their own aspirations for people like me.

On a superficial encounter, I would be seen as middle-class, and my role as the typical middle-class one of investigating the workers as a stage in policy formation. However, I was young enough in appearance at the time of the fieldwork to be taken for a student. Unless asked outright, I am afraid that I let people believe that I was simply a student, doing some kind of project; otherwise I would say that I was writing a book.

Given that I was not manifestly from the wrong kind of background to be attempting this, I hoped to be able to record relaxed vernacular Glasgow speech from working-class speakers, bearing in mind the following criteria:

a) a genuine interest in the content of what the interviewee is saying is indispensable;

b) wherever possible, informants should be interviewed in small groups;

c) the nature of the speech event should be clear;

d) the nature of the social transaction should be clear.[20]

2.2.2. The questionnaire

The simplest way to ensure a meaningful content, and at the same time a significant transaction, in the interviews was to focus on language itself, not in general terms, which is potentially threatening,[21] but at a level of detail where interviewees could be expected to have something interesting and valuable to say.

It is difficult to discuss the details of a language or dialect with non-linguists, even with the native speakers. The focus is inevitably on words, since the vocabulary is open-ended and atomistic, and very little theoretical sophistication is required to descibe it. Words (and idioms) then, formed the basis of a questionnaire with which I approached potential informants (Appendix A).

As well as providing information in its own right, the questionnaire also had to provide a focus and justification for the whole interview. The items were selected with the following criteria in mind:

a) to be of interest to both sexes and all age groups, i.e. everyone should be able to recognise and give a positive response to at least some items,

b) to be a stimulus to discussion of change in the material and social conditions of life in Glasgow,

c) to check the authenticity of at least some items found in various sources other than the SND and LAS,

d) to check the currency and present usage of at least some items already known to SND and LAS.

The list includes Scots items of some antiquity (e.g. knoack), British slang (e.g. buckshee), recent Glasgow slang (e.g. boggin) and everyday words which can perhaps be considered 'old words' (well-established in the vernacular, sometimes now in decline) although they may date back only to the last century (e.g. jawboax).

The items were drawn from a variety of sources, chiefly:

a) local dialect literature, particularly Bill McGhee, Cut and Run, a 'gangland' novel one generation on from McArthur and Long, No Mean City (which supplied so much material for SND and DSUE);

b) material collected by Mr. P. MacLaren, a school teacher (already used in Macafee, 1983);

c) Mackie, The Illustrated Glasgow Glossary (1984);

d) Opie and Opie, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren (1959);

e) oral history recordings made in the East End of Glasgow by Elspeth King, and held in the People's Palace;

f) an open questionnaire (see Appendix A), which yielded some interesting items, but which was not particularly useful in the field: very few completed questionnaires were received back from adults. I had very useful conversations with Mr. Sam Glass, a local community activist, and he also filled in an open questionnaire for me (a collective effort). Another local contact who was very helpful, but again too sophisticated herself to use as a primary informant, was Mrs. Pam Harper, of the Citizens' Advice Bureau. Together with preliminary interviews with the oldest group of women, these discussions with adults in the community helped me to select amongst the traditional Scots items.[22]

g) Preliminary interviews with the youngest age group yielded some items for inclusion in the lexical questionnaire, and where these are additions to the dictionary record, this is indicated below. (Other additions from this source and from the interviews are detailed in Appendix C.)

Had I realised that the resulting information would form such a large part of my findings and would provide the central hypothesis of a 'generation gap', I would perhaps have designed a somewhat different questionnaire. Firstly, it was too long, and was not always completed, even when more than one session was possible. In fact, this was less serious, given the large number of informants, than the effect on some of the interviews of my anxiety about completing it. With a shorter questionnaire, there might have been less conflict between the goals of obtaining quantitative data (structured information) and qualitative data (incidental information and comments). When the questionnaire was spun out over two or more recording sessions, it was not possible to guarantee that the same group of people would be present. For these and other reasons (such as inaudible or ambiguous answers) there are gaps in the data.

Secondly, the questionnaire items were not investigated sufficiently intensively from a lexicographical point of view. The minimal level of detail, focussing on words in a given sense, was felt to be necessary because of the diversity of the sample. It would have been wasteful of informants' time to keep asking for a range of senses, collocations and forms of words unknown to them. Again the conflict was between quantitative methods (sampling) and intensive methods, such as those of traditional dialect studies (e.g. Dieth, 1932; Zai, 1942; Speitel, 1969), where the researcher works with a handful of informants selected for their special knowledge of the dialect. I could perhaps have afforded to be more flexible here. As the American dialectologist, Pederson, argues, while some semantic problems

> could not be systematically investigated in a randomly selected sample, the inventorial approach and the judgement sample encompass so many possibilities that a category can be sacrificed to prudence in a particular interview situation, without losing the essential coverage ... (1971: 85).

By 'inventorial approach' he means a composite picture of contemporary usage built up from information supplied by different

informants. This is normal practice in dialectology. In the SED, for instance, two or three individuals were usually recruited in a village to answer parts of the lengthy questionnaire (Orton, 1962: 16,17). (The LSS postal method allowed a single informant to answer at his or her leisure.) If I were compiling the questionnaire now, with the benefit of hindsight, I would include a core of items to be put to all informants to provide quantitative comparisons. These would not be too complex in their semantics, or too restricted stylistically - slang, cant, neologisms, childish endearments, and words whose reference was to particularly male or female domains might be investigated, but not necessarily with every informant. On the other hand, much of the information I have on stylistic restrictions only emerged in the course of the research, and with it an understanding of the linguistic decorum of older speakers (see Chapter 4).

At one stage I attempted to save time by administering the questionnaire to a class of first year children at John Street School. Returning to check that they knew the words they claimed to know, I found that a positive response had often been given because the referent was known. For children the concepts and not just the words were historical. Children's experience is strictly up-to-date:

> girl: [mantelpiece] The fire surround ye call it. An they [grandparents] call it the mantelpiece. (2iiiB)

> CIM: [to 10F2 who knows brace] Who calls it that?
> 10F2: Ma granny.
> CIM: Do you ever call it that?
> 10F2: A brace? Naw, no really. It's no really a common word. (16iiB)

Dialect surveys often go to some lengths to avoid direct, i.e. leading, questions, except as a last resort. The LSS exploited the bilingual (or bidialectal) competence of their informants by asking, in effect, for the Scots translation of Standard English words (LAS, vol.I: 13). The SED avoided even this degree of

directness, making the questionnaire an elaborate guessing game that only very well-motivated informants could be expected to cooperate with. In the present research, most of the questions were translation questions, and a range of (near) synonyms was often elicited in response. If the target word was not amongst these, I would then ask about it directly, specifically whether it was known to the informant, and whether he or she would use it. However, in the section on 'people' (3.7 below), the questions were mostly in reverse form, presenting the word and asking for the meaning. Because of the idiosyncrasy of the habits, actions, character traits and so on that are encoded, it is very difficult to elicit names of human types in the abstract, although non-standard dialects are often very rich in this kind of vocabulary (cf. Melchers, 1980).

A good case for direct questioning is made by Pratt (1983), working in Prince Edward Island. One of his examples, the word skite (also Scots) is one of those untranslatable words that is difficult to elicit, but mostly his case rests on the need to prompt informants' memories of low-frequency terms. People are not likely to think of these at first, and

> Moreover the first response or two will often have the effect of driving the low-frequency possibility out of the informant's head. On the other hand, the investigator will break his heart waiting for it to occur without prompting of any kind. ... Life is too short. To answer these questions, I suggest, he must go after the word directly. (1983: 153)

Many of the words in my questionnaire would certainly fall into this category:

> **46M6PB: Lavatory took the place i it, an toilet took the place i that. [...] But Ah remember ma Da usin the word closet. Funny, Ah forgoat hauf i these words existed. (82B)**

46M6PB: [fernietickles] Ah, Ah remember that, but Ah couldnae a minded it. ... ... Ah probably knew it, but Ah don't remember knowin it. (64B)

Pratt makes some sound recommendations:

... the main objection to this method ... has not yet been answered here. This is the point that the informant, knowing the fieldworker's interest in a certain word, will be inclined to tell him what he wants to hear, and not necessarily the truth. The way to quiet this reasonable doubt is never to be satisfied with a positive response per se. One must get the informant to TALK about the word, use it in different contexts, pass judgement on it, in short, to display his knowledge of it. (1983: 153)

Unfortunately, I did not know of this work when I was doing my own fieldwork, and I cannot claim to have covered myself - or my informants - so systematically. Sometimes there was extended discussion of words, depending on the time available. Sometimes the answers were quite brief, and I often accepted answers that were confidently positive or negative without further comment, though if the word was a low frequency one, there would almost certainly be discussion. I do not believe that being deliberately misled was a serious danger, especially when a group of people would have had to collude.

Interviewing in groups has the distinct disadvantage for this type of questioning, that once one person has mentioned a word, everyone else's acknowledgement of that word has to regarded as prompted. There is the danger also that for various social reasons, one speaker may feel it incumbent upon him or her to agree or disagree with another. I relied on my understanding (cf. Hedges, 1985) to detect replies that were, for instance, merely speculative or obliging (very much a minority of answers). The questionnaire included a 'dummy' question (see 3.7.9 below) and this helped me to observe how people responded when they certainly did not know an item. I was careful to exclude answers of doubtful status, but on the whole, I took people at their word.

There may well have been some tendency to over-report knowledge of the vernacular, in the sense that a person might have a vague notion of having heard a word used, without fully knowing its meaning. This may go some way towards balancing under-reporting owing to imperfect recollection, especially when the answer was required on the spot. Another source of possible under-reporting, particularly of usage, is the roughness of some of the words and the delicacy of some of the topics, e.g. bun, boot, bachle, keelie, words for 'smelly'. A marked difference in usage figures (Chapter 3), with males higher than females, can be taken as an indication that a word is 'rough' (unless, like toller, the referent is associated with a peculiarly masculine sphere of activity). I would not suggest that the difference in the figures in such a pattern is produced by women under-reporting their vernacular usage - comments on such words show that they are often regarded as men's words. On the contrary, men may have been reluctant to admit to a woman that they used words like bun and boot, for instance. Some items, e.g. fernietickles and poky hat, turned out to be regarded as words to be used to children, and this may have affected the usage figures from teenagers and from men.

2.2.3. Social status and other personal details

Asking for personal details is always a delicate matter. On the basis of what they are told about the research, informants form their own opinion about how much the fieldworker needs to know, and may be touchy about going beyond that. The problem is compounded when interviewing pre-existing groups. People may see each other regularly without knowing, or wanting to know, much of each other's business. My priority was to record speech as broad as possible, and to preserve my welcome and keep the atmosphere open, I preferred to err on the side of caution as far as seeking personal details was concerned.

I was reluctant, with good reason, to ask whether people were Protestant or Catholic. Everybody knows the affiliation of their neighbours, but they do not necessarily know whether their neighbours know that they know. Many of the settings that I

visited were scrupulously non-sectarian in a climate where sectarianism could become a source of conflict at any moment.[23] In the end I decided that I had to try to obtain this information, since ethnicity has been suggested as a sociolinguistic variable in Glasgow (see Chapter 5). In some of the later interviews, I simply asked outright; sometimes I asked other people who knew the informants. In many cases I was able to ask the speakers themselves on a subsequent occasion, causing 66F11PB, for one, to develop severe deafness. This is a mess, but it is too late to rectify it.

I was predisposed to see class as a matter of participation in an inherited interest group and cultural tradition, rather than as a personal attribute.[24] In the light of criticism of established methods of social class grouping (e.g. Cameron, 1985; Nichols, 1983, 1984) it was unclear, in any case, what I would need to know in order to assign women, children and the unemployed to meaningful class categories. I have at least a vague indication of occupation for most adults (see Appendix D), but I had hoped that long-term residence in the various districts of the East End would be a sufficient index of class. Unfortunately this remains untested because of the wide fluctuations in the quality of the interviews (cf. Chapter 5).

Labov (1966) has shown, in the American context, that sociolinguistic variation in accent correlates with a speaker's present position in society rather than with their class background (with the exception of blacks, who may be artificially held down by societal prejudice). However, I was interested not just in how people would present themselves to a stranger, but in how much of the dialect, which an outsider might hardly come across at all, was being transmitted from one generation to the next (although, of course, I could only investigate a few items, and make generalisations).

2.2.4. Recruitment of informants

Lacking the contacts to conduct a study of networks or families, I used a quota sample. At the time of the fieldwork, I was living in

Bridgeton. This was very helpful when asking people to allow me to record them: with at least some degree of commitment to the area, I was seen as less likely to purvey a prejudiced and negative view, always a danger when outsiders write about an area that already has image problems.

I began by approaching the Community Development Office in Bridgeton. I explained that I wanted to meet people in the area, and for what purpose. I was then introduced, via local people who were active in the community, to pensioners' clubs, a youth club, a mother-and-toddler group, and an unemployed group. At the Dolphin Arts Centre, I found a pensioners' club, a job creation scheme (the Insect Zoo), and a youth theatre group. Local workplaces were tried, mostly without success, but a bus station mechanic did sacrifice two lunch breaks for me, and I was welcomed with tea and cakes in a family-owned florist's. Through a student, I visited a Gingerbread (single parents') club in Dennistoun, and this led, via a social worker, to community groups in Barrowfield, and via a barmaid to a local pub, which in turn led to a bowling club, and to the unpleasant experience of being stood up by two jokers who volunteered to introduce me to another pub in Townhead. This latter fiasco (I was virtually driven out of the place) served to underline the importance of being vouched for by an insider.

The status of the person introducing me naturally had a significant effect on people's first reactions. Social workers, as a group, are unpopular in the working-class community, associated as they are with trouble and disgrace, and invested with quasi-police powers. Also, as Cornwell (1985) found, their occupation is seen as the exercise of common sense by those often unqualified to do it (the feeling being that their role should properly fall to married women with children). I found that while I made very valuable contacts through a social worker, any association with social work (even, for instance the use of expressions like 'language in society' or 'the social aspects of language') was a liability. On the other hand, as Bryant and Bryant (1982) find in Govanhill, community workers are appreciated, if they raise the level of organisational skills in the community.

The benefit of meeting people in social contexts was the comfortable and friendly atmosphere that already existed. Without this, there would have been no prospect of recording styles casual enough to be regarded as the local dialect. Even so, the effect of the fluctuation in rapport between interviews was large enough to overwhelm any age or sex differences in the density of non-standard speech (see Chapter 5). It seems inevitable that in bidialectal, creole and bilingual situations, vernacular speech will not be available to record at will using survey methods. Thomas sums up the problem in her Welsh research:

> The interviewer in a sociolinguistic survey is supposedly the latter [an outsider], his status as such being constant from one informant to another. To an extent, the comparability of his data is dependent on his maintaining this constant neutrality. On the other hand, his ability to establish a rapport with the informants, and thus obtain sufficient linguistic data, is dependent on many non-neutral personal characteristics. In fact, these personal characteristics may even be the cause of his inability to persuade some individuals to be interviewed in the first place. (1982: 63)

Whenever possible, single sex groups were interviewed, since people are much less relaxed in mixed company. Of course, I could not get around the fact of my own gender. Men were more relaxed when they had been drinking, but bars are particularly poor settings acoustically. Being female, I was often the object of courtesy from men, but by the same token, certain items of information would be withheld. Also, men were able, if they were so inclined, to deny me authority on the basis of sex. I was prepared to be patronised and treated as a source of faintly sexual entertainment, but obviously I could not defer to male egotism so far as to relinquish control of the interview.[25] It was with men of working age that I had least rapport, and found it most difficult to obtain interviews. From some of my experiences I can confirm Cornwell's (1985: 13) remark: 'The men - quite literally - did not know how to talk to me.' I had one refusal with the excuse

that the man in question had 'never spoken to a woman for half an hour' (the suggested length of the interview), and 46M7PS made a similar comment.

There was often a quiet(er) side-room where I could record a couple of people, but not always, and sometimes people were too shy, and I settled for recording in one corner of a room where other conversations were going on. The sound quality of the interviews accordingly varies a great deal, but there were very few interviews where I was struggling through the questionnaire with informants who wished they had never got involved. I did record a few people in their homes, by invitation, but I would not have considered approaching strangers to be interviewed in this way. Paradoxically, the home can be a more public place than an all-male or all-female social setting. Mixed company and the presence of children demand higher standards of behaviour, and the presence of a stranger, to whom the family are exposed as individuals, is doubly constraining. In my experience, brothers and sisters are often more at ease in presenting a joint front to a stranger than husbands and wives, who may be engaged in scoring points against each other.

Sometimes I found myself interviewing a single individual and this was generally unsatisfactory. The ideal number in a group, besides myself, was three or four, from the point of view of lively discussion. However, part of the ease of a group this size is the protection it offers to those who really do not want to say much. This presents problems in Chapter 5 below, since some informants managed to convey their answers to the questionnaire without providing much connected speech. (Conversely, some, whom I had not targeted as questionnaire answerers, were present for some or all of the interview, and provided qualitative material.) It is difficult to distinguish voices where too many people are present. This is especially a problem with children's voices. Some answers to the questionnaire have been lost in this way. The major problem, however, was the inconsistency between group interviewing and the administration of a questionnaire to individuals. Depending on their sense of homogeneity, groups would often have been quite happy to have allowed one person to speak for all, and

the generic you was often used, indicating that people were generalising about the local vernacular as they knew it. However, I had to press for responses to each question from each individual. After the first few interviews, I became more adept at ensuring that responses were actually vocalised. Of course, it soon became obvious what I wanted, but it had the effect of disrupting the flow of what might otherwise have been a simple guided discussion. The problem of clarifying the speech genre, then, was not solved.

For purposes of comparison in Chapter 3, the informants were grouped according to sex and age. The divisions are at 20 year intervals, except that a further division is made at age 16, since it was anticipated that developmental differences would add to apparent change at this end of the scale, and that this should be allowed for.

The informants were given a letter and number code as follows. The first pair of numbers indicates the age group, thus:

10 -	10-15	'children'	
16 -	16-25	'teenagers / young adults'	'younger'
26 -	26-45	'young / middle-aged adults'	
46 -	46-65	'middle-aged adults'	'older'
66 -	66+	'elderly'	

The next letter is M or F, indicating 'male' or 'female', then there is a number uniquely identifying the informant within the age/sex group, and the final two letters give further information: C (Catholic) or P (Protestant) where known, and place of origin (as for place of interview, plus X for speakers from more distant parts of Glasgow). There are also some people, incidentally recorded, about whom little information was obtained, and these are indicated, e.g. as 10F or M, and the number of the interview is given. There are also a few non-Glaswegians who made interesting comments which are quoted in this work. These speakers are not coded. The main informants are listed in Appendix D.

Table 2.1 shows the pool of informants who answered all or part of the questionnaire, providing data for Chapter 3. Note that the

composition of age-sex cells can vary from item to item in Chapter 3, because of gaps in the data (see 2.2.2 above). The smaller sample used in Chapters 4 and 5 is shown by an asterisk against the informant code.

Table 2.1 Pool of informants, lexical questionnaire. * indicates speech also analysed for lexical incidence and morphology

*10F1-F	*10M1CC	*16F1PC	*16M1PF
*10F2PB	10M2CC	*16F2CB	*16M2PB
10F3PB	*10M3CB	*16F3PS	16M3PB
*10F4PB	*10M4CB	*16F4PS	*16M4CS
*10F5PB	10M5CB	*16F5PS	*16M5CS
*10F6PB	*10M6CB	*16F6CD	*16M6CS
	*10M7PB	*16F7CD	16M7CD
	*10M8PB	*16F8CD	
26F1CF	26M1CB	*46F2CB	*46M1CC
*26F2CF	*26M2CS	*46F3PB	*46M2PC
*26F3CF	*26M3CS	*46F4PB	*46M3PB
*26F4CC	*26M4PS	*46F5CB	*46M4PS
*26F5CB	*26M5PS	*46F6PS	*46M5PB
*26F6CC	*26M6-D	*46F7PD	*46M6PB
*26F7PB		*46F8PD	*46M7PS
*26F8PB		46F11CC	*46M8PS
*26F11CD			*46M9PS
			*46M10CD
*66F1CC	*66M1CC		
*66F2PC	*66M3CC		
*66F3PC	*66M5PB		
66F4PC	*66M6PB		
66F5CB			
66F6PB			
66F7PB			
*66F8PS			
66F19CD			

The interviews were numbered in chronological order from 1 to 84. There are also a few interpolated numbers (16i, 16ii, etc.): in most cases where people entered or left in the course of an interview, this was not taken into account, but when departures resulted in the interview becoming one-to-one, this was perhaps to be seen as a change of situation, amd most of the renumbering was done to separate out these sections.

As well as the number, there is a letter which indicates <u>where</u> the interview took place, thus:

C the Calton

B Bridgeton

D Dennistoun

F Barrowfield

S surrounding area.

The interviews are listed in Appendix E.

2.2.5 Linguistic insecurity

The Glasgow working-class have been diagnosed, on the evidence of teachers and employers, as suffering from 'linguistic insecurity', i.e. becoming self-conscious and tongue-tied in the presence of authority figures (Macaulay, 1974; the term is Labov's, 1972a, in connection with the lower middle class). Despite enormous changes in the direction of a more egalitarian society, working-class Glaswegians can find it difficult to get themselves taken seriously or treated with respect outside of their own milieu. Whether this produces a sense of insecurity or a sense of outrage depends on the personality and the occasion. But this is a problem that is always likely when individuals have to operate socially outside their own community. That it should be a problem <u>within</u> a city like Glasgow simply shows that social barriers exist without geographical ones.

The degree of mutual hostility and mistrust between the classes in Glasgow, which anyone who lives in the city soon becomes aware of, suggests that the social barriers are not very permeable ones. The bitterness on both sides should not be underestimated. As recently as 1935, Edwin Muir could allude to Glasgow as 'composed merely of the exploiters and the exploited,' and he describes vividly the hardness and rancour of the better-off having to live in the midst of squalor. It is only since the 1950s, with the emergence of a new professional class to administer the Welfare State, the swallowing up of local businesses by national and multinational ones, and the demolition of slums in the privately-rented housing sector, that the starkness of the class division in Glasgow has begun to soften. Even so, the typical encounter of the working class person with a middle class one is in

the role of client or supplicant, and here the working-class person is often conscious of being at a disadvantage:

> It's different to arguing in the workplace with the foreman, getting your points over where you know all the pros and cons of it. We're working class and we don't meet people in authority - that's the first thing' (local activist, Govanhill, quoted in Bryant and Bryant, 1982: 151).

Occasionally individuals pre-empt anticipated patronage by parodying the worst stereotypes of the rough Glaswegian - the Scottish equivalent of shucking and jiving.[26] Also, in my experience, there are some topics that render many working-class Glaswegians self-conscious and tongue-tied - unfortunately the very ones that sociolinguists are interested in discussing, namely social status, education and Standard English. I have not attempted to substantiate this point by an analysis of the tapes, but I think that the reader will find the speakers quoted in this work mostly fluent and articulate on every topic but these.

Such problems can be seen as symptoms of 'the hidden injuries of class'(Sennett and Cobb, 1972). Although Sennett and Cobb believe that manual workers in 'England' (Britain?) and France are protected (to some extent) by the mutual respect conferred within the traditional working-class community, the injurious forces are very much the same, and now the structure of communities is also being eroded here in similar ways to the USA. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, but the implications for interviewing are relevant at this point. In the view of Sennett and Cobb, the class consciousness of workers is a complex and self-protective response to a double-bind imposed by humanist ideology. Since all men are equal, and education is offered to all, those who fail to make something of themselves tend to feel that this is their own responsibility.[27] Although in practice the working-class see productive work as more dignified than paper-pushing, they defer to those with education in the belief that they are more developed as individuals. Whether or not the professional seeks this role, the manual worker tends to allow him the right to stand in judgement:

> [the male interviewee] talked to the interviewer in a peculiar way: he treated him as an emissary from a different way of life, as a representative of a higher, more educated class, before whom he spread a justification of his entire life. (Sennett and Cobb, 1972: 24)

I was sometimes aware that an interview was in danger of taking this turn.

However, if the fieldworker can evade these psychodramas and give due respect to the informant's first-hand knowledge, in the manner of fieldwork in dialectology, there is nothing in the language itself to prevent the informant expressing herself or himself authoritatively in the vernacular.

2.2.6. Transcription and analysis

It is not always necessary, in sociolinguistics, to transcribe the recordings - if the analysis is restricted to a limited quantity of phonetic detail, this can, in principle, be done directly from the sound recording. But if the material is of any further interest, it is good practice to have an accessible record of the contents in the form of a fairly full transcription. My procedure was as follows.

I listened to each interview soon after the recording. This allowed me to detect any loss of material, through technical failure, or blunders such as recording over parts of interviews. In this first pass, I used a score sheet to codify the responses to the lexical questionnaire. Some responses were checked off-tape when there was an opportunity to ask the informant on a subsequent occasion.

On the second pass, I transcribed the interviews long-hand, using a foot-pedal and head-phones, omitting most short responses (already codified). Since there is no standard spelling for Glaswegian (or for Scots), it was necessary to choose a transcription model. I followed the same practice as in Macafee (1983) - in the interests of readability, Standard English spellings are used for common core words. (The 'common core' is

the area of overlap between Scots and Standard English, and includes such items as name, see, young, is, he, they - see Aitken, 1979, 1984b.) Wherever possible, spellings are used which show non-standard lexical incidence, e.g. herry 'hairy', joack 'jock', but for the sake of fluent and rapid transcription, no attempt was made to represent peculiarities of unstressed vowels. There are two common features where Standard English spellings have been used, rather than devise ad hoc orthographic rules. These are:

a) Scots /ʌ/, Scottish Standard English /u/, RP /ʊ/, e.g. pull (historical ŭ)

b) Scots /ŋ/, Standard English /ŋg/. This consonant cluster is historically simplified in all phonetic environments in Scots, thus /fɪŋɪr/ as well as /sɪŋ(ɪr)/. There is, of course, no conventional symbol in English orthography for /ŋ/ as such.

No attempt was made to transcribe the details of pauses, overlapping speech, etc. Particularly long pauses are shown as '...', and a rough note was kept in the manuscript of overlaps, but otherwise suprasegmental features are translated into (fairly loose) punctuation. Omissions in the transcripts (and in quoted selections) are shown as '[...]'.

Next, the transcripts were read for non-standard lexis, and unusual items and senses added to a card file also containing material from Glasgow dialect literature and from the open questionnaires. This file was checked against SND and Supplement, CSD, DSUE, OED and Supplements, to arrive at a residue of additions to the dictionary record (Appendix C). Rhyming slang was also checked against Franklyn (1961) and Barker (1979).

The interviews (apart from some initial exploratory interviews of an open-ended kind) were constructed to yield quantitative data about individual words, but in general I tried to conduct the interviews so as to encourage the elaboration and illustration of topics as they arose from the basic questionnaire, and there were also a few discursive questions at the end (not reached in all

interviews). The amount of qualitative material collected, and its usefulness, varies enormously between interviews, depending on several factors, most important of which are: the skill of the fieldworker, the rapport between the fieldworker and each (group) of informant(s), and the length of time available for the interview.

Qualitative data are no more nor less 'objective' or 'subjective' than material that can be presented in a numerical way, as in Chapter 3. Both types of data in this research are arrived at by excerpting and summarising the responses given by informants out of their own subjective store of information, experience and opinion. The difference lies rather in the degree of structure pre-imposed on the material by the format of the interview. It is this which determines the degree of comparability amongst the results from separate interviews and their consequent suitability for numerical aggregation (Walker, 1985).

I was fortunate to have access within the University of Glasgow to a Wang mini-computer. This combines a good word-processing package with ample storage space for a large quantity of text. The word-processor was used to make a sorting of qualitative material. It is fairly straightforward, though inevitably a matter of personal judgement, to digest text in this way. The transcripts were excerpted, and comments assigned to one (or more) of a series of files. The files fall into three groups:

a) lexical files on individual prompt items, containing incidental comments and (near-)synonyms. (For an example of a file, showing the original from which the digest was made, see Appendix B);

b) comments on language, both Glaswegian and other varieties of English;

c) oral history files, including material specific to each of the four East End districts in the study.

Digests and selections from the files are used at various points in this work.

In qualitative research, as Morton-Williams puts it:

> The researcher will be mainly concerned to identify and describe the range of behaviours and opinions held rather than to indicate whether people feel strongly or how many hold each view. (1985: 41)[28]

Already in sorting the material for Chapter 3, on individual items, there proved to be a productive tension between the quantitative and qualitative data. The latter suggested an abrupt change in speech habits experienced by those over a certain age. The former showed a rather smooth decline by age in relevant words (seen more clearly by aggregating some of the data in Chapter 4). To resolve this contradiction, the work then proceeded along both qualitative and quantitative lines, as described in Chapters 4 and 5.

More could have been made of sex differences, and of the distinction between rough and respectable language and people, but I have chosen to emphasise the theme of the generation gap, for several reasons. First of all, this theme was set up for me by the preliminary discussions which then partly shaped the questionnaire. Words like knoack, brace, jawboax and sugarallie were already the contents of a public version of linguistic change. To what extent this has been shaped by, for instance, the local press or local radio I cannot say, but this would not in any case invalidate a view which seems to be widely accepted by the older members of the community. Secondly, the idea of a generation gap emerged as a stereotype, confirmed by comparing comments with quantified results. Thirdly, the hypothesis of a generation gap - or rather, a distinct cultural transition that took place around the 1950s - has the power to integrate the different kinds of data collected, and to raise further important questions which lead beyond the linguistic data to wider social and cultural issues.

Notes

1 The distinction between dialect and accent is not a clear-cut one in linguistics, because it is often required to express subjective (or emic) categories, rather than objective linguistic facts (or etic categories). The simplest statement of the distinction is that differences of accent are differences of phonology only, while differences of dialect extend to lexis and grammar. However, differences of phonology are of several types, usually classified as phonetic realisation, phoneme system, phonological structure, and lexical incidence (terminology varies, see e.g. Abercrombie, 1979; Petyt, 1980). As between varieties of Standard English, the latter category is small and the differences unsystematic. Abercrombie (1979) cites, for instance, Scottish Standard English /s/ v. English Standard /z/ in raspberry. Between traditional dialects and the standard, however, these differences are both systematic and extensive. Those that have arisen historically through unconditioned sound-changes affect large groups of words, e.g. hame, stane, ain, etc. v. home, stone, own, etc. Even conditioned sound-changes can have an extensive lexical base, e.g. the unrounding of ŏ in labial environments which gives aff, tap, etc. for off, top, etc. In this work, the term dialect is taken to include non-standard lexical incidence, following Petyt (1980).

2 In this way, I hope that I will be able to avoid some of the criticisms that J. Milroy (1979) makes of Macaulay's (1977) attempt to apply Labov's (1972a) methods directly to Glasgow dialect.

3 > ... rather than learning new rules and categories and then acquiring the morphological fillers for them, the speaker in a creole continuum characteristically acquires new morphemes and then makes adjustments to his existing rules and categories so as to provide distinctive environments

> for these morphemes. It is therefore hardly surprising that long after the new material has become firmly established, there should still be a mismatch between the creole and the superstrate systems.
>
> (Bickerton, 1975: 96).

4 'Earlier' because synchrony is taken to reflect diachrony. Conversely, the absence of a given feature generally implies that later features will be absent, but cf. Bickerton (1973).

5 I would conjecture that if the data were extended in each direction, i.e. by adding middle-class speakers, and by taking longer samples of Scots speech so that rare items had a better chance of occurring, there would probably be very weak implicational relations between groups of Scots items, reflecting waves of standardisation. In Figure 5.2 it can be seen that the low frequency items gae, ither and hae are used in very broad samples of speech. The rest of the linguistic material is ordinary stuff that occurs readily in the samples examined. No doubt there are other rarities that figure only in broad speech, where ordinary Scots items are already present. Conversely, a speaker who avoided such socially widespread forms as -in would certainly avoid traditional Scots word-forms like hame and heid (unless giving a painfully elocuted rendering of a Scotch song ...).

6 Since the rural dialects of Scots are more conservative, the rural-urban dimension would be a useful one in which to test this hypothesis, and this would again extend the data.

7 In making his distinction between langue (language as system) and parole, (language in use), de Saussure (1959) also separated diachronic and synchronic study of language, since langue is both an idealisation away from other forms of human behaviour which interact with linguistic behaviour (the domains of sociology, politics, literary criticism, etc.) and an idealisation of a moment in time (i.e. it simplifies away

the processes of linguistic change, external and internal). Sociolinguistics appeals to social structures such as class stratification, gender, age group, urbanisation and ethnicity. In the cultural realm, language interacts, for instance, with literary genres, authorial stances, racial and other stereotypes, and political and sexual ideologies. Since these areas also have structure, we can make generalisations about language in use in contexts defined by society and culture. Where such regularities exist, they will have to be described somewhere in the study of human thought and action, and it would seem to make little difference whether they are treated as part of linguistics or as part of some wider study. They have formed the material of the so-called 'hyphenated disciplines' of linguistics - sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, historical linguistics. In this respect, linguistics has simply outgrown the restriction to langue. Having cut its descriptive teeth on the artificially isolated data thus secured, it is moving beyond these self-imposed limitations, and in the case of historical linguistics especially, reintegrating concerns left temporarily in a theoretical limbo.

The second type of idealisation that langue represents is more difficult to escape. When we look beyond the relative stability of literary standard varieties the boundaries between varieties (dialects and languages) are seen to be insubstantial in time and space, and it seems necessary to impose boundaries on the empirical material in order to have any object of study at all.

8 Labov's method is improved upon somewhat by Trudgill (1974), who uses linguistic as well as social data to arrange his speakers into sociolinguistic groups. Ideally, a statistical method of correlating data amongst several parameters should be used, but these methods demand very large numbers to crunch, and the rigour of the significance tests that are needed to interpret the analysis has to be matched by scientific rigour in the sampling and fieldwork - otherwise

the whole edifice is built on sand. In LePage's recent work, he included a statistician in the research team, with the ironic consequence that most forms of statistical analysis on his data were vetoed (McEntaggart and LePage, 1982) - the forbidding diagrams on pp.128,9 of LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) are a kind of informal cluster analysis. Cluster analysis is being used by the Tyneside Linguistic Survey (Pellowe et al., 1972), and principal components analysis has been used successfully by Horvath (1985). Statistical techniques will not be discussed further: the data of the present research would not support sophisticated methods, so only simple devices are used.

9 Cf. Cameron (1985: 31):

> ... in the sociolinguistic paradigm the favoured method is in fact comparative, requiring the researcher to describe most varieties only in terms of how they differ from other varieties (in practice, from a white, male, standard middle-class norm).

10 Something like the concept of focussing has existed for a long time in stylistics under the guise of 'automatisation' (Mukařovský, 1932), whereby the repetition of deviant ('foregrounded') usages leads to them losing their novelty and becoming regularised as part of a style. The biological term is habituation.

11 The theoretical autonomy of langue (or competence) is reflected in the methodology of structural linguistics. There is an emphasis on regularities in closed systems - phonology, morphology and syntax - which in transformational grammar practically defines a linguistics isolated from semantics. Moore and Carling (1982) object to the emphasis on pure form, and to the methodological assumption that speakers can have intuitions about it, independent of semantics. J. Milroy (1986) points out too that 'intuitions' about Standard English are not naive, but imparted through education.

Speakers do not necessarily have such intuitions about non-standard varieties. Baker and Hacker (1984) attack the narrow view of meaning which equates it with truth conditions, and the idea generally that mastery of a calculus of rules can be equated with mastery of language.

In any case, this simplification, like the langue/parole distinction, has served its purpose and has been left behind by developments. Transformational grammar arose from work on artificial intelligence at a period when the storage capacity of computers was severely limited (hence the need to cut out encyclopedic knowledge). This situation has changed (see for instance Metzing, ed., 1980). The isolation of syntax has been found to be simply impractical. For instance, de Beaugrande dismisses older models in which the various levels of language are strictly separated:

> In simulations of discourse comprehension, sequential-stage relay models have been found to be combinatorially explosive. They proliferate alternative readings for each stage in a geometrical progression because the stages cannot consult each other's analyses. Researchers have therefore been impelled to develop parallel-stage interaction models in which the varying aspects of the message are analysed in mutual co-operation. ... For instance, many syntactically possible ambiguities are at once disallowed if we consult the meaning and purpose of a discourse.
>
> (1982:235)

12 The work of Fowler and others associated with him goes a considerable way towards providing research into ideologically interesting language (for instance, Fowler et al., 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979).

13 On the other hand, since the actual practice of speakers is the only means of focussing discussed (L. Milroy, 1982), the norms of the vernacular are equated with the practice, with regard to a small number of phonological variables, of core network members.

14 The 'dynamic' approach of Bickerton and Bailey does not appeal to social group membership to mediate between the individual speaker and the sociolinguistic continuum. This does not mean, however (pace Downes, 1984: 109,110) that social factors are left outside the explanation of change. On the contrary they figure as historical rather than sociological facts: the whole history of abduction, slavery, emancipation and rural poverty provides the context for creolisation and decreolisation - kept in the background in Bickerton (1975), but dealt with in detail in LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985).

It is very important to retain a historical perspective on Scots, including Glasgow dialect, and to develop one in relation to non-standard speech in England. Otherwise educators, writers and broadasters (and ultimately the non-standard speech communities?) can feel no real respect for the dialects.

15 In the present-day, this will often be a brand name. This is one area where the influence of television, as a vehicle for product advertising, is very clear.

16 The form chinks illustrates the tendency for words in frequent use to be shortened. There are many further examples in Appendix C; cf. also 3.3.1 and 3.6.11.

17 The mapping of linguistically expressed categories onto anthropologically observed behaviour is not necessarily perfect: the linguistic categories are emic (Goodenough, 1964).

I do not wish to suggest that language determines thought. Rather, I would maintain (with J. Fishman, 1960) that the individual intelligence departs from, and continually returns to, the basis that inherited culture provides. Literacy, and more recently information technology, make it possible, moreover, for modern individuals to take up an unimaginably large human heritage.

18 As a student at the University of Edinburgh in the 1970s, I had the good fortune to be able to listen to tape-recordings in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies, and I also heard various recordings in the Department of English Language. Later, I learned a great deal from Paul Johnston, and accompanied him on a field trip funded by the Nuffield Foundation. As preparation for the present research, I listened to oral history recordings held in the public library in Clydebank and in the People's Palace in Glasgow and to private recordings kindly lent to me by Séan Damer.

19 An example of this is the quotation from 66F4PC in Chapter 1.4 above. She is self-consciously aware that she is over-generalising her recollections. She is not necessarily claiming to have witnessed the event described more than once.

20 Researchers into British Black English have likewise found it necessary to modify established sociolinguistic methods, to the extent of dispensing with the interview and intrusive fieldworker altogether, and relying on informants to make recordings. Sutcliffe (1982: 145) is under the impression that established methods worked well in Edinburgh for Romaine (1979) despite the similarly large gap between the vernacular and the standard, but in practice Romaine confines herself to making use of the accent-based data collected, without questioning, as Sutcliffe does, its representativeness.

21 The implicit question in studies of language attitudes is often 'why don't you (plural) speak Standard English?' 'Why don't you ...' questions can be indirect imperatives (Brown and Levinson, 1978).

22 Some very exciting - though often frustratingly opaque - material was collected using a version of the open questionnaire in schools, with the support of the writer Alex Hamilton, but this branch of the research was hampered by an industrial dispute, and has not been taken further at this stage (but see Appendix C).

23 When I was in the Community Flat in Barrowfield one day, a wit had put up a sign in the toilet, along the lines of: 'Please flush the toilet as the Tims will eat anything.'

24 Cf. Warde (1986) - in Britain, individual social class has become a poor indicator of voting behaviour, while the class composition of a constituency is a very good one. Warde argues that there are only two core classes, which can produce a 'neighbourhood effect' in voting patterns if concentrated in sufficient numbers to exercise local political hegemony through leadership of civil associations.

Of the four areas where the fieldwork was conducted, the Calton and Bridgeton have very strong working-class leadership, while the lack of this in Barrowfield is both a symptom and a cause of its 'problem area' status, and Dennistoun is a goal for the individualistic upwardly mobile within the working-class.

25 I had some problems. For instance, two of the elderly men, when cornered on a second occasion to complete the questionnaire, took it out of my hand and proceeded to run through it. Cf. P. Fishman's experiences (1983).

In my eagerness to manipulate the situation into one suitable for recording, I sometimes forgot my fieldwork motto: 'Act daft an ye'll get a hurl.' Generally, in male

company I soon acquired protectors who acquainted themselves with my aims and took initiatives for me, thus saving the face of potential informants. Fortunately or unfortunately, I am sometimes very naive about sexism, only realising in retrospect what was being said or implied, and will go blithely on talking at cross purposes with a fellow who, by his own reckoning, has just reduced me to a dish-cloot, and will have to be 'rescued' by another male before I cause any social damage.

26 Lukens (1979) interprets 'cynical role performance', what is called 'shucking and jiving' in a Black American context, as aimed at establishing distance through indifference (the next steps being avoidance and disparagement). The speaker conveys indifference to the good opinion of the outsider - leaving the latter in a difficult position.

27 Young makes the same point in The Rise and Fall of the Meritocracy (1958). Before attempts at educational equality, there was a conflict between the ideologies of kinship and merit. Consequently, 'the workers could altogether dissociate their own judgements of themselves from the judgement of society.... Educational injustice enabled people to preserve their illusions' (p.106). Even a working-class boy was often proud to follow his father's occupation, 'despite every blandishment of his mistress at school, because he had the absurd idea that it was the finest calling in the world' (p.131). However, improved communications allowed everyone to see the standard of living enjoyed by the better-off, and subjective judgements of the worth of different occupational callings were 'assimilated to the one national model' (p.132).

28 I am not convinced that it is very useful to try to reduce qualitative data to categories general enough to be quantified, as McDavid and O'Cain (1977) do with incidental comments from the dialect survey of South Carolina, although it is interesting to see some use being made of such material.

3. Findings: Individual lexical items

In this chapter, the main results of the lexical questionnaire are set out, following the sequence of the prompt items, which were roughly arranged under topic headings. The source of the item is given, and when it is recorded in the dictionaries, some indication of its antiquity. In some cases the items were new or inadequately described in the dictionary record, and I give below such information as I have been able to glean. Even for words already well-documented it is sometimes possible to add some detail, for instance fernietickles appears to be stylistically restricted - it is a word used affectionately to children. Under sugarallie, there is a comment which perhaps throws some light on the old verse about sugarallie and picking up preens; it is also clear that sugarallie and liquorice are not, for many people, synonyms, and so on.

In another type of comment, speakers sometimes remark on sociolinguistic restrictions on usage, for instance that a word is used more by women than men, or vice versa. There are likewise comments classifying words as 'old', 'modern' and so on. Such comments can often by confirmed either by the quantitative findings presented here, or by the dictionary record. Most discrepancies are in a single direction, the exaggeration by adults of the decline of Scots amongst the young. This interesting bias is discussed in Chapter 4, and quotations relevant to it are to be found there.

Other comments are quoted for their social-historical interest. Later chapters will explore in general terms the idea of a generation gap, the suggestion that there is a discontinuity in life experience, reflected in linguistic change, between Glaswegians of an older generation, and those who have grown up in a changed and modernised Glasgow. Many of the specific comments in this chapter will illustrate the intimate relationship between 'words and things', and give some of the flavour of inner city life before redevelopment.

A large number of synonyms and near-synonyms for many items were also collected. For some concepts there is a wide range of (near) synonyms (in addition to the Standard English, which I have

not usually listed). It can be seen how these are drawn in from a range of sources - traditional Scots, local slang, general British slang, Americanisms - adding up to remarkable lists in some cases. There are certain semantic fields - often risqué or abusive - which are especially productive of slang. If we take 3.7.1 ('What do you call somebody who is thick?') as an example, there are Scots lexical items like glaikit, Scots word-forms like eejit (= idiot), British slang like nutter, bampot, the American screwball, exotica like doowally (from a place-name in India) and stumor (from Yiddish). The lists are roughly arranged by semantics (e.g. for chanty wrassler 3.7.4 the near-synonyms fall into three groups: 'a talker', 'a bad workman' and 'a con man') and/or by imagery and word play. To return to 3.7.1, there is the rhyming slang Dolly Dimple, a group implying softness (scone, etc.), a pair implying solidity (waally- or widden-heid), a group implying something missing, a range of similes for thick, and so on. I have not annotated these lists (except where items appear again in Appendix C as additions to the dictionary record); the reader is referred to SND, CSD and DSUE. Many of the creative principles of slang can be seen in this material, e.g. variations on a metaphor (illustrated above), on a phonological pattern (e.g. mingin, etc., reekin, etc.), on a syntactical pattern (e.g. dolled up, etc.). Unfortunately, this cannot be pursued further here. Where particularly unusual items were collected from single individuals, the code for that individual is given, and where an item was received predominantly from one group (e.g. women), this is indicated.

Informants were asked to say whether they a) knew, b) would use each item in the questionnaire. The responses are quantified and the raw figures are given in tables. No tables are given for items that were either universally known, or universally unknown. In some cases, no table is given because design faults in the questionnaire led to uncertainty about how the informants had interpreted the question. As previously explained, the questionnaire was not completed with all informants, and the figures are correspondingly low towards the end. Even in the early part, the numbers in each cell are not high enough to allow

statistical comparisons. I have nevertheless converted the tables into bar graphs (where appropriate), using percentage figures, in order to make the trends within the raw figures visible to the eye. These graphs are to be found in Appendix F. The reader is invited to compare them with the informants' comments. Small fluctuations are to be disregarded, but certain broad trends are confirmed by their occurrence over a number of items.

The following patterns can be noted:

a) many items (e.g. baurlay, hippen, waggity-wa, knock, synd) can be seen as fading out through the age groups at varying rates. Such change in apparent time may or may not indicate change in real time;

b) there is often a 'usage gap' for declining items. In general, usage (U) can be seen to decline with age ahead of the figures for knowledge (K). This need not be the case - in a study reported by Agutter (forthcoming), informants in Gardenstown (known locally as Gamrie) in Banffshire, overwhelmingly claimed that they would use all of the dialect words they claimed to know, whether within the village or outside it.[1] Of course, there are many imponderables affecting answers to this type of question, but recurrent trends may be taken as indicative. This gap, then, suggests that disuse in practice is an important mechanism for the putative vocabulary loss;

c) children's neologisms (e.g. elastics, swedger, mingmong) show the opposite trend to a), but other slang neologisms may show little age variation;

d) in some cases, there are quite marked sex differences in (K) and (U) (e.g. kinderspiel, toller, fernietickles, chanty wrassler), sometimes explicable in terms of differences in social life between the sexes. A sex difference mainly in (U) often goes together with comments indicating that a word is slangy (e.g. shuftie, jildi) or improper (e.g. bun, boot);

e) there is a tendency for men to claim slightly higher (U) than women. This may be a reporting bias (see Chapter 2).

These patterns, and especially the 'usage gap' are reassuring, because they confirm that the answers given (by individuals) were meaningful (for age-sex cells). Although the usage question is a difficult one (imagine being asked if you ever actually used the terms ecru, ska, thanatos or cybernetics), most people tried seriously to answer it. It is the impression of this fieldworker that when not mercilessly winding people up, Glaswegians are almost pathologically honest.

3.1 Money

A number of items referring to money, including the old coinage, were included, as providing very obvious examples of material change. This seemed a safely neutral topic with which to begin the questionnaire, though it may have had the effect of orienting the informants towards change and the past as an interpretive context for the whole exercise.

The British coinage was decimalised in 1971, an event which several people referred to in terms similar to 66M3CC, 'the biggest con trick that ever was worked oan the British public' (49C). One young girl, 10F2PB, identified the change-over as the point when 'the French put in oor - that money' (16B). She was probably starting to say 'oor money' in contrast to the money of an older generation - as one boy said, referring to bob, 'Ma Granda disnae know what oor money is, so he tells me that' (10M-CB, 67B).

There was a widespread awareness of the continuing difficulties of the elderly in adjusting to the new currency, and an appreciation of those shop assistants and others who would take the time to count out their money for them.

> 66F2PC: Ah see - still see a loat i the aul yins in the - 'the aul yins'! - in the shoaps, jist haudin oot their haun, they still don't understaun it, ye know. (17B)

One lady in her late seventies, actually cited by others as a notable example of someone still working in l.s.d., made it quite clear where she stood:

> 66F6PB: Ah've tae say - take thae back, Mary - 'two bob' an 'four bob'. Even the minister, when he was up seein me last week, e laughed, e sayed, 'You're terrible!' Ah don't understaun it! He sayed, 'Ye don't know the decimal?' Ah says, 'Well, ma man's dead eleven an a hauf year, an he knew it!' Ah never waanted tae know it. Ah says, 'Well, you shut up an Ah'll coont thaim intae your haun the wey Ah ...' an it came tae the same thing. Well, Ah was oot the school. Ah didnae need tae bother what Ah was ( ). Naw, Ah don't like bein - Ah like tae think in ma auld ... (15B)

Even quite young people continue to measure inflation by calculating sometimes what prices would be in the old money.

3.1.1 How much is a bob? Would you still use it? Ten bob. Two bob

Bob, a shilling, late 18th century (DSUE).

Table 3.1: Claimed knowledge and use of bob

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	2	4	1	2	7
16+	4	3	7	0	5	6
26+	3	5	8	2	4	6
46+	4	4	8	2	8	10
66+	2	7	9	0	3	4

Key K - claimed knowledge only
U - claimed usage
? - answer unclear between K and U

The item bob seemed to sound odd to many people on its own, in contrast to phrases like two bob, five bob, a coupla bob and a few bob, which did occur spontaneously on the tapes. One boy remarked:

> 16M6CS: Naw, we always thoat it - Ah remember that, we used tae think that was funny, people sayed that, ye know. [...] Well, Ah remember wan instance, it was at Christmas, an they were sellin - there was this lassie sellin Christmas paper, doon the Barras, so many sheets a bob, ye know. That's - that's the time Ah really remember bein awerr i the word, ye know. (74B)

Accordingly, judgements about this item are perhaps unreliable. Some children have been counted as not knowing the item because they could not say on the spur of the moment how much it was. This was perhaps too strict, in view of comments like

> 46M7PS: 'Aye, that'll cost ye ...' - aye. Well, if ye're gaunnae go tae a dance, or - or - 'it'll cost ye a few bob.' But when ye say 'a few bob', ye're actually gaun intae pounds. Although you say a few bob. (31D)

Synonyms.

Barney Dillon (=shillin). An interesting metaphorical extension is provided by 26F7PB:

> That's what Ah caw the weans, 'Come oan, ma Barney Dillon, ma wee shillin.' (22B)

Table 3.2: Claimed use of two bob

Age	Females		Males	
	U	N	U	N
10+	6	6	7	7
16+	4	8	6	6
26+	6	8	6	6
46+	4	8	6	10
66+	2	9	1	3

The item two bob is particularly interesting because of the high level of claimed usage amongst the younger age groups. Older

people are presumably more self-conscious about the need to demonstrate that they can handle the new coinage. Several parents commented on the fact that their children say two bob, e.g.

> 16M2PB: Aye, that's aw the weans aw sayin, two bob. They don't ask for 'ten pence'. Even ma weans, ma weans is - three year auld, the wan that can talk, an that's what she says, 'Dad, gaunnae gie us two bob?' It's just - Ah suppose it's just the wey ye've heard it, ye know. (13F)

The everyday use of the item amongst children is confirmed by this aside (one boy is sending another to the snack bar):

> 10M4CB: Aye, right. Make sure Ah get two bob change, but! A drink and two bob, that is. Ah'm no daft, son. (67B)

The phrase ten bob has also survived amongst the young, but the figures are somewhat lower than for two bob, presumably because two bob is the typical amount given to children for sweets at the moment.

Table 3.3: Claimed use of ten bob

Age	Females		Males	
	U	N	U	N
10+	5	6	7	7
16+	3	8	6	6
26+	5	8	5	6
46+	2	8	5	10
66+	3	9	1	4

This is a stronger persistence than DSUE allows the item (s.v. bob):

> ob. since the decimalisation ... but lingering in such phrases as queer as a three (or nine) bob watch, and two bob as a rough estimate of a smallish sum of money.

3.1.2 How much is a tanner?

Table 3.4: Claimed knowledge and use of tanner

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	2	0	6	1	1		6
16+	3	2	7	2	2	2	6
26+	2	6	8	1	5		6
46+	3	5	8	0	10		10
66+	1	8	9	0	4		4

Whereas with two bob and ten bob, usage refers specifically to current usage, in this and subsequent items, informants have been counted under U if they claimed to have used the word at any stage in their lives.

Tanner was the usual name for sixpence from the early 19th century (see DSUE), to the extent that 46M8PS was at a loss to think of a more interesting word for me:

> There was - wasnae any - what would Ah say - slang words for 'tanner', Ah mean it was just a tanner. (21D)

Similarly:

> 66M1CC: All these words were used, they were aw common words, ye know. Ah mean, they were - nobody sayed, 'Give him a sixpence,' - it sounded lah-di-dah. Sayed, 'Gie im a tanner,' an that was - that was the way it went. (47C)

The item did come up spontaneously on tape:

> 46F4PB: [with reference to buckshee] Never had anythin buckshee, mind ye, but!
> 46M4PB: Ye goat me buckshee.
> 46F5PB: It wasnae, it was seven an a tanner.
> 46F4PB: Ah've been payin aw ma life for you!
> 46M4PB: Aw, Christ! Ah've been payin aw ma life, ye mean.

46F4PB: How, dae ye think Ah goat a bargain, like?
46M4PB: Well, Ah don't know that.
46F4PB: Ah, Ah know! Ah didnae! (28B)

Seven and a tanner was the price of the marriage licence. Tanner baw (football) and tanner double (betting line) were also mentioned. Again, younger people sometimes had only a vague idea of the reference of the word:

16F7CD: Ah know it's an old coin, but never say that. [sixpence] Aye, Ah've heard i sixpence. Ah've got one i thaim. That's the two-an-half pence worth one.
CIM: That's a tanner.
16F4PS: Is it!?
16F7CD: Ah never knew that was the same thing! (38D)

Synonyms

Tartan banner is the rhyming slang for tanner (46M2PC). There is also sprazzer (46M2PC, 46M10CD), and - perhaps just an association of ideas - Elsie sixpence (16M6CS) [Elsie Tanner was, of course, a character in a popular TV series].

3.1.3 How much is a tishy, tishyroon?

Tishyroon, half a crown, from the mid 19th century in London (DSUE s.v. tusheroon). DSUE derives this from Parliaree madza caroon on the assumption that an earlier source is wrong in defining it as 5/-. Its meaning is otherwise 2/6d.

Table 3.5: Claimed knowledge and use of tishyroon

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0	6	0	0		7
16+	1	0	8	1	0		5
26+	2	0	8	1	1		5
46+	1	2	8	0	8	1	10
66+	6	0	9	0	3		4

Speakers tended to characterise this as (rhyming) slang:

> 66M3CC: Tisharoon, because it was half a crown - hauf a croon - not half a crown - hauf a croon. (49C)

There is a stereotypical identification of rhyming slang with the English (see below), which several people made, but of course, as a rhyme, it only works in Scots and Northern English. Nevertheless, it was never an everyday term, and the Scots rhyming derivation is probably an instance of folk etymology. Curiously, macaroon was offered once as a synonym (46M9PS). Cf. the suggested etymology, from madza caroon - or is this rhyming word-play? It seems to be typical of slang items to figure in complex webs of phonological and semantic associations (cf. paraffin, 3.4.1). The variant dishyroon was used by 66M3CC.

Tishy, from McGhee, Cut and Run (1962: 116), where it occurs in the phrase bookie's tishy-board.

Table 3.6: Claimed knowledge and use of tishy

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0	6	0	0		7
16+	0	0	8	0	0		6
26+	0	0	8	0	0		5
46+	0	0	6	2	2	1	11
66+	0	0	8	0	1		3

Very few people claimed to know this item. There were various suggestions ranging from sixpence to a pound, including that it is an abbreviated form of tishyroon, but always after hearing tishyroon. I am not confident about the results for this item.

3.1.4 Can you tell me any expression for money in general? What is gelt?

Gelt, money, late 17th century (DSUE). Used by McGhee in Cut and Run (p.27).

The general opinion of those who recognised the word was that it was not Scottish. It was variously labelled German, Dutch, Old English and Jewish, which probably means Yiddish. (DSUE favours a Dutch etymology). Its usage was variously associated with bookies, gamblers and, less specifically, with older men.

Table 3.7: Claimed knowledge and use of gelt

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	6	0	0	7
16+	1	0	7	4	0	6
26+	0	1	8	1	2	6
46+	3	0	8	4	5	9
66+	2	0	9	1	3	4

Synonyms

Cally dosh is particularly popular with the two younger age groups. Also cally (46F1CC), and cally dash, given as a rhyme with smash (26F7PB);
dough, also Doh-reh-mee (26F11CD);
cabbage:

> 26F6CB: Ah know this man that calls it let- lettuce. He's tryin tae be funny, cos everybody else'll say cabbage, he'll say lettuce. (29B)

bee's honey (46M8PS), also bees an honey (46M5PB) (= money);
poppy:

10M6CB: That's just ma patter. [...] That's just me. Me an ma auntie an aw that. She's a wild yin, ma auntie. [...] Aye, she's only twinty - twinty wan. (67B)

sauce:

10M4CB: Big brother says, 'Gie me some sauce.' 10M6CB: Then is Ma walks in wi a boattle i tomata sauce an pours it aw ower im! (67B)

shekels (46F4PB), spondoolucks (46M3PB), lolly, bread.

Small change is usually smash, also coapper, siller (an 'auld word', 46F6PS), dross (26M2CS), and ackers (39F). An unusual item was mentioned by 10M7PB: gents or gence, which he said was slang for pence (DSUE s.v. gen n.1, gent 2).

Paper money: crinkly gear (16M2PB).

3.1.5 What do you call it when you get something for nothing?
Buckshee.

Buckshee, free, hence additional, unexpected, 20th century from Arabic (DSUE s.v. bakshee 3,4).

Table 3.8: Claimed knowledge and use of buckshee

Age	Females				Males			
	K	U	?	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0		6	0	0		7
16+	3	2		6	3	1		6
26+	4	3		7	0	5	1	6
46+	1	7		8	1	9		10
66+	3	3	3	9	0	3	1	4

This question gives an insight into the values of the community. It was frequently met with a ritual protestation:

66F3PC: Ah never ever goat somethin for nothin! (50B)

Although DSUE considers sense 3 'free' to be the commonest in the late twentieth century, sense 4 'additional' was very strong, and apparently more basic, in my interviews:

> 46F6PS: Och, that's somethin oan the side, innit? Buckshee money's extra. (39F)

> 26F7PB: Ah've heard likes i workers sayin that, or 'buckshee money', drink money. (22B)

> 26M2CS: Ah well, aye, 'Ah goat it buckshee,' ye know, the guy had it extra an he gave it tae us like, ye know. [...] Ah well, it's at work, like, know, if Ah was workin, know Ah would talk tae ( ) 'Ah've goat , say, five tins a paint, buckshee,' ye know, five tins a paint extra. 'Ye waant tae buy it aff me?' ye know. Ye're gaunnae - that's the wey ye would use 'buckshee', if ye're gaunnae try an sell it tae somebody, know. Ye would say, 'Listen Ah've goat five tins buckshee, Ye waant - Ah'll punt it tae ye,' know. (13F)

Hence 'cheap' rather than 'free':

> 46F6PS: Cheap.
> 46M1CC: [...] Aye, it'd be dead cheap. Wouldnae be free, naw. A wee bit cheap, it's cheap, than what ye would pey the ordinary price, ye know. (33F)

Several people identified the word with the Army, and specifically with Egypt (or India), and 46F5PB also knew the etymon, bakshish ('Am Ah right? A mine i useless information', 28B). The form buckshees was used by 46M7PS.

Synonyms

Nowt came up several times from both sexes and all age groups. Others were (free) gratis, hee haw, fuck aw, zilch, a handout, aff a barra and fell off the back i a lorry.

3.2 Games and entertainment

The study of children's games is a field on its own, and lacking the relevant training, I was unable to assess the significance of much of the material collected. I have listed in Appendix C the lexical items which appeared to be new, but since a number of them are compounds or diminutives of Standard English words, they may or may not be eligible as Scots neologisms.

3.2.1 What is hunch cuddy hunch?

This is a 20th century team game, concisely descibed in a quotation cited by SND (s.v. hunch II v. 1):

> A small band of boys divided themselves into two teams. the leader leaned his back against a wall and supported his companions who bent to form a continuous line of backs on to which the other side leaped. Whereupon the "cuddy" hunched or heaved to dislodge the load. If one boy was dislodged and grounded the positions of the team [sic] were reversed.

(Glasgow c. 1900)

Table 3.9: Claimed knowledge and use of hunch cuddy hunch

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0	6	0	0		7
16+	1	0	8	1	0		6
26+	1	0	8	1	1		6
46+	1	4	6	2	6	10	10
66+	0	8	8	0	4		4

Some people, especially women, described the game rather vaguely as a kind of leapfrog, which was played both in the street and in the school gym. Others, mainly young adults, described what is also known as a coaksie fight, where the combatants are carried on others' shoulders. (This is also the meaning given in a recent

pamphlet based on reminiscences [Community Education Service of Strathclyde Regional council, 1985]). Those who seemed to think they knew the word have been included under K. This principle of taking people at their word is the one generally followed (except for the specific questions about the old money, above), in accordance with the fieldwork approach already described.

The game was also called hunch cuddy (66F6PB, 46M5PB).

3.2.3 What are elastics? Any other names? Chinks.

Elastics, ropes made by joining (coloured) elastic bands; the games played with these (source: preliminary interview 2B).

Table 3.10: Claimed knowledge and use of elastics

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	6		6	0	7	7
16+	0	8		8	0	5	5
26+	0	8		8	0	2	5
46+	4	0		7	3	0	9
66+	1	0	1	7	0	0	4

The three terms elastics, Chinese ropes and chinks are synonymous for the game and for the 'rope', but elastics can also mean 'elastic bands' as such:

> 26M4PS: Well, this is - the wey you're [26M5PS] talkin aboot, know, usin the elastic bands an use them for slings - Ah'm a - Ah'm a postman driver but - so a lot i the postmen use them for tyin up their letters, an this is aw ye're gettin. Every time ye see kids, 'Any elastics, any elastics?' an this is what they're usin them for, ye know. (11D)

Ann and Michele Henderson and some of Ann's friends made a video with me of three games:

a) a single line of elastics is stretched between two girls at a certain height (wee men has the enders sitting on the ground), and the others jump over it as it is raised from snakesie (waved on the ground) to ordinary, knee, waist, under oxter, ear, heid, praises (the hands in a praying gesture on top of the head) and high heavens (arm's length above the head). Anyone who misses a jump takes an end and the sequence goes back to the start;

b) triangles and squares are played with the rope joined into a circle and stretched around the legs of three or four enders. The other girls follow a leader through a sequence of steps over the rope, hoppieing and jumping onto it. The steps become more complicated as the group go round the triangle or square each time, and if any mistake is made, that girl takes an end;

c) with two enders and the rope around their legs, a sequence of steps and jumps is played out by each of the girls in turn, and the rope is raised higher until someone fails to do the jumps. One chant to accompany this is:

Scotland, England, Ireland, Wales,
Inside, outside, monkeys' tails.

Many older people have seen the game played, and 26F4CC is no doubt right in her estimate of how long it has been practised:

26F4CC: Ah've a young sister - Jeannie's what? - therty five, an Ah would a sayed it really come intae vogue when she was a kid, though, maybe just aboot twenty five year ago, ye know, Ah'd be merr or less oot i that kind i thing, but Ah mean Ah know Jeannie played aw - had a wee shot at it, like, maybe, as Ellen was sayin, the big sisters gaun oot an playin wi the wee wans, kind of a thing. But Ah would say, naw, it's maybe just aboot twinty five year. But then, tae be ferr, it's maybe just last twinty five year, therty year, we've had elastic. Ye know, tae that extent, if ye know what Ah mean, tae - tae play

them. Because it was the thin elastics ( ), aw the different colours that they did it wi. It wasnae actually the big brown elastic bands that they had when we were at school, ye know, it was - there was merr flexibility in the thin wans. (58C)

The game is mainly played by girls:

10M7PB: Aye, we play it sometimes an aw.
10M5CB: Two people haud the elastic. Ye've goat tae jump orr them.
10M7PB: Jump orr it. It's maistly lassies that play it, but. (32B)

Chinks, as elastics (interview 2B).

Table 3.11: Claimed knowledge and use of chinks

Age	Females				Males			
	K	U	?	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	4	1	5	2	0		7
16+	1	2		8	1	0	1	5
26+	1	1		8	0	0		5
46+	0	0		7	0	0		10
66+	0	0		7	0	0		4

Chinese ropes, the full form of chinks, was also asked for and is quantified below.

Table 3.12: Claimed knowledge and use of Chinese ropes

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	1	2		4	2	0	5
16+	2	3		8	1	2	5
26+	3	3		8	1	1	5
46+	5	1		7	3	2	10
66+	0	0	1	7	0	0	4

Synonyms

American ropes, American elastics were mentioned several times by younger adults, but Chinese ropes seems to have superseded these amongst the present generation of children. Also Chinese elastics.

3.2.3 What is chickie mellie?

Chickie mellie, 20th century, a trick played on neighbours (SND, and Opie and Opie, 1959).

Table 3.13: Claimed knowledge and use of chickie mellie

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	1	0	7
16+	0	0	8	0	0	6
26+	0	0	8	0	0	5
46+	0	0	7	1	0	10
66+	0	0	8	0	0	4

This prank was known to several adults, but mostly without any particular name. Soap, chewing gum or a rubber seal from a lemonade bottle top was stuck to a window to hold a string, and a noise made by tapping a bobbin, button or similar object, or by constructing a ratchet of knots in the string.

66M7PD: Ah can tell ye a funny story - well, it was funny - wasnae funny for the person involved. It was a woman that stayed up an - stayed up oor close in Gateside Street. And Ah'd be - what, twelve, therteen - an the pal an I shinned up - an she stayed in the top flat - we shinned up the roan pipe, an stuck this thing on tae er windae, an she lived alone wi er daughter, an er daughter was out courtin. Somebody went up ontae the dyke across the way, doin this, an then when anybody came in the road, ye could give it a jirk, an it would come away. Thought no more about it. The followin day, heard our mothers talkin, Mrs. K------ had been found in a dead faint, in

> the - in the middle i er floor. Well, it could have killed the poor old soul! But we didn't - we were - we were unaware that we were doin any damage, ye know. [...] If somebody had did that now, Ah would say, 'The wee vandals,' - well, probably somebody was sayin that aboot me. But ye didnae think ye were bein - it was just a joke. But it coulda backfired. (52C)

Synonyms

Clockwork (66M7PD and 66M1CC).

3.2.4 What is ring/ bing bang skoosh?

Ring bang skoosh, ringing or knocking at a door and running away. The SND cites one Edinburgh source from 1965 (s.v. skoosh). Opie and Opie (1959) give bing bang skoosh (cf. SND bing v^2).

Table 3.14: Claimed knowledge and use of bing bang skoosh

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	1	0	7
16+	0	0	8	1	0	6
26+	0	0	8	0	0	5
46+	0	0	7	0	0	10
66+	1	0	8	0	0	4

The prank of knocking doors and running away was not called this by any of my informants, except for an incidental interviewee, a girl from Darnley. The usual names are variants of kick-door-run-fast. There is also the more elaborate version involving doors on different landings, called white horse (if the escape if from the top landing, this is Australian white horse, see Appendix C), as well as various pranks where a trap is set for anyone opening a door.

Synonyms

kick-door-run-fast, k.d.r.f., k.d.r.h.f.
(kick-doors-run-hellova-fast), kick the door;
chap-door-run-fast, chap the door and run away,
chap-(the)-door(s)-run-away;
'knock an run or ring an run or something' (26M5PS), ring a bell
(66M6PB);
'funder an lightnin - chap the door like thunder an run like
lightnin' (10M7PB);
white horse(s)

3.2.5 What is five stanes?

Five stanes, a game of skill with small pebbles or pieces of wood or metal, late 19th century, now Fife according to CSD (SND s.v. fives and cf. chuck n^2 and chuckie stane).

Table 3.15: Claimed knowledge and use of five stanes

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	5	5	1	6		7
16+	1	5	8	0	5		5
26+	2	6	8	0	3		5
46+	5	3	8	1	5	1	10
66+	4	0	8	0	1		3

Although five stanes is also used, amongst my older informants the usual term turned out to be chuckies. There are a number of stages in the game, involving picking up pebbles, while bouncing a small ball or throwing up a pebble. The players decide who will begin by throwing up five pebbles and seeing how many they can catch on the back of the hand. Each of four pebbles has to be picked up in turn while the fifth (or a small ball) is thrown in the air and caught. If all four are successfully picked up and put aside, the next stage is to pick up one, then two, then three, then all four during the throw of the fifth. If that is successfully completed, the

four pieces are placed on the back of the hand in the spaces between the fingers, and they have to be dropped one at a time during the throw. (I owe this description to a young man who grew up in Maryhill.)

46M5PB described it as 'like a conjurin act'.

CIM: That must be awfie hard.

46M6PB: It is. That was the reason the game was played! (82B)

One older man (66M7PD) thought of it as a lassies' game (like many games which involve carrying out moves in an exact sequence), but this was a minority view.

It is sometimes possible to buy coloured pieces for the game, but it can also be played with small chuckie stanes, i.e. pebbles.

26F7PB: Ye still use that, cos the weans - they come up wi stanes, an then ye hoover them up in the hoover! (22B)

Synonyms

chuckies, chuckie stanes (this is also the rhyming slang for weans), stanie (26F9--), knucklie (46M6PB), peebly (26F2CF and 26F3CF), fives (26M5PS).

3.2.6 What did/ do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest?
Keys. Baurlay.

Keys, truce term, 20th century (SND). See also Opie and Opie (1959, 1982: Map 7) where keys is the form shown in the west of Scotland, and barlay in the east.

Table 3.16: Claimed knowledge and use of key(sies)

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	0	7	7
16+	0	8	8	0	5	5
26+	0	7	8	1	3	5
46+	0	7	7	0	10	10
66+	1	4	7	0	2	4

It was difficult to separate keys and keysies as children treated these as the same item. They are counted together above. The truce gesture is to put the two thumbs up. It is considered cheating to go keys for no good reason:

> 10F2PB: Aye, it we're playin tig. If somebody's runnin efter ye, ye say, 'keysies'. [...] Aye, say we were playin chasies, or somefin, an put yer fumbs up an say 'keysies'. [...] Then ye'd say, 'Ah'm playin,' shout ye're playin. An then they would probably crack up, cos you - they werenae - you werenae - you put keysies up. Some i them say, 'There's nae keysies in it.' (16iB)

Barlay, baurlay, truce term (SND s.v. barley). Forms of the word are associated with games from the late 16th century. In contrast to the Opies' findings (see keys above), SND has a citation from Glasgow (1898) and Mackie (1984) lists baurly.

Table 3.17: Claimed knowledge and use of baurlay

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0		8
16+	0	0	8	0	0		5
26+	0	0	8	0	0		5
46+	0	1	7	3	1		10
66+	0	5	8	1	1	1	4

This item was indeed confirmed amongst older informants:

> 66M3CC: Likes - supposin we were playin tig an - well, for instance ma lace was loosened or somethin like that, Ah'd say, 'Ah'm a baurlay,' so ye cannae be tigged. Wance ye've fixed what ye're doin, then ye go again. (56C)

A generation younger had switched to keys:

> 46F5PB: Keys would be used in a game, tae say, 'stop the game'. But Ah mean, baurlay would be used, Ah mean, ma mother used tae always say, if we were keepin at er for somethin, 'Oh, for goodness' sake, gie me a baurlay,' meanin, 'just gimme a rest'. But it wasnae a game. (28B)

Synonyms

> 10M5CB: 'Ten up, ten doon, turn aroon, touch the groon, no playin.' (32B)

> 26F6CB: 'Nip, nippsie, nae nippsies back' (29B)

To stop the game entirely, the formula is:

> 10M7PB: 'Come oot, come oot, wherever ye are, the game's a bogey, the man's in the lobby, eatin is chocolate biscuit.' (32B)

Other terms are nippsies (26F7PB and see above), thumbies up (16F3PS), keys up (16F5PB).

3.2.7 Did/ do you ever go out dressed up at Hallowe'en? What are the people doing it called? Guisers. Gloshins.

Guisers, children dressed up for especially Hallowe'en festivities, late 15th century (SND s.v. guiser).

Table 3.18: Claimed knowledge and use of guisers

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	1	0	5	3	1	8
16+	1	2	8	2	0	5
26+	5	1	8	1	3	5
46+	2	5	7	2	5	10
66+	0	6	6	4	0	4

The tradition is still kept up to some extent, but the name guisers is not used, although remembered as used by an older generation:

> 26F4CC: Ah mean, Ah mind wan year ma grannie dressed up an went tae the wumman next door, an Ah mean, Ah'm talkin aboot - she'd be what? - aye, sixty - sixty-three, sixty-four. We were aw in her hoose havin a Hallowe'en party wi ma weans, ye know how, by that time - an she just says, 'Ah'm gaun guisin!' intae the wuman next door, ye know how she called it guisin. (58C)

Opie and Opie (1959, 1982: 292) note that in some parts of Britain 'Hallowe'en and Guy Fawkes celebrations have become entangled.' This confusion is also reported by my informants:

> 46M5PB: There were nane i these kids that are: 'A penny for the guiser,' there was nane i that in oor days. We just went roon the doors, chapped the doors, an ye were always made welcome, wint ye, every door ye went tae, yeah. (31D)

(There was also an example of confusion with the word geezers).

This was an item which brought out community ethics very strongly. Children were expected to go to people to whom they were known:

> 66M6PB: Many a time - Ah went dressed up tae me aunt's - she was up - because naturally everybody - ye'd yer aunties an yer uncles all lived in the same area, an one i the times Ah went

tae ma aunt's, who at that time had a few bawbees - she was a money lender, at that time, an Ah went dressed up tae ma aunt's - she was a favourite aunt i mine as well - an Ah went up tae er house dressed up - aw Ah cannae mind what Ah was dressed up as - somethin stupit anyway - wi aw ma face blackened an somethin like that - one i ma father's old jackets or somethin - an she chased me down the stair! (60B)

Conversely:

16M2PB: Ah never done that. Ah never goat oot at Hallowe'en. Ma Ma an Da wouldnae let me. Says it was beggin. (13F)

Adults complain that children no longer offer a song or turn for their Hallowe'en. But there are stock rhymes with which the householder may be met at the door:

16F10-X: 'The sky is blue, the grass is green, anythin for ma Hallowe'en'.
16F2CB: Aye, aye, 'The witches of Hallowe'en, the wickedest you've ever seen, we fly around at night, an give ye all a fright, the witches of Hallowe'en.' (43B)

(Beck, 1985, identifies the latter as popularised by schools television). Children, on the other hand, have an equal sense of the neighbourly obligations of adults:

10M4CB: Man, see this man, e just flitted in, right, M---, right, we chapped the door, aw we see is the wee heid lookin oot at the blinds, an as if we didnae know, that they werenae in or somethin, man - we seen them. Then e went away again, an they didnae answer the door. [...] He could've least answered it, an sayed e never - they forgoat tae went oot an goat somethin for Hallowe'en. [...] Stead i no even answerin the door at aw, man. We just knew e was in.
10M6CB: Aw, but they're all beggars, man, they don't bother, man. (67B)

Gloshins, 19th century, as guisers, except that the festivities were usually those of the end of the year, when the play of Galatian was performed by children around the doors (SND s.v. Galatian, obsolescent). Opie and Opie write of Hallowe'en guisers:

> In Glasgow they call themselves 'Gloshins' and 'Please for my Hallowe'en' is contracted to 'Plessaleen'. (1959, 1982: 293)

I was unable to confirm this item.

3.2.8 What is a kinderspiel?

Kinderspiel, a drama performed by children (OED Supplement). The word is used in connection with the Temperance movement (tape-recording, Elspeth King, People's Palace). It is also used in connection with the Rechabites (Kirkintilloch WEA, 1983: 10; and Weir, 1970: 90).

Table 3.19: Claimed knowledge and use of kinderspiel

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0	8
16+	0	0	8	0	0	5
26+	0	0	8	0	0	5
46+	0	1	7	1	0	10
66+	0	4	6	2	0	4

It was known to some of my informants, mainly women, in various connections:

> 66F8PS: That - when ye - maybe if ye goat -as Ah say, ye went tae the Band i Hope or the Christian Endeavour, an they would - like, what they cry it noo a coancert or - ye know. An ye would get a ticket for it an go intae it an that was - ye call it 'gaun tae a kinderspiel', ye know. Aye. But ye'd tae go tae the meetins for it, ye know. Aye. Cos we were - the weans were aw better kinna reared up in thae younger days than what

they are noo, ye know, cos there were plenty i missions open for them, for tae go intae. An ye could pass yer night. Mm-hmm. But the weans is aw loast for that noo. Ye know, it's aw these discos an that for them, it's a sin, they don't know - aye. An we goat in for very little, maybe just a penny or something. Mm-hmm. Aw, we used tae like when there was anything like that oan, an ye went tae the Sunday Schools an that, they would tell ye, 'There's a night oan for ye,' aye. (23B)

46F5PB: Oh, Ah know the kinderspiel. Ah took part in one. That was the Guides. Well, when the young - youth movement used tae put oan song an dance for - ye know, invitin the people, sellin tickets for it. Ah can even remember the song Ah sung in wan.
46M4PB: Oh don't sing it noo, Isa, please! (28B)

3.2.9 What is a tossing school? What are the people running it called? Tollers.

Tossing school (cf. OED toss a coin). McGhee (Cut and Run) gives a detailed description of the game of pitch and toss and its terminology:

For the uninitiated, I had best explain here the workings of the tossing school movement, which is something of an institution in working-class Glasgow.

The school is formed by a small group of men known as 'tollers'. The tollers find a likely site. A back court, or a piece of waste ground, with convenient escape routes, in the event of a police raid. The tossing addicts are then informed by word of mouth that a school is about to start in such and such a place at a certain time. When a number have gathered there, someone is induced to take the first toss and the school starts. Tossing-man is given two pennies, his purpose being to throw them in the air so that they fall to the ground showing two heads. A head and tail showing means a re-toss, and if two

tails, tossing-man loses and someone else takes the pennies.

Before tossing-man starts his effort he hands to the tollers his stake-money, which varies according to his own pocket. By-standers are allowed to add to his stake money, and after three successful tosses, the stake money, which is now multiplied by the others to eight times the original amount, is divided in the following way - five parts to tossing-man and his backers, one part to the tollers and the remaining two parts are staked on the fourth pair of heads.

After the sixth pair, tossing-man and his backers can withdraw with fourteen parts, leaving the tollers with two. The tollers have everything to gain, and nothing to lose.

Did I hear you say, 'Very profitable for the tollers?' That's the idea. That's what they're there for.

The tollers handle all the money, while one of their number picks up the pennies , and restores them to tossing-man. With shrewd side-betting a considerable take can be made by the tollers.

But don't get the idea that the customers get nothing. In a reasonably straight school, with the necessary luck, an addict can pick up a packet. That's why they come back. Even after being fined at a police court. (1962: 118-19)

Table 3.20: Claimed knowledge and use of tossing school

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	1	0	5	0	0	8
16+	0	0	8	0	1	5
26+	1	2	8	0	3	5
46+	3	4	7	0	10	10
66+	1	7	8	0	4	4

Pitch and toss was very definitely a male pursuit (although one Fat Ann the Man was mentioned as following it). It usually took place on a Sunday afternoon:

66F17PX: There was a joke aboot it: this Japanese came tae Britain for a holiday, an e went back an e sayed, 'Oh, they're a - very religious,' e says, 'There's the Catholics, an the Prodesants - there's the Orange band - an then,' e says, 'there's one crowd, Ah don't know what they are, but,' e says, 'they stand in a crowd,' e says, 'an they toss a penny, an then they bow their head, an they say "Jesus Christ!"' [...] That was the most fervent i them all, e sayed. (84C)

Older people associate it particularly with the idleness and racketeering of the Depression, but it was probably quite regular up to the legalisation of gambling in 1960. A young policeman (from East Kilbride, but working in the East End) thought it was a thing of the past: 'No worth it. No the money tae be made. More money tae be made oan hoarses,' (63F).

However, I was told by young men that organised games still went on in the Calton.

Any group of men could play informally for pennies, perhaps deciding who would toss first by throwing at the bab:

26F4CC: They played bab [...] they drew a line, oan the dirt, ye know, in the gerden, ye know how there was nae grass, just dirt, an they drew, just a line, straight line, the two ends oan it, an whoever threw the penny nearest - that was what they called the bab, the line was actually the bab, an they threw the penny, ye know, they stood fae here tae the pole, an they threw the penny, an whoever goat - whoever's penny landed nearest tae the mark, they goat tossin the pennies first. Right? That was how they started it oaf. (58C)

Organised games with betting in pounds used to take place for instance on the Sody Waste (a piece of industrial wasteland in Dalmarnock), the railway embankments and the banks of Clyde. There was an especially good place near Belvedere Hospital:

66M6PB: An Ah don't know - dae ye know what - how Glasgow is split - old Glasgow is split by the River Clyde here? [...] Just up at Belvidere there, know where Ah mean, know the - the river comes that wey. Well, that side i the river was Rutherglen, an this side was Glasgow. Well down behind Belvidere Ospital, the - there used tae be the - what ye call the tossin school. An at that - they used tae raid them now an again, ye know, cos they were illegal. Well, at that time, the River Clyde was so shallow at that part, at that time it was nearly all men that played it, they could walk across it. They'd get wet, naturally, but it would only bring them up tae here. Well at that - at that time, Ah'm talkin about - in the early therties an that, when the tossin schools were rife here, they went an played, tossin oan the banks i the Clyde at that part, particular part an if the Glasgow police came tae break up the - the tossin school, if they goat tae the other side i the river, it was Rutherglen. [...] So they used tae - they'd be in their suits at that time, they didnae have denims an shirts an things like that - they - a pair i trousers an a jacket on, they - they would get fint a pound or somethin for play- for gamblin, or for tossin the pennies. They would walk across the river intae the other side i the river. [...] Aw them that didnae get away on the Glasgow side. But if any i them couldn't get away on the Glasgow side, they just shot across the river, over the river's bank, an they were in Rutherglen. An the Glasgow police couldnae touch them. (60B)

46M7PS: Hoo! There used tae be a tossin school ootside Shawfield, just efter the War an - aye, but ootside Shawfield - see as ye come oot a Shawfield Dugs, aboot forty-eight, forty-nine, there was a tossin school oot there, but hit was crookd! Hit was bent! They used tae - ye couldnae - as you say, the belt-men made it that big that ye couldnae see what they actual result was. They used tae say, 'Right then, it's two - two tails, two heads,' an it was the widos - it was aboot three or four widos that run it an they'd their belt-men an ye couldnae see the result. (31D)

The belt-man was one of the tollers. His function was described thus:

66M6PB: Aw aye. That was tae keep the circle clear. Because there was some i them they reckoned the tosser would put a head an a tail on - it was either supposed tae be two heads or two tails up the way, but some i them used tae put - ye know, if they were cheatin - so they'd put one head up - if they were throwin for two heads, they'd only one coin tae go for a head, ye get what Ah mean? So instead i bein two tae one, it - for even money they'd get another head or a tail , an they reckoned some i them were good at it, ye know, fiddlin, that wey. But the belt man, he just - he just stood, as Ah said, an kept the ring - circle.

CIM: An e really did swing a belt?

66M6PB: Oh, e swung a belt wi a buckle on it. E didnae have the buckle end in is hand, he'd the belt end in is hand, he'd the belt end in is hand, an the buckle end - he swung it round, a belt - it was off is waist, but when ye take a belt off, say it's therty six inches long at least. An some i them were extra long - an some i them wore longer belts for that reason, an the belt would be that thick, wi a buckle on it aboot that size. Brass. An he swung that, an the crowd had tae keep that circle cleared. (60B)

There also had to be a watcher (or watchers) 'who was watchin for the grasshopper comin!' (66M1CC on 47C). Unless, of course: 'The polis got their bung, an aw, ye know,' (46M4PB on 28B).

Also:

26M7XB: There was a name for the guy. They used tae - one guy would be loaded up wi the stakes an if they had tae break, he car- he was off, he was the fastest, used tae take - take the money oot the road, but Ah cannae member the name for im. They had a name but Ah cannae remember the name. Cos member faither talkin aboot it. (64B)

The tossers threw the coin from a flat piece of wood, a tollstick. A variation on the usual toss was to use three coins instead of two so that either two heads or two tails must come up, and the game then went faster.

Toller, see tossing school, above. (Cf. OED toller, toll collector and perhaps also DSUE tol, back-slang for lot, share).

> 66F6PB: Maybe that's cos they aw came fae the Toll! Wint it no? Brigton Croass. See they aw came roon fae that wey, Mackeith Street an aw that. (27B)

Table 3.21: Claimed knowledge and use of toller

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0		4	0	0	8
16+	0	0		8	0	0	5
26+	1	0		8	0	1	5
46+	1	1		7	2	7	10
66+	1	0	2	8	0	3	4

3.2.10 The shows - what things did/ do you like? What is a stookiedoll?

Stookiedoll, 'A stuffed representation of a face at which competitors shied wooden balls at the shows' (Mackie, 1984). (Cf. SND 19th century stookie eemage / man(nie) / mumie, s.v. stookie).

I have not quantified the responses here, because the question was confusing. It is difficult to sort out whether people were responding to stookiedoll as a single lexical item or as a noun phrase. A stookie doll could be a chalk figure, such as are given as prizes. Some associated the item with a 'china'-faced, as opposed to a rag doll:

> 66M6PB: The only expression Ah heard for a stookie doll was at Christmas, when somebody goat - tae get a stookie doll was awfa

good. Ye either goat a - wan i these soft - toy dolls, but a stookiedoll was an expensive wan. [...] If ye goat a stookie doll yer Ma - yer mammy probably payed half a crown for it. Whereas she'd get a soft toy doll for aboot sixpence. (60B)

If I had asked about the idiom 'somebody just sits there like a stookie', it would probably have been quite well known, and this seems to be the main current use of the item. Cf. also stooks (Appendix C), a stage in playing ball when the thrower must not move her feet.

3.2.11 What does it mean to stookie somebody?

Stookie, to hit someone with one's own head (source: open questionnaire, adults).

Table 3.22: Claimed knowledge and use of stookie

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	0	8	8
16+	1	7	8	1	4	5
26+	3	5	8	2	3	5
46+	3	2	7	3	6	10
66+	1	1	6	0	3	4

This item produced a quantity of etymological speculation:

26F4CC: Ah think it just - actually what it meant was, 'Ah'll punch ye that hard ye'll need a stookie,' an a stookie is a plaster. [...] Ye'll have a broken limb an ye'll need a plaster for it - in other words, ye'll need a stookie. Again just a slang expression, an that's where ye're gettin it fae. (58C)

66M6PB: Because e went flat oan is back an e couldnae move, like a stookie. [...] 'E's went oot like a stookie.' (60B)

> 26M6-D: Aye, that must've originated again, maybe a stookie on is erm, an e's hut somebody. Stookied im. Why is that anyway? (18D)

The imagery may be as in stick one on somebody (stookie as plaster) or stiffen somebody, or both. A general meaning of punching someone was common, and more specifically punching them on the chin. Mainly from men and boys, there was an alternative sense, to heider somebody, i.e. butt them, which may bear some relationship to the stookie heads of the shows. This was felt to be a slangy expression:

> 16F7CD: Don't think it's a - it's polite for a lassie tae say that, 'Ah'll stookie ye!' Ma wee brothers say that. (38D)

Synonyms

Head, heider, stick the nut oan, stick the heid oan, stick wan oan, stiffen, gub, chin, scud, banjo (from women), hook, bunch i fives.

3.3 Food

3.3.1 What do you call a sweetie? Swedger.

Swedger, a sweetie (source: Peter MacLaren, teacher). Cf. SND swauger (s.v. swage), a long drink to assuage the stomach (in fact, the sole quotation, from Banff in 1787, refers to whisky). An elderly North-easterner told me (Aberdeen, 1985) that his grandfather used swedger of a sit-down after a meal, which accords with swage.

Table 3.23: Claimed knowledge and use of swedger

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	0	8	8
16+	3	5	8	2	3	5
26+	4	0	8	0	1	5
46+	2	0	7	0	0	9
66+	1	0	6	1	0	4

Swedger is the usual slang word for sweeties amongst the children.

> 10F: Naw, but, the sweeties Ah like, the sweeties Ah like the best - well, we aw caw them swedgers an aw that, but, we don't caw them sweeties. We aw think sweeties' a posh name for them. So we aw caw them swedgers. (1B)

> 16F7CD: We always goat told off fae wur Ma for sayin that. She disnae like that. [...] Ah know ma wee brothers - they're still dead slangy - they'll say swedgers. Ma's like that, 'What!' 'Sweeties.' (38D)

Some adults associated it with a certain kind of fizzy sweetie (like those sold as 'Refreshers').

Variants are swedgies, swadgers, swattie-boo-boos (46F2PB reports). 10M9CB seems to embark on a flight of phonological fancy when he offers spraggers and spraggaza:

> 10M4CB: Never mind him. (67B)

3.3.2 What do you call chewing gum? Chinex.

Chinex, chewing gum (source: Peter MacLaren, teacher). This item was not confirmed. It is perhaps a solecism for chiclets.

Synonyms

chewngies (10F6PB), chewgies (10M3CB), choog-choogs and choog-oogs (10M-CB);
cheengo (46F2PB);
chungies (10F6PB), chuggy(ies) (16F4PS, 16F3PS).

Chegewng-gegum is eggie-language (10M2CC).

3.3.3 What do you call lemonade? Ginger. Jeggie.

Ginger, the usual generic term for soft drinks in the west of Scotland, presumably short for ginger beer.

> 26F7PB: Oor Annie was tellin the day, she says, oor Annie, 'Ye'll never guess what big Eddie done tae Tony?' [...] An then have ye ever seen that Little an Large? That wee Sid? That's Tony, his double. An she says, 'Eddie's gathered up aw the ginger boattles, ye know, an says tae Eddie - says tae Tony, "Gaun oot tae the van an get a coupla boattles a ginger an sweeties for the wean." So e goes up, e cannae be annoyed, e says, "Och gone." E says, "There's Ann." Ann says, "Naw, there's a big hole in ma slipper, away you oot tae the van." So Tony lifts the two bags i ginger boattles, he's gaun tae the van, an that Eddie goes like that, "C'mere an see this." So they goes tae the window. [...] So e goes like that tae the guy: "Two boattles i Irn Bru an sweeties wi the rest." So the guy goes like that tae im, "Here, we don't take that kind!" - an empty whisky boattle! An he's staunin at the windaes! A whisky boattle ! An empty whisky boattle! Eddie went oot later oan tae the van at night tae get ice-cream, e says, "Aw, that's the best laugh Ah've had in years," e says, "the expression oan that wee guy's face."' (6B)

This was universally known, though one or two children said they wouldn't use it, preferring skoosh. Ginger is the normal term in Glasgow (as opposed to lemonade in the east). If I may modify Aitken's (1979: 108) term covert scotticism, this is an example of

a covert regionalism. Like half-loaf (east) v. loaf, individuals mostly become aware that it is not a general colloquialism only when they experience a misunderstanding.

Now that carbonated soft drinks have been joined in the market by a wide range of still and diluting drinks, there is some conflict of terminology:

> 26F7PB: An Ah used tae call it ginger, but the weans checked me.
> 26F9: Ah know. They check ye an tell ye it's juice. (29B)

> 26M5PS: The modern - when Ah refer tae juice, Ah'm talkin aboot things like lime juice, orange juice, blackcurrant juice, mainly. But Ah refer mainly tae Irn Bru or lemonade as it is, ye know. 'Get - go an get me a boattle i Irn Bru.' Or 'lemonade'. But Ah don't refer tae it as ginger or skoosh. (11D)

Jeggie, soft drink (source: Graham Warwick, East End community worker).

Table 3.24: Claimed knowledge and use of jeggie

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	1	0	5	0	0	8
16+	2	0	8	0	0	6
26+	1	0	8	0	0	5
46+	0	0	7	0	0	10
66+	0	0	6	0	0	4

This item was confirmed, though by no means well known. 10M1CC was able to tell me that jeginger is eggie-language for ginger.

3.3.4 What do you call a cone? Poky hat.

Poky hat, ice-cream cone, 20th century (SND s.v. pokey-hat).

Table 3.25: Claimed knowledge and use of poky hat

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	2	3	5	4	3	8
16+	2	6	8	0	5	5
26+	1	7	8	0	5	5
46+	0	7	7	1	9	10
66+	2	4	6	0	4	4

Poky hat is generally regarded as baby talk, and usage, especially amongst older children, is probably underestimated for this reason. Not every young man would admit:

16M6CS: Aye, when Ah'm no thinkin, Ah might say it! (74B)

Likewise it would be jokey and familiar to ask for a poky hat when buying one. Adults tend to suggest that the young people who come round with ice-cream vans would not understand the word, but my findings suggest the contrary, and this may be a rationalisation (cf. next chapter).

On the other hand, it would not be childish to ask for a poke, but this could fall foul of the obscene homophone:

16M4CS: Likes i if ye say poke they'd think ye were bent an slap ye ower the jaw.
16M1PF: [to me] Waant a poky hat?
CIM: [having met my match here] Eh ... (70B)

Again, I suspect this is what is being rationalised here:

26F6CB: See the van, the van disnae know what ye're talkin aboot. Ye know, Ah mean, Ah go tae the van an Ah say, 'Three pokes,' an they look at ye. They don't know what ye're

waantin, ye know.

26F7PB: They think ye're needin three empty pokes!

26F6CB: Three empty pokes an that's you. (29B)

3.3.5 What do you call liquorice? Sugarallie.

Sugarallie, liquorice, 19th century reduction of late 16th century sucker alacreische (SND). Munro (1985) finds that the phrase 'like sugarollie-water' is still current, of beer that is too sweet or too weak.

Table 3.26: Claimed knowledge and use of sugarallie

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	1	0	5	0	0	8
16+	5	0	8	2	2	5
26+	5	1	7	2	3	5
46+	0	7	7	0	10	10
66+	0	6	6	0	4	4

Most people did not accept liquorice as a true synonym of sugarallie. The latter was purchased from chemists rather than sweetie shops (liquorice is a laxative). It was bitter and unpleasant on its own, and very hard. The stick was broken up by brute force, and the pieces dissolved with sugar to make sugarallie waater. Making sugarallie water and trying to keep it (in the dark, usually under the bed) long enough to mature before consuming it, is one of the stereotypes of the tenement childhood. Liquorice root can still be bought in grain stores and some younger people have tried making sugarallie water, but it can hardly compete with commercial soft drinks. It is probably safe to assume that few people will grow up in the community without acquiring a passive knowledge of this term, because of its popularity in reminiscences private and public. The quantitative results for this item are therefore particularly interesting as a touch-stone for other apparently declining words.

A number of adults recalled a rhyme:

46F6PS: 'Black as a lum,' mind?
M: Aye, that was a wee song ye used tae sing, winnit?
46F6PS: Aye, we - 'Sugarallie waater, black as the lum -'
M: 'Gether up peens -'
46F6PS: 'Gether up -'
M: 'Peens.'
46F6PS: 'Gether up peens, an ye'll aw get some.' (39F)

A variant was 'gether up peas' (66F2PC). The SND quotes (from Bute, 1913):

Sugar ally water, as black as the lum,
If you gather up your pins, I'll gie ye some.

It explains that a sip is given in exchange for a pin, a button, etc. But the following account suggests a different interpretation:

66F4PC: Used tae play at sugarallie. That was sugarallie, ye boat sugarallie oot the chemist, ye cut it up, ye put it in a boattle, fullt it full a waater, an ye goat a - ye goat a book, an ye cut aw the - aw the pages oot i - pictures oot the Times an aw thaim, an put them in the thingwy, an ye used tae get pins, an dip for it, an they goat a drink i yer sugarallie!
46F10CS: Ah never heard i that wan!
66F4PC: Did ye no? Sugarallie.
CIM: The sugarallie was the prize?
66F4PC: Aye, the sugarallie was the prize. [...] They stuck a pin - it was like - know how the weans, Beenie, they buy scraps?
46F10CS: Aye.
66F4PC: Well, like we didnae buy scraps, we cut them oot papers an that, an put them in a book an thingwied an it was pins, an ye - aye, if ye goat thingwy, ye goat a drink i sugarallie. Ye boat the sugarallie in the chemist, ye made it up wi cauld waater an shook it up an ye goat the pin - ye goat the pins -
46F10CS: [...] An whoever had the maist pins wan? Or what?

66F4PC: Naw, ye just - it's - aw dependit whether ye goat a - ye know how Ah would open a book an Ah would pit a bit a paper like the weans dae wi the scraps noo.
46F10CS: Aye.
66F4PC: An if ye goat scraps - if you goat wan ye thingwied a - ye goat a drink i sugarallie. (78F)

26F11CD also uses sugarallie as a euphemism, apparently a mangled oath (sh ...):

Well, what Ah call 'sugarallie' is if there's - maybe D------'s done a wee toly oan the flerr, Ah'll say, 'There she's sugarallied that carpet!' (67B)

3.3.6. What did/ do you eat made from peas? Pea leap.

Pea leap, pea soup (oral history tape, People's Palace). (Cf. DSUE loop the loop, soup; and perhaps SND leep, parboil). Pea leap as such was not familiar to most of my informants, but pea loop and loop the loop might have produced quantifiable results.

3.3.7 What do you call a match? Scratch. Spunk.

Scratch, a match (interview 2B).

Table 3.27: Claimed knowledge and use of scratch

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	1	6	8
16+	2	3	8	0	2	5
26+	4	0	8	0	1	5
46+	0	0	7	2	2	10
66+	2	0	6	1	0	4

This was a common word amongst the young:

10F1-F: It's ancient. Everybody says it, dint they? (53B)

The form scratchies was a frequent alternative.The only middle-aged man who had used it had come across it in the Army.

Spunk, tinder and, since the mid 19th century, a match (SND). Listed by Mackie (1984).

It still amazes me that I was so naive as to include this item. However, it was a happy error, as it led me to what I call the 'spunk factor'. This is the extent to which informants openly reacted to the preposterous suggestion that a match could be called a spunk - a rather good index of the ease of that particular interview. (The usual sense of spunk in colloquial English is, of course, obscene). The question usually produced uproar rather than quantifiable answers, but it seems not to be known to any of my informants in this sense.

Synonyms

The more usual slang word with middle-aged adults was striker.

Lucifer was mentioned by middle-aged adults as a First World War word (the saying of not taking the third light was also mentioned as a continuing superstition).

Expressions when asking for a match: 'Light me' (66M3CC) and 'Gie's a spark up' (10F6PB). Asking for a draw: 'First up ... second ups' (10M3CB), 'first oan' (10M-CB).

3.4 Clothes

3.4.1 What do you call it when you're all dressed up? Dolled up. Brammed up. In your paraffin.

Dolled up, dressed up, 20th century (DSUE). This is universally known.

It is familiar, and therefore potentially insulting, to remark on somebody being unusually carefully dressed (the children, especially the boys, produced various insults in response to this

question). The delicacy of using a term like dolled up, is brought out in this exchange:

> 46F3PB: Aye, you would say tae Alice, 'Right, go up the sterr an get aw dolled up, hen.' Aye ye wid.
> 46M6PB: Wid Ah? Aw well, Ah wid say it, aye. Ah don't think so.
> 46F3PB: Aye.
> 46M6PB: Ma wife disnae need tae get dolled up, she's a doll anyway.
> 46F3PB: Aw, for goodness sake! (82B)

There was a minority opinion that dolled up would not be used of men:

> 46M11-X: A man would be brammed up, a lady would be dolled up. (40S)

Synonyms

aw dolled up / done up tae the nines / nineties / eyeballs, doggy dolls (66F8PS, 10M7PB), done up like a dug's dinner, doed up (66F7PB), aw done up like a dish i fish (26F11CD);
dickied up (from middle-aged adults), tippied up (Naval, 66M3CC), spruced up, tarted up, togged up;
suaved up (10M4CB), suavy (26F6CB);
swagged up ('Ma big brother says, "Look at the swag"', 10M6CB), swaggy lookin (10F5PB);
spoof, swanky, dressed tae kill, like mutton dressed as lamb; in yer glad rags, in yer funeral suit, in yer court suit (26M2CS), spick an span, yer good gear, like a new shillin.

Brammed up, dressed up, Cut and Run (p.16), (cf. DSUE brama, from c.1922).[2]

This was felt to be a slang word, and to apply only to men (in contrast to brammer, which applies to females).

Table 3.28: Claimed knowledge and use of brammed up

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	2	0	5	0	0		8
16+	1	0	8	1	1		5
26+	2	0	8	1	1		5
46+	2	4	7	2	7		10
66+	2	4	6	0	2	1	4

In your paraffin, from MacArthur and Long, No Mean City (1935). Burrowes, Jamesie's People (1984) identifes the slang use of paraffin as rhyming slang, paraffin ile = style. Cf. also paraphenalia (DSUE s.v. paraffinelly, Glasgow c.1880-1905).

Unfortunately, I had not seen Burrowes' novel when I was doing the fieldwork, so it was only in the course of the interviews that I learned that it was a rhyme.

This is one of those choice rhyming slangs where there is a semantic appropriateness of the rhyme to the original. Paraffin was used on the head as a treatment or precaution against nits:

> 46F1OCS: Or if yer Maw thoat yer heid - even if yer heid wasnae durty, Friday night was the paraffin night.
> 66F4PC: Used tae, aye, fine-combed it. (81F)

However, McArthur and Long's explanation (1935, 1957: 28) is rather different:

> There was actually a paraffin dressing on his sleek black hair, and perhaps there may be some association of ideas between slumland's passion for smoothed and glistening crops and its general term for a smart appearance.

In fact, it was only those with black hair who used paraffin in this way:

> 66F3PC: Well, ma mother used that. Toilet paraffin. Oh an it was - ma mother had blue-black hair. And oh, she'd tae get er

toilet paraffin wi a wee drop i perfume in it. [...] It was more people wi black hair that used it. (44B)

46F1OCS: But, the likes i, as you [CIM] say, thaim wi the jet black herr, they used tae put it oan efter they'd waashed aw their herr an aw that. Ye know, an just left it oan. But there used tae be hell of a smell aff it, wint there, Pheemie? (81F)

Synonyms

For general synonyms, see above. Paraphenalia was mentioned by three adults, confirming the association made also by DSUE, alongside the no doubt authentic rhyming slang derivation, which DSUE is unaware of. It seems to be characteristic of many slang items to have two or even more equally plausible sources. Rather than choose between them we should perhaps follow Mühlhaüsler's (1982) acceptance of multiple etymologies (in his case for creole lexis). The multiple resonances strengthen the word play which is integral to much slang.

3.4.2 What do you call an apron? Peenie. Daidlie. Thibbet.

Peenie, apron, late 19th century (SND).

Table 3.29: Claimed knowledge and use of peenie

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	4	5	2	2		8
16+	4	4	8	3	2		5
26+	1	7	8	0	5		5
46+	1	6	7	1	9		10
66+	1	6	7	0	3	1	4

Peenie was the usual word for a working apron:

66M6PB: Och, some i the weemen used tae buy - go tae thae - the shops that maybe selled sugar, at that time ye bought it loose an it came in sacks. Well they took - got them an - ye'd say tae the grocer, 'Can Ah have the sack when it's empty,' an they made peenies oot i thaim. Just rough sackin that ye - the - yer mother boiled them an when she was doin er washin in the back court oan a Monday or a Tuesday, whenever she had er turn, she'd take it down an after she was finished er washin, put it in the water an boil it, an it goat softer an the suger goat boiled out i it an - [...] An the sackcloth would make er a peenie. For gaun tae the wash-house wi, or doin the stairs. [...] Ye held oantae yer mother's - yer mother's peenie, when she was - she was daein somethin about the house, ye just held on tae er peenie an went about the house wi er. When ye were a toddler. [...] Well, she'd have a dress one, or a good one for eh - but, she always put a new clean peenie oan when somebody come up for their tea. But for doin household chores or - ach, Ah mean, she was always wipin er hands an - the women were more involved wi their hands in that - in these days, they didnae have - open a can i soup. If they were doin it, they'd tae peel potatoes, or cut up vegetables an - an if they were mixin flour an things like that, the likes i the modern housewife, ye don't get intae these situations now. Or they'd - they would have peenies. But yer mother ay had wan, an she just went like that, an kept wipin er hands oan it. (60B)

46F4PB: An no way would she [mother] cook without an apron. An Ah must admit, when Ah was married at first, Ah didnae maself, Ah mean, Ah always had somethin on, ye know. An it really is foolish no tae. Because they're easier washed than - than yer clothes, ye know. But then, ye didnae have washin machines in these days, ye know ye'd tae go doon an brek yer back, so Ah suppose ye tried tae save yersel as much work as ye could, ye know. (28B)

The specialness of having a clean peenie on is embodied in the saying:

46F6PS: 'Wee Jeannie-peenie wi the nice clean peenie'. (39F)

As with ginger and juice, there is apparently resistance amongst children when the old term is applied to a new referent.

26F11CD: Naw, there no many people noo wear peenies. [...] Ah don't know sae much - Ah had a plastic wan for her, an Ah think Ah called it a peenie. Ye know, when she was younger, an ye're takin them in an oot the bath an things. Ah called it a peenie. (67B)

But:

10F5PB: Ma big sister goat wan.
CIM: What did she call it?
10F5PB: A peenie. Ah go, 'It's no a peenie, it's an overall.' 'Naw, it's no!' (80B)

Peenie is also a euphemism for 'belly' (SND describes this as West Mid, children's):

46M6PB: Ma Maw used it, Ah wouldnae use it. [...] an then she would say, 'Ye goat a pain in yer peenie?' Meanin 'a pain in yer belly'. Well, no, maybe Ah'd say that, maybe Ah'd use it in that wey. (82B)

Daidlie, apron, 19th century (SND s.v. daidle; and LAS vol.2, in the Glasgow area both for apron (best), Map 40, and occasionally for apron (rough), Map 41).

Table 3.30: Claimed knowledge and use of daidlie

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	2	5	0	0	8
16+	0	0		8	1	0	5
26+	3	0		8	0	0	5
46+	1	5		7	0	2	10
66+	2	3		6	1	0	4

For my informants, a daidlie was a small, perhaps fancy, tea-apron (as opposed to the cross-over one which also covered the front above the waist). (Several adults also understood it in the sense 'doily' and one elderly lady in the sense 'a pee', see SND).

Thibbet, rough apron, 19th century, spelling pronunciation of Thibet (SND s.v. thibet, west mid Scots, obsolescent; LAS vol.2, Map 41).

Table 3.31: Claimed knowledge and use of thibbet

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	4	0	0	7
16+	0	0	8	0	0	6
26+	0	0	8	0	0	5
46+	0	0	7	1	0	10
66+	1	1	6	0	0	4

Only the oldest generation of women remembered this word:

66F2PC: That was what ma mither used tae say, when she was askin for er skirt: a thibbet. [...] It was a right auld-fashiont skirt, ye know. Well, ma maw was seventy-five when she died. [...] It was just an ordinary, plain skirt, but that's what they called it. (30B)

66F8PS: Aye, a thibbet petticoat they were, we called them. It's like - see thae skirts that's gettin made the noo wi aw

> the fancy stripes doon them, aw pleated? That was thaim. Ma mother wore them. An a big black apern. Wi two poackets in it. Aye, that's what they cried them. Aye, a thibbet ... A lot i the auld people that stood wi barras an aw that, know, the aul haw- they always wore them. Well, insteed i skirts, they wore these. [...] It was in different colours. Aye, just strippt. Maybe grey, or navy blue wi rid or somethin through it, [...] An a big heavy - know, they werenae dear, but they were awful heavy. Aye. An a big waistband oan them, ye know. (23B)

Some others were sceptical:

> 46M6PB: Ah think ye should sue thaim for thae teeth! Naw, Ah never heard i that one, love. (82B)

> 10M1CC: Somebody's hittin ye wi rubbish. (70B)

3.5 Household

3.5.1 What do you call an uneven bit in a tablecloth when it's spread out? Lirk.

Lirk, wrinkle in cloth, 18th century to early 20th (SND).

This was not known to any of my informants, but unfortunately I did not ask for it also as lurk, and the question asked was perhaps not appropriate. I began by asking about a sheet spread out, then realised that working men don't make beds, and don't talk to strange women about them, either. I switched to asking about tablecloths, without any success.

3.5.2 What do you call the square of cloth that you wrap around a baby's bum? Hippen.

Hippen, nappy, 18th century (SND).

Table 3.32: Claimed knowledge and use of hippen

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0	7
16+	0	0	8	1	0	5
26+	2	0	8	0	1	5
46+	3	4	7	3	6	10
66+	0	5	6	0	4	4

A common response was to point out that nappies are now obsolete and that everybody is using disposables. (Pampers were often mentioned, and it may be that the brand name is on its way to becoming the colloquial term).

The process of lexical replacement across generations can be glimpsed here at an earlier juncture:

> 46F2PB: Ma mother called it - always, it was always a hippen. 'Cheynge that wean's hippen!' (...) Ah would say, 'Ma, for goodness sake, a nappy.' 'Aye, it always was a hippen, it'll always be a hippen.' (64B)

There may even be a change of referent involved, as the oldest generation of women did not buy nappies, but made hippens out of the tails of old shirts, and from sheets:

> 66F1CC: Used tae sit an hem them roon aboot if ye'd time. (30B)

Synonyms

The term dyper or diaper was mentioned suprisingly often, sometimes specifically as an Americanism.

3.5.3 What do you call a clock? Knoack. Waggity-wa.

Knock, clock, 15th century (SND). Meier (1968: 352) disagrees with the derivation from the verb, 'to strike', and draws attention to a group of OSc words with /kl/ > /kn/.

Table 3.33: claimed knowledge and use of knoack

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	1	0	5	3	0		7
16+	1	1	8	2	2		5
26+	5	2	8	1	2		4
46+	3	4	7	0	9	1	10
66+	2	5	7	0	4		4

This was one of those items which was still quite often used by adults (and heard by children) but which used to be virtually the only word used.

46F4PB: Naw, knoack was used in our house, ye know. Ah mean, Ah played guesses an -
46F5PB: Sayed N for -
46F4PB: An Ah was expectin them tae know it! Ah was quite indignant when they didnae. (28B)

There was a self-consciousness amongst many people, either of having stopped saying it, or of continuing to say it, against the trend:

46F7PD: Ah still caw it a knoack. An mines always laughs at me. Ma faimly always laugh at me when Ah say, 'Gie me ower the knoack.'
46M10CD: A knoack! Ah still call that yet. 'Gie's the knoack ower.' [...] Aw, maist people would dae, actually. Ah would say, aye. (18D)

26M3CS: 'Go an see the knoack up oan the mantelpiece.'
CIM: You say that!?
26M3CS: Aye!
26F2CF: [...] You're no teachin the wean a very good lesson, are ye? The wean'll go tae school an tell the teacher it's a knoack. An she'll think ye cannae talk right. (63F)

10F6PB: Hey! Ma - ma uncle says that, a knoack! [...] Sayed it yesterday, an Ah didnae know what e was rabblin aboot, so Ah told im tae shut up. (80B)

When a word becomes associated with particular personalities and anecdotes, as below, this may signal some stage in the decline of its active use:

26F6CB: Wan auld wuman that Ah used tae know in Main Street, in particular , that was who - she used tae say, 'Gaun doon an see what time it is oan that knoack.' Ye know, there'd be a cloack oan the street somewherr. She couldnae've had a cloack i er ain! (29B)

Waggity-wa, pendulum clock, 19th century (SND s.v. wag I 4).

Table 3.34: Claimed knowledge and use of waggity-wa

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0	7
16+	0	0	8	0	0	6
26+	1	0	8	1	0	5
46+	4	4	8	3	5	10
66+	0	5	5	0	4	4

As a recent People's Palace exhibition pointed out, people moved from tenements to modern flats and houses, with their smaller rooms, often discarded the large heavy, well-made furniture that they had, in favour of lighter modern pieces. This seems to have applied also to the 'grandmother' or waggity-wa clock (which was

also rather noisy). Some of my informants were very conscious of how much such pieces would be worth as antiques if they still had them. This is a case of a word where the referent has almost disappeared, and, as 66M3CC points out, there is therefore little occasion to mention it:

> 66M3CC: But ye wouldnae call it a waggity-wa, unless ye had a waggit- A waggity-wa was a clock face an a big long pendilum. Fact, there used tae be a favourite joke aboot that. There was a clock hung in the Waggitywa pub an it changed hands, they called it the International, so they took the clock away, an they weren't - first time they took the clock away, they were a big mark where the shadow used tae swing back an forward on the wall. (56C)

3.5.4 What do you call the shelf above the fire? Brace.

Brace, in Older Scots a strengthening structural feature, later especially the breast or arch of a chimney, thus from the 18th century, a mantelpiece (SND, LAS vol.2, Map 24).

Table 3.35: Claimed knowledge and use of brace

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	2	0	5	1	1	7
16+	3	1	8	2	1	5
26+	6	3	9	2	2	5
46+	2	5	7	0	10	10
66+	2	5	7	0	4	4

The knock and the brace go together, to the extent that sitting on a brace was criterial for being a knock, in one man's mind:

> 16M2PB: The knoack aff the brace.
> 26M2CS: [...] It's no a word Ah really use, cos Ah've goat wan i thae wans that hang up oan the wa there. (13F)

Again the referent has changed considerably:

> 46F3CB: Well, again it was a word that was used when Ah was - before Ah was married, an as Ah say, livin wi ma grannie, but after that, no, it was always mantelpiece, ye know. [...] Simply because Ah wasn't hearin the word, an then ye were goin intae gas fires an what have ye, ye know, that - they became so low, that they weren't - see the brace was usually quite a high thing whereas the new ones - the mantelpieces - even they've gone be the board, most of them, because ye get wall-mounted heaters an these low ones that combine televisions an all the rest of it, that Ah don't know what they caw - just the fireplace, sorta thing. (64B)

The comments of two girls are indicative of the disuse of the word:

> 10F1-F: Aye, Ah've heard that word before. Aye, cos ma Ma's pal goes like that tae er husband, 'Are ye gaunnae - gaunnae build me a brace?' Big mantelpiece. (53B)

> 16F2CB: Ma Da calls it a brace. Mantelpiece Ah say. Brace is too auld-fashiont. [16F10-X hasn't heard it] Have ye no? My God! (43B)

3.5.5 What do you call the toilet? Closet. Cludgie.

Closet, water closet.

Table 3.36: Claimed knowledge and use of closet

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	2	0	5	2	1		7
16+	2	0	8	2	1		5
26+	5	0	8	4	0		5
46+	3	5	8	1	9		10
66+	1	5	7	1	2	1	4

Closet is a euphemism - it also means a large cupboard (a press). Many adults associated the name specifically with the old arrangement of a toilet on the stair,, shared between several tenement houses, and while some still use it, other terms have mostly taken its place (there is, of course, a large variety of terms, both euphemisms and dysphemisms). A man being direct in male company might well say something like shit(e)hoose. (I heard of someone in London Road whose house had been renovated, and who was understandably upset about the bathroom door - the words 'shithoose door' were visible through a coat of paint). But even closet was felt to be pretty straight talking by one young man:

> 16M5CS: Right. If somebody was sayin, 'Wherr are ye gaun?' an ye don't waant them tae know wherr ye're gaun, ye'd just go, 'Aw, Ah'm away tae the closet,' tae be abrupt. [...] Naw, Ah think they would know what ye meant, but ye would be tryin tae imply that it's none i thair business where ye were gaun. (74B)

Closet is currently in vogue, especially amongst young men and children, as an insult:

> 26M3CS: That's what we'd call Kenny some time, 'Ya closet!'
> CIM: An what does it imply, if ye call Kenny a closet?
> Polis: Don't know, but Ah know what e'd get! (63F)

I have also heard (from the football field) 'Ya shitehouse!' (Bridgeton, April, 1985). Cf. midden, below.

Cludgie, water closet (SND Supplement, Fife, Edinburgh and West Mid Scots, 1975).

Table 3.37: Claimed knowledge and use of cludgie

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0	5	0	1		7
16+	3	0	8	1	2		5
26+	5	1	8	3	1		4
46+	5	2	7	2	7		10
66+	3	2	6	1	2	1	4

Cludgie was felt to be impolite and was associated with men, e.g. in a work environment. Two middle-aged men associated it with primitive outdoor arrangements:

> 46M4PB: When they gie ye a shovel - Caroline, when ye go tae visit somebody an they gie ye a shovel if ye're gaun tae the toilet, then ye know where ye're gaun - it's the cludgie ye're gaun tae! Ah went doon tae Wales, James, durin the War, doon tae Wales, this block's hoose, big, big massive hoose, gied me a shovel - sayed, 'Where's the toilet?' - he gave me a shovel. Ah went, 'What dae Ah dae wi that?' It was a wee tent in the back. Wi a pole. Ye dig a hole an dae yer needs, an then full it up again. [...] An they thoat - durin the War they thoat we lived in caves, didn't they, James? They thoat the Scots people lived in caves. They actually thoat we run aboot in kilts an lived in caves. (28B)

> 46M1CC: If ye're oot maybe campin, or somethin, ye know, ye just say, 'Och, Ah'm away tae the cludgie,' an aw that, ye know. Likes i a hole just somewhere, ye know. Likes i in a campin site, or caravans, ye know. (34F)

One woman had first heard it only recently:

> 46F4PB: We - Ah never heard cludgie tae - Ah'm serious here - tae a few years ago. (28B)

This question was the occasion of a very eloquent statement of the rules of linguistic decency (see 4.7.2 below).

Synonyms

Lavatory, diminutive lavvy, was felt to be a more old-fashioned polite term, with toilet and bathroom more modern.
Other polite terms: loo, john, library, lav (10M8PB).
Fairly crude are: cludg(i)e, carsie, can, shuggie (16F3PS).
Dysphemisms: bog (young adults and children), bog-hoose (10M2CC), piss-hoose, pish-hoose, shit(e)hoose.
Comic terms: House i Commons (46F8PD), thunderbox (26M2CS), great white telephone (10M8PB - a stereotype Australianism), the throne (10M8PB), Waterloo (10F2PB).

3.5.6 What do you call the place where you leave the rubbish to be collected? Midden. Midgie.

Midden, rubbish heap, late 14th century, now also Standard English (SND). Midden was universally known, and only a couple of people said they would not use the word.

Midgie, as midden (SND, Glasgow 1962).

Table 3.38: Claimed knowledge and use of midgie

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	5	5	0	8		8
16+	0	8	8	0	6		6
26+	0	9	9	0	5		5
46+	1	6	7	0	9	1	10
66+	2	4	6	0	3	1	4

The term midden or midgie is still applied to various refuse collection arrangements (frequently a semi-covered 'bin area'), but not to the disposal chutes found in some high-rises. Children from the poorer areas used to rake (search through) the middens of

wealthier areas in the hope of encountering a lucky midden / midgie. Most children would have got short shrift from their parents if they brought anything home from a midden, but they prized certain finds for their own play:

26F7PB: Used tae rake the rubbish - used tae rake the lucky midgies! Anythin good ye tane it intae the hoose: 'Is this any good?' An goat flung oot oan yer ear. (22B)

46F8PD: Aw, yon - the other game the lassies aw played at? Shoaps. An we had china - oh, china was pound notes.
66F2PC: Aye, ye went up tae Dennistoun for thaim.
46F8PD: China cups. An if ye had ...
66F1CC: Gold!
46F8PS: a gold rim roon it ( ) that was a pound. [...] Aye, mind that? Ye raked aw the middens.
66F1CC: Soavereigns. Ye cried that a soavereign. Ah went up wan time, Ah can mind, an ma mother had a hauf tea-set an it was new. Ah broke wan for tae get gold, cos there were nane! Ah hadnae nane oan ma shoap! Nearly goat kilt!
46F8PD: Nae wonder!
66F1CC: Ah tried tae blame somebody else for breakin it. But she knew who actually done it. Cos Ah hadnae any gold!. (17B)

66F8PS: Ye'd say, 'Come oan, we'll go tae a lucky midgie,' ye know thon way? Aye. Because we used tae go an play - in the summer hoalidays, ye goat aff the school, maybe see a loat i broaken gless, we'd go in maybe the middens, as they call it, an see if we could get any broken dishes for tae make a wee shoap, aye. Then we used tae go ower tae the Brickfield - that's where the Chocolate Work yist tae be - go ower there an look for fancy bits. Aye. An ye'd come hame an maybe yer hauns were cut - ye'd a bit i gless in yer feet! Aye. Then ye - ye couldnae let them - yer brothers an that couldnae get sleepin for ye greetin wi the - yer sore feet, an oh my! Aye. That's when ye run aboot in yer bare feet durin the summer hoalidays. (23B)

Adults used to pick over middens in search of items for sale in the flea-markets of the Calton and the Briggait (or Bridgegate). This is supposed to continue:

46M5PB: Fact, there's people gaun roon - there's people doin that the day. When Ah'm gaun roon oan ma delivery, Ah see guys -

46M7PS: The big grey-haired fella.

46M5PB: They've got big black bags an they go round all these middens - that's the refuse bins - where people throw everythin oot

46M7PS: Well, Annacker's - Annacker used tae - they used tae pit oot good stuff, everybody - everybody 'boot queued up tae get intae Annacker's Midden.[3]

46M5PB: As ah says, these guys are gaun round aw the middens, an they're rakin through them, ye know. It must pay, it must pay because they're ower there, they're round there every mornin. Ah'm gaun up an doon the sterrs deliverin an Ah see this guy openin the midden, well, the lid i the bin - Ah was gaunnae say the 'bid i the - ' - the lid i the bin, gaun through it. But they must get - it must pay them.

46M7PS: Must be livin oot it.

46M5PB: Aye. Some i them've goat a pram, an they full the pram up -

46M7PS: Good gear.

46M5PB: wi the stuff they get, ye know, cos a loata people in this area, in Dennistoun, they throw a lotta stuff out, ye know. (31D)

The form midding is probably hyper-correct, but the Older Scots is indeed medynge < ON *mykidyngja (SND).

46M6PB: Midden - that was the - originally it was a midden. Not a midding! Cos people who tried tae speak polite called it a midding! (82B)

The term midden is also used as an insult (cf. closet, above):

26M6-D: Mingin - oh, boggin. Boggin, we caw it. There's a guy in ma work the noo [...] ye cawed im every name, by the way, they goat every name. Ye even cawed them midden, an everythin. 'Heh, midden, c'mere a minute.' (18D)

Common compounds are midgie-men, midgie-motor, midgie-raker.

3.5.7 Did you ever have/ see a metal tool for mending shoes on? What's it called? Tackety joack.

Tackety jock, last, late 19th century (SND). Mentioned in open questionnaire, adults..

Table 3.39: Claimed knowledge and use of tackety joack

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	2	0	7
16+	1	0	8	1	0	6
26+	1	0	9	0	0	5
46+	1	0	7	4	0	10
66+	0	0	5	0	0	4

The last used to be a much more common household item used for repairing footwear, or simply putting in tackets:

46M6PB: Aye, that was before oor time again. That was the aulder wans, aye. [...] Ah heard that expression, aye. But the tackety joack cos they put the tackety boots oan it. Member tackety boots? Sparks everywhere! Did ye ever see a tackety boot, love? [...] A tackety boot was a boot - very rarely was it a small boot - it was usually a big size, nine or a ten, an it started fae the sole plate therr an it went round, half inch tacks, an then inside that was another round of half inch tacks, an all the way around therr, an all the way around therr, an nine in the heel. An woe betide you if ye tried tae staun up straight oan a skiddy pavement! Pyoo! (82B)

However, the name tackety joack was not well known to my informants. One (46F5PB) associated it with Burns.

3.5.8 What do you call an old style block of houses? Tenement. Laun. What's a buggy laun?

Tenement, large building divided into flats, late 16th century, from the sense of a plot of building land (SND); the usual Scottish English term, but not applied to modern high-rises.

Table 3.40: Claimed knowledge and use of tenement

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	3	1	4	3	4	7
16+	0	8	8	0	5	5
26+	0	9	9	1	4	5
46+	0	7	7	0	10	10
66+	0	5	5	0	4	4

Laun(d), 15th century, as tenement (SND s.v. land I 5 and backland).

Table 3.41: Claimed knowledge and use of back laun

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0	7
16+	0	0	8	0	0	5
26+	1	0	8	0	0	5
46+	0	3	6	3	2	9
66+	1	3	5	0	3	4

Although laun is the usual form of the word, it would probably have aided identification had I asked for it as back land. In practice, I asked for back laun.

46F5PB: It's the Scots name for land, somethin at the back i another buildin was the land, an the back laun was another, a Glasgow word for land. But technically speakin, you'd say the back land. But we just sayed the back laun. (28B)

There was confusion both with lawn and loan.[4] However, older people did recognise the term back laun:

46F11CC: Well, the back laun was - it was like two buildins in one, ye know how - it was like a big wide pen, right? An then ye went up the pen, there was a sterrcase oan that side, an a staircase oan that side, an that was all the houses at the front i the building, ye know how there'd be a - there'd be a room an kitchen each side an a single apartment in the centre. So that was the houses tae the front. Then ye went up the back, intae the back end, the back yard, there was another two closes, in fact, if ye really waant tae see something like a back laun, ye know Kent Street at the Barras? Well, there's one therr. (85C)

Buggy laun, People's Palace oral history tapes. Specific tenements, e.g. in Bridgeton, were reputed to be buggy launs, i.e. to be infested.

Table 3.42: Claimed knowledge and use of buggy laun

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0	7
16+	0	0	8	0	0	5
26+	1	0	8	0	0	5
46+	1	0	6	1	2	9
66+	2	2	6	0	2	4

Three people identified buggy laun with back laun, and it is possible that the backlands would have been more likely to be afflicted with lice and with other problems. Apparently the name was often used as a nickname for particular buildings:

66F8PS: Oh aye, there was a buggy laun, aye, an then there was the crookit laun. Aye, the buggy laun was up at Fielden Street, an the crookit laun was roon at Boden Street facin Hollins's Mill. (23B)

F: See that, the big rid buildin that used tae be - where ye went tae - what dae ye call it, Ruby Street, there were a big rid buildin there.
46F8PD: Aye, the Chocolate Buildin.
F: Aye, the Chocolate Mansions. They say that was hoatchin wi bugs, the Buggy Laun.
66F11PB: [...] Aye, mind ye used tae cry it the buggy laun.
66F2PC: [...] an it looked a lovely place an aw, did'nt it?
66F2PC: [...] Aye, but wait a minute, Jean, in oor - in oor days, there was an awfa loat i the hooses had bugs. [...] Because we didnae have the sanitation that we've goat noo.
46F8PD: Naw, specially wi thae wee inshot beds. (30B)

46F4PB: Actually an awfa lot i old tenements had these, an if people were careless, they were led tae run mad. But decent people wouldnae tolerate tehm. Ah mean, they would get rid i them, ye know. An there was loads i ways i gettin rid i them, ye know.
46M4PB: [...] That's how they used tae - see - see the hole-in-the-wa, the bed, the inset bed,. Insteed i paper in the inset bed, it was paintit. Cos paper kinna attracted bugs. [...] So ye normally just paintit yer bed. (28B)

46F11CC: But Ah mean, there was places like that. There was places like - the place - the houses were infested wi bugs in the plasterwork, ye know. When Ah - when Ah first - just after the war, when Ah goat a house in Mackintosh Street - Mackintosh Street's Dennistoun - but it was an old man that lived in it issel, ye know how? An e died, an ma sister an I went tae clean it, an there was this big brown tin, an when Ah opened it up, my God, it was a bit of white bread in it, it was green

moulded, an a bit i red cheese, wi is tabacca tin an is pipe. An I was petrified. An ma Ma says tae me, 'Noo, before you dae anythin tae that hoose,' she says, 'Ye know that auld man lived issel,' - e was an auld man, e lived issel, an when Ah told er aboot the pipe in the - the tabacca tin bein beside the bread an cheese, ye know, she says, 'Aw, e's been a dirty auld bugger!' So, an it was the set-in beds, this is honest tae God, an Ah worked wi the - Ah told ye Ah was a tailor's cutter, an Ah worked in a tailorin factory, know, in the cuttin room, know how, was the élite, know how, ye didnae work wi - ye werenae mixin wi the factory workers. So ma Ma says tae me - the Green Lady, again, who's the district nurse, know how, the d- they call them district nurses, well, these were the Green Ladies, they called - an they used tae come roon tae see the kids, when they were wee babies. So she was tellin er Ah'd goat a hoose in Mackintosh Street. An she says, 'Well, tell er if she goes tae the drysalter's at Glasgow Cross, under the - the railway bridge in London Road, an ask for an ounce i green crystals, an put - an paint all the bed an all the woodwork wi these green crystals. It kills everythin,' she says, 'but tell er they're kind i expensive.' Husband was in the Army, so Ah went an drew the Army pension, an Ah went an asked, an Ah'm tellin you, they <u>were</u> expensive: they were a half a crown! For an ounce. Ah mean, that was expensive. Aw, ma sister an I, Ah says, well ma sister's - there were aboot - oh, there were aboot ten lerrs i wallpaper oan the walls. Ah don't think it had been papered for years, know how - ( ), an believe it or no, we were that poor, we didnae even have scrapers in these days, it was the kitchen knife we were usin - ye know, kitchen knifes. So Ah says tae Theresa, 'Well, you dae the paperin an Ah'll dae this green crystal stuff, Ah'll dae the wa, an the fle- the flerrboards an the bed boards wi these green crystals,' an ye can believe me if ye like, Caroline, I done it, an Ah'd tae go tae work for nearly a week wi emerald green hands! That's honest tae God. Wouldnae come oaf. An splashes i it aw here an here. That's honest tae God. An Ah mean, Ah don't need -

Ah was - Ah was told tae ask for 'an ounce i green crystals'. An Ah was gettin thirty seven shillins an sixpence a week i a pension, tae keep me an the four weans, an Ah paid a half a crown for these green crystals. An ye should a heard what Ah goat every day Ah went intae work wi these hands - well bein a Catholic, ye know how, an workin wi the Jew-boys! An ma brother - ma brother was Celtic daft, ye know how - (85C)

3.5.9 What do you call an arched passage between blocks of houses? Pen.

Pen(d), arched passage through a building, 16th century (SND pend).

Table 3.43: Claimed knowledge and use of pen

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	2	5	2	1	7
16+	2	3	6	3	2	5
26+	0	9	9	1	4	5
46+	0	8	8	0	10	10
66+	0	4	4	0	4	4

Usually pronounced pen, some speakers corrected this to pend. There are still some examples of this architectural feature, even in quite recent buildings, e.g. in the vicinity of Bridgeton Cross, and the word is regularly used, as well as having a place in reminiscence:

46F5PB: A pen was where ye'd tae go up tae go round the back an ye entered the buildin from the back. [...] An up a wee spiral stair, where Ah was born it was up a wee spiral stair. (28B)

The question was not ideally framed - most pens in the area are oblong in shape rather than arched, and the entrance is through a block rather than between blocks. The pen was often the means of access to a second row of tenements or factories behind those which

fronted on the street. These often dark and congested backlands (see above) have been systematically cleared, and modern planning regulations prevent the mixture of residential and certain commercial uses of property which were once common:

> 66F8PS: Aw, that was a wider - a wider enterance. See the - a wee close like this in the mean time - was a wider entrance, an maybe be a workshoap or somethin up it. Aye. Because we had a pen in - in Preston Street. There was a coal rea in it an a bakehoose an a stables, ye know, up at the back, an that, when McNeill had a stable, an wee Hamilton's, they had the bakehoose, an ( ) the coal-man, he had a space, an Joe, aul Joe Thom, he'd the coal rea. (23B)

In the city centre, e.g. off Queen Street, there are still some pens with offices, workshops, etc.[5]

Particular pens were known locally by the names of individuals and shops in them:

> 46F11CC: There was a pen in the Gallagate, an they called it the Pudden Pen. An Ah don't know - an Ah says, 'Ah wonder why they called it - ' an ma Ma's: 'Well, there used tae be a wee man in the back end,' - know how the - up the back - 'an e made black puddin.' That was in the Gallagate at Charlotte Street. (85C)

> 46F5PB: It was always known as Hendry's Pen, because Hendry's work was at the back. (28B)

3.5.10 What do you call the sink? Jawboax.

Jawbox sink, 19th century (SND, Ulster and Mid Scots). King (1985: 61) mentions a popular etymologies, jawing, 'chatting', over the sink and out of the window, alongside the accepted etymology from jaw, 'liquid waste'.

Table 3.44: Claimed knowledge and use of jawboax

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0	7
16+	0	0	8	1	0	5
26+	0	1	9	2	1	5
46+	3	5	8	0	10	10
66+	1	6	7	0	4	4

The folk etymology from jaw 'talk' was mentioned several times:

> 46F2PB: It was because people - women aw met there tae dae their waashin -
> 46F3CB: An they jawed.
> 46F2PB: [...] Ah read that in The Times actually. Ah think it was Cliff Hanley or some i these ones that were writin about it. (64B)

A further possibility was also suggested:

> 66M3CC: The reason bein, ye stuck yer face intae the sink tae waash, so: jawboax. (56C)

A number of older adults specifically restricted the term jawboax to the black sink of cast iron (again, as with the etymology, there may have been some external consolidation of a 'public version' of local history - see next chapter):

> 46M6PB: There's still some i the auld wans use 'the jawboax'. But the jawboax was an iron sink surrounded wi pieces i wood wi a brass cran, that was the jawboax. (64B)

There was not, however, a consensus on this:

> 46M6PB: Aw, it would only be the old people because as we came up, we goat the white sinks.
> 46F3CB: We had white waally sinks. [...] An ye didnae caw

thaim jawboaxes, ye know.

46M6PB: Although, the jawboax, remember when we took oot the iron jawbix an put wur ain white sink intae Claythorn Street, we still cawed it - although we didnae call it - it was still called the jawboax. (64B)

Within the memory of some adults there were still in the East End tenements with not only shared toilets, but shared sinks on the landings.

66F10PC: They used to have one out on the stair. In the back, end stair. Used tae, used tae go out an wash yersel. Cold winter mornins, ye used tae go out an waash yersel, didn't ye? [...] Oh, it was shared. Everybody, everybody shared it. There was six oan a sterr, weren't they? (7B)

The jawboax sometimes came into the discussion of words for toilet, because of the mildly shocking practice of peeing in the jawboax:

46M2PC: That's in the - used that in the winter time when it was too cauld tae go doon tae the lavvy, ye know! (36D)

The now antique status of the term is shown clearly in the following anecdote:

26F4CC: That causes many a laugh in ma hoose. [...] Actually never heard that tae - Ah think it was - Ah goat merried. An it was a story ma granny was tellin, ye know, as she says somethin aboot the jawboax, this was the jawboax, the sink, ye know, because even they didnae use it, ye know, they used 'the sink', it was just when she was - when - when they're talkin aboot the auld days, they're inclined tae use the auld words, ye know. If they're talkin tae you or I, they'd be sayin, 'Aw, put thae dishes in the sink,' but if they're tellin ye aboot somethin that happened years ago - this is what she was actually tellin me somethin that happened, an she says, 'the

jawboax' an Ah says, 'What's the jawboax?' an it turned oot tae be the sink. Now that's the - but ma weans aw know what a jawboax is, through hearin the same story, if ye know what Ah mean, ye know, this is the thingwy. But Ah think they're inclined tae use the auld words when they're tellin ye aboot the aulden days. But even they use the kinda merr modern wans noo, ye know. (58C)

3.5.11 What do you call the tap? Well. Wall.

Well, wall cold water tap, 20th century (SND wall I 3).

Table 3.45: Claimed knowledge and use of well

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	2	2	5	1	6	7
16+	2	5	8	0	6	6
26+	0	9	9	1	4	5
46+	0	7	7	1	9	10
66+	0	4	4	0	4	4

Well was the usual word for the tap:

46F4PB: The well. Ma mother never called it anythin else but the well. (28B)

and still is for some, even quite young, people:

10F1-F: Ah always say, 'Ma, gaunnae gie us a drink i waater oot the well.'
10F4PB: [...] Aye, in school we dae, dain't we?
10F1-F: 'Miss, can Ah get a drink oot the well?' Aye, sure. We say it aw the time. Teacher goes like that, 'No, just sit down!'
10F4PB: Ye've goat tae say, 'Please, Miss.'
10F1-F: 'Miss, can I have a drink i water oot the well?' (53B)

10M6CB: When ma wee cousin starts greetin, ye say, 'Don't - don't turn the well oan.' (67B)

On the other hand (cf. knock, brace), some felt that their usage had changed, either as part of a general process of improvement:

66F3PC: Naw, just use the tap. We've improved. We've brought wurself out. (37B)

or as result of accommodation to the younger generation:

26F6CB: Probably listenin tae the weans, ye - just what the weans call it now - they don't say the well any merr - daen't ye? Ye get intae thair weys i talkin an that.
26F9: Aye, they look at ye when ye say the well. (29B)

26M4PS: Aye, Ah mean if ye say - if Ah say tae ma wee boy, 'Away an turn oaf that well,' he wouldnae know what Ah was talkin aboot.
26M5PS: True! Yeah. Ah agree there. (25D)

Again, as with poke or two bob, the generation gap is apparently being exaggerated.

In several comments, the linguistic change was associated with material change:

66F2PC: it was a swan-neck, wint it, Annie? ye called it. Because it was a big - aboot that size, an then it turned roon.
66F1CC: Just bent ower like a swan's neck. (35B)

26F1CF: Ah wouldnae yaise it sae much noo. [...] See the tap nooadays isnae the same as what we had. Ah mean, we had the auld coapper - it was like a spout, ye know the spout is a kettle. That's what Ah remember. (26F)

Table 3.46: Claimed knowledge and use of wall

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0		5	0	0	7
16+	0	0		8	1	0	6
26+	1	0		7	2	0	5
46+	3	1		6	2	2	8
66+	2	1	1	4	1	2	3

Wall was considered old-fashioned even by the oldest generation in this study. It was also labelled 'common':

66F3PC: Aw that's bein awfa common, sayin that, the wall. (50B)

46M6PB: Naw, we'd a goat a belt in the mooth if we sayed wall. [...] Ah well, Ah suppose as the - the - they goat away fae their ain bits an pieces, they tried tae teach us a wee bit better the wey we're tryin tae teach oor kids, ye know, tae say something different. (64B)

This is rather curious, as expressions of disapproval are usually reserved for slang items. The answer may lie in the phonology. The sequence /wa/ occurs in a range of Scots words (see Chapter 5.2), but not at all in Standard English. In contrast to wall, well is virtually Standard English.

Synonyms

Spigot was mentioned by some older adults.

3.5.12 What do you say for rinsing out, e.g. a cup? Syne.

Syn(d) rinse, late 15th century (SND s.v. synd; LAS vol.2, Map 35).

Table 3.47: Claimed knowledge and use of syne

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	1	0	1	5	0	2	7
16+	0	3		7	1	3	6
26+	1	6	1	8	1	3	5
46+	0	7		7	0	10	10
66+	0	3		3	0	4	4

As with laun and pen, there was some awareness of the historical form with /nd/:

66M3CC: Ye synd oot yer cup. Ye didn't synd - ye syne, syne yer cup oot. (56C)

Most who said they would use the term syne would apply it to rinsing, e.g. a cup, or one's hair.

26M2CS: Well, ma aul man always made ye syne it oot, ye know, ye'd waash it oot wi soapy waater, an then efter ye cleared it aw away, ye would syne it oot, ye know.
16M2PB: [...] We don't use it. Ye just take it for granted that they dae it. That's when ye get yer tea an it's full a soap. (13F)

But there is also a tendency to use the term in a deprecatory way which could lead to semantic generalisation:

26F11CD: If Ah was - maybe just had a wee - coupla things, Ah'd say, 'Ah'm gaunnae syne thae things through.' But no for rinsin - 'Ah'm gaunnae syne -' it would be waashin - 'Ah'm gaunnae syne thae things through.' (67B)

3.6 General

3.6.1 What do you call somebody's place, e.g. 'We'll go to ma ...'? Bit. Cane.

Bit: the question was badly phrased. Children go to play at somebody else's bit, but this is the area of their house, not the house itself.

Cane house, from McGhee, Cut and Run (1962: 54 and 165). Cf. DSUE ken, mid 16th century, market traders', suggested Romany derivation.[6]

Table 3.48: Claimed knowledge and use of cane

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	1	0	5	0	0	7
16+	0	1	7	2	0	6
26+	4	0	9	1	2	5
46+	1	0	7	1	3	10
66+	1	0	4	0	0	4

This was not a well-known word, for reasons which the following makes clear:

> 26M2CS: The wey Ah would talk aboot somebody's cane, now an again ye're talkin aboot daein a bit a knocked off gear, ye know. If ye were talkin oan the phone -
> 16M2PB: 'Stick it up in your cane.'
> 26M2CS: 'Send it tae your cane,' or 'Send it tae Joe's cane,' ye know. [house?] Well, Ah would say it would be somebody's hoose but ye wouldnae waant other people tae know it was a hoose. Know, it's a by-word for it.
> 16M2PB: [...] Naw, Ah've never used it. As Ah say, Ah've never been in bother. (13F)

Several of the people who thought they knew the word were rather uncertain about it.

Synonyms

pad, gaff (16M2PB), shack (young men), pitch

3.6.2 What does send for the butts mean?

Butts, fire engine, late 19th century (SND, obsolescent, Glasgow and Kirkcudbright).

Table 3.49: Claimed knowledge and use of butts

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	5	0	0	7
16+	0	0	8	0	0	6
26+	1	0	9	0	2	5
46+	1	6	7	0	9	9
66+	0	4	4	0	4	4

Butts was felt to be an old-fashioned word:

> 66F8PS: We're aw merr kinna modernised noo, we cry it the fire brigade, aye. (23B)

> 46M9PS: This is aw kids things we used tae say, ye know. [...] Aw, when ye leave school, ye forget aw these words, ye know. That's aw slang words, ye see, ye know, 'Send for the butts.' (59B)

except for one suggestion that children would say it:

> 26F3CF: Och aye, the weans caw them [...] Ah've heard the weans sayin that. [...] Aye, ma John calls it that. [...] He's twelve. [...] Aye, that's what e calls a fire engine. [where has he got it from?] Either aff ma Ma or Phemie [66F4PC]. (63F)

(This was one of a number of small hints that speakers in Barrowfield perceive themselves as using more of the old words.)

Again, there has been a change in the referent:

> 46M6PB: That was the fire butts. That stems back tae when they carried butts i water, that was before oor time, right enough, be the time we knew aboot fire butts, they had the automatic pumps. Or at least they had manual pumps, carried the water, or they had - what dae ye call it? - tryin tae think the right word [...] The stank, naw, the -
> 46F2PB: The water hydrant? (64B)

There was also the suggestion (quoted above) that this word is slangy. Curiously the eggie-language (fire) begutts was mentioned more than once by middle-aged adults, and also fire magutts (46M6PB). By the time I had become aware of the eggie-language phenomenon (cf. jeggie, 3.3.3), it was too late to make systematic enquiries amongst adults, but 46F5PB and 46M3PB did tell me that they were unaware of eggie-language as such.

3.6.3 What do you call freckles? Fernietickles.

Fernietickles, freckles, 18th century (SND s.v. ferntickles), included in Mackie (1984).

Table 3.50: Claimed knowledge and use of fernietickles

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	1	0		5	0	0	8
16+	0	0		8	0	0	6
26+	3	0		9	0	0	5
46+	3	2	1	8	5	1	9
66+	0	2	1	3	2	2	4

There was a suggestion that, like poky hat, the term fernietickles would be used as an endearment to a child:

46F2PB: An they're aw rid-heidit, his side i the family, an needless tae say, they've goat millions of freckles, so it was fernietickles. [use] Ah don't think so. Ah would maybe even jokingly say tae a wee one now, 'Aw look at aw the fernietickles you've goat,' or something, ye know, but Ah would refer tae it as freckles.
46M6PB: [...] It's a lovin patter, it's a lovin patter - 'Aw look at the fernietickles!' (64B)

As such, its use might be very occasional:

26F2CF: Ma Grannie used tae say that. [...] Aye, ma Grannie used tae tell me they were a sign i beauty. [use] Ah'll start a new trend, Ah'll tell ma weans aboot it. (63F)

3.6.4 What does it mean to take the spur at something?

Take the spur, from McGhee, Cut and Run (1962: 46 and passim). Cf. DSUE (get the) spur, late 19th century.

Table 3.51: Claimed knowledge and use of take the spur

Age	Females				Males			
	K	U	?	N	K	U	?	N
10+	2	0		5	3	1	1	7
16+	1	1		8	3	2		6
26+	0	6	2	9	1	4		5
46+	4	3		7	1	8		9
66+	0	3		3	1	3		4

To take the spur is to take offence, to take umbrage, or more strongly, to become annoyed or angry:

46F2PB: The huff, aye. [...] Ye've took the - the wrang wey oot is something that's been sayed tae ye. See, Ah think that's more modern again. (64B)

The following is an illustration of the type of situation it might refer to:

> 26F7PB: Remember last time? An she fell, she's gaun, 'Get. Me. Up.' We picked er up, we walked through tae the close, ten minutes, she was doon again!
> 26F9: Oh, it was a laugh.
> 26F7PB: Mind that Mary was laughin, she's gaun, 'Don't. Youse. Laugh.'
> 26F6CB: She 'tane the spur'! (46B)

Several children and teenagers suggested it would mean to 'take the mickey', but this was probably just an obvious guess - they did not claim to use the item. Some adults felt the term to be distinctly 'common':

> 46F5PB: A lot it these words ye <u>know</u> -
> 46F4PB: But ye're no in the habit i usin them.
> 46F5PB: Bringin them intae conversation. (28B)

> 46M6PB: Ah'd say that's in the last ten, fifteen years. If no even later. [...] Ah think it's a lower - it maybe sounds stupit, this - a lower class use that. The - the ned type, use it rather than wur own type, like, ye know. (64B)

and there was a view that it was modern slang. However, there was some confusion amongst young adults and children with the gang name. Apparently the stamping ground of the Spur extends from Bridgeton into part of Barrowfield:

> 26M2CS: Doon this end i the scheme ye'd say, aye, ye'd take the spur. Ye wouldnae say that up the toap i the road, cos it would mean a different thing! Ye'd end up gettin a doin for it.
> 16M2PB: There's two - there's two gangs in this street [Stamford Street], the Torch an the Spur.
> 26M2CS: Doon here, it's called the Spur. The Torch. An ye wouldnae mention the Spur up there, ye know. (13F)

10M2CC: The Spur, that's the name i the gang doon here. [...] That is the gang, callt the Spur.

10M1CC: The Mental Defective League in Formation.

10M2CC: [...] Ye no see it oan the waws? 'Spur Rule' an aw that?

CIM: [...] Is there any religion in this thing? Is the Spur a Catholic gang?

10M2CC: Naw, it's just - na, it's just gangs.

10M1CC: There's only wan Prodesant in oor gang an that's [16M1PF].

10M2CC: See here - this - know how this is the noo scheme, this is what this's called - this is the Noo Scheme Spur. Barrafield Spur are up in Barrafield.

10M1CC: We - anybody messes any wan i the likes i us, we kick shit oot i them an aw that.

10M2CC: [...] But the other gangs are usually - like Baltic, they're aw Proddies, Prodesants.

10M1CC: They really waant tae get us.

10M2CC: They're religious. We're mixed.

16M4CS: The Tongs are aw Catholics.

10M2CC: [...] Just where ye come fae, aye, the errear ye come fae. (70B)

Synonyms

take the needle (mainly men), take the huff (mainly women), take the cream puff (= huff) (men), take imerage, lose yer rag

3.6.5 What does turn it up mean? When would you use it?

Turn it up, McGhee, Cut and Run (1962: 46 and passim). Turn it up (at that) is a nautical expression, from the action of turning up a rope, giving permission to stop (DSUE, from c.1925).

Table 3.52: Claimed knowledge and use of turn it up

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	4		5	1	3	7
16+	1	5		7	1	5	6
26+	0	9		9	0	5	5
46+	4	3		7	1	8	9
66+	0	2	2	4	0	4	4

Although no-one could explain to me the imagery of turn it up, the item was quite well known, and even occurred spontaneously on tape:

> 10M1CC: Aye, he - that's - he's a windae cleaner - windae man.
> 16M4CS: Turn it up, you. (70B)

66M5PB defined it simply as, 'Right, we're finished, turn it up.' (19D). But the most common suggestion was that it would mean 'shut up'

> 16F2CB: 'Aw right, you, turn it up.' Say if somebody says somethin tae you as if tae say, 'Aw, hey, stoap kiddin on', or 'You can say somethin better than that'. Used tae say that at the school aw the time, 'Right, you, turn it up.' [...] As if tae say - somebody says, 'Would you fancy that guy,' you'd say, 'Aw, here, turn it up, he's a pure dog,' or somethin, know, like that. (43B)

or, less often, 'stoap yer fightin, behave yersel' (66F8PS, 23B):

> 10F1-F: Ma Ma goes like that, ma Ma says 'turn it up' an aw. Right, 'Just you turn it up, you stoap batterin her. Turn it

up.' [...] A lot i people say that.

10F4PB: Aye, ma Ma uses that aw the time: 'Turn it up, youse.' We kid oan tae er, we take the mickey oot er, we turn the telly up an aw that! (53B)

The common denominator is that someone is 'gettin out i order' (46M5PB, 31D), or in a younger idiom, 'daein somethin unreal' (16M5CS, 74B).

Synonyms

pack it in, jack it in, calm it doon, gie it a by, chuck it, give over, shut up, dry up

3.6.6 What do you call a lie? Dinghy.

Dinghy, (source: Peter MacLaren, teacher; and schools open questionnaire).

The full form is rubber dinghy, and rubber ear is synonymous. This only became clear in the course of the interviews, and allowed me to prompt more effectively, so the figures are to be regarded as suggestive only.

Table 3.53: Claimed knowledge and use of dinghy

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	1	1	2	5	0	6	7
16+	1	2	1	7	0	3	6
26+	2	2		9	0	2	5
46+	2	0		7	1	0	9
66+	0	0		5	0	0	4

'Rubber dinghy' or 'Dinghy' was a current saying amongst children in the East End in 1984-85. There are two implications:

a) I don't believe you;
b) I intend to ignore that (hence the synonymy with rubber ear and a deefie).

10F1-F: Och aye. Everybody hears that aw the time. Up in Barrafield, man, it's aw the buzz. 'Sling im a dinghy.' [...] Sling them a - just ignore them an aw that. (53B)

16F10-X: It's tellin them a load a shite, load a crap. (43B)

26F2CF: Naw, the weans noo, if they think ye're tellin them a lie they just go like that, 'Aw, rubber dinghy.'
26F3CF: Rubber ear.
CIM: Yeah.
26M3CS: Or they go, 'Dinghy!' [...] If they think ye're makin it up.
CIM: Ah thoat a rubber ear was a deefie?
26M3CS: Aye, if ye're no waantin - [...] Aye, ye don't waant tae bother wi them.
CIM: Yeah.
26F3CF: Well, if you're tellin a wean a lie, they don't waant tae hear it, know what Ah mean? So they turn roon an say, 'Aw here, rubber ear.' (63F)

There is a gesture which accompanies this:

16F8CD: Ah think it's telling a lie, or shooting a story, ye know, just - just tae be annoying, just for the sake of it.
10M8PB: [...] Aye, a dinghy. People staun like that, 'A dinghy.'
CIM: Yeah, an sort of flick their ear?
10M8PB: Aye. [...] Like, they don't believe ye. 'Ye're slingin me a dinghy. Ye're windin me up.' (75B)

46F2PB: Ye hear them sayin, 'Aw, a rubber dinghy,' when they don't believe what ye're sayin.
46M6PB: Aye, ye're showin me you - you gied me a rubber ear.

46F2PB: [...] But Ah think again that's oan the younger side.
46M6PB: [...] Or Ah'd say merr tae your oldest lassie, Georgina's age group, at the sixteen mark. (64B)

To throw or sling somebody a dinghy is basically to mislead them:

16F3PS: Aw, a dinghy! A lie. A dinghy? Aw, Ah use it aw the time, Ah don't know how tae - ye throw somebody a dinghy, ye're tellin them a lot a lie- you're tellin them tae go somewhere, an you're gaunnae be therr an ye - ye don't turn up, that's what Ah would think a dinghy. (76B)

so presumably the riposte is used to expose such a supposed attempt.

Synonyms

The expression porky (pie) (= lie) was popular amongst teenagers (and in the media) in 1984-85. To wind someone up is perhaps closer to the sense of throwing someone a dinghy - trying to induce them to believe something, but without the implication of a serious moral lapse conveyed by lie. Spinning a fanny is an adult expression. Slinging / throwing / flinging a deefie / rubber ear are children's and teenagers' expressions.

There are also more colourful ripostes:

10M1CC: 'Aye, an yer arse hut the flerr.' (70B)

3.6.7 What does going out for cadgies mean?

Cadgies, from McGhee, Cut and Run (1962: 48 and 116).

The item was apparently not known to my informants, but it could be guessed (as in the novel) that it has something to do with cadge, 'borrow'.[7]

3.6.8 What do you say for 'have a look' at something? Clock. Have a shuftie.

Clock, look at, from c.1930 (DSUE).

The question was badly phrased, as the term is more likely to be used of a person than a thing.

Some people accepted clock as meaning 'look', but others specified that it was to 'register' something:

> 46M7PS: Naw, take that attention - know, attention that's - now, clock that - that's - know, make that - at - at that point, ye know, clock that, aye, attend tae that, know, make - make a point that's happened at a certain time, clock that. (31D)

> 26M2CS: Naw, 'Clock it', ye'd actually go up an actually ( ) say, 'Clock that,' meanin, 'look at it an remember it,' know.
> 16M2PB: So's ye can go back an get it efter, Wullie.
> 26M2CS: Aye! (13F)

If applied to people it would often be by men watching women passers-by, but not necessarily:

> 16F8CD: That's - that's more an expression of - usually, ye know, it's something ye disapprove of, ye know, sort of, 'Clock her,' ye know, it's either disapproval or admiration, ye know, but it's really something that's out of the ordinary that ye're telling somebody tae look at. [More likely to be a person?] It can be, but ye're usually told tae 'clock that' because of the person, what they look like, maybe their outfit, maybe their build. But not specifically, ye know, 'clock that person', ye know. 'Clock something about that person.' (75B)

Some, particularly middle-aged women, characterised it as a men's word, and women who used it as gallus (see below).

46F3CB: Again, that's mair - it's more like men sayin, 'Heh, clock that,' ye know. [...] Maybe lookin at a girl walkin along the street or ...

46M6PB: Aye workmen. [...] Ye know how the workmen used tae staun ootside likes i Arles an Mavers an that, ye know, see the lassies comin by fae Livingstone's, 'Aw, clock that yin.' [...] It's no an expression a wumman would a used. Again, if a wumman would a used that expression, she would a been of the ...

46F3CB: The gallus, hairy type.

46M6PB: The gallus, herry, yeah. (64B)

Shuftie, a look, c.1925 (DSUE).

Table 3.54: Claimed knowledge and use of shuftie

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0		5	0	0	6
16+	0	1		7	2	1	6
26+	3	0	1	8	2	3	5
46+	3	2		7	4	5	9
66+	1	0		5	1	3	4

Men who had been in the Army were able to identify shuftie - some corrected this to shiftie - as Arabic, but the word was also widespread in the community:

66M6PB: Aw it's an auld word, but it's a shuftie. [...] Ah well, it's an old wartime word, ye know. It's actually an Araybic word, ye know. An Ah - used in the Middle East. But that's where Ah - Ah didnae know what it meant. Or what - well, Ah knew what it meant, havin heard it before from - but Ah didnae know where it originated, but when ah got intae the Army maself an it was repeated tae me what it was an found out the origin, where it originally came from. But Ah knew - Ah knew of it, before Ah joined the Army, because it was used quite frequently, ye know. (65B)

It was mostly identified as the slang of young men (and of older men when they were young):

46F3CB: [use] Naw, as Ah say, more maybe the younger ones, or again more the - more slang speakin, if ye like.
46M6PB: It's the pub, it's the pub boys, pub boys type a thing,, ye know. Ah don't mean that for oor type i pub boys, Ah mean young boys, eighteen, nineteen, gaun tae the pub. [...] Maybe, 'Ah've goat a photie i ma girlfriend,' 'Give us a shuftie.' It certainly wouldnae be oor sorta wey i speakin. In fact, if any i ma kids had a sayed that, when they were younger, they'd a goat a belt oan the ear! (64B)

26M5PS: Again, it's wan i these expressions that dies oot through time as ye get older, Ah think.
26M4PS: That's wan, again, Ah've no heard for a while. [Gone out of fashion?] Ah would say so.
26M5PS: Wi oor generation it has. But it may still be wi the younger generation, Ah don't know. Not that we're that old, but wi the sorta generation comin up now, they may use it.
26M4PS: Ah don't - quite honestly, Ah don't think so. [...] Ah think that's an old yin. (25D)

Synonyms

cop that, check that, check / get the nick i him, have a deck / decko / deckie (16F8CD), have a swatch (mainly young women), gie's a squelch (10M1CC), have a gander, dig it (16F2CB), eyeball (10F6PB - CB slang), take a bo-peep (16F7CD);
butcher's (hook) (= look) (middle-aged men), cookie (= lookie) (46M10CD)

3.6.9 What do you call it if somebody blushes? Beamer. Riddie. Brassie.

Beamer, a red face (interview 2B.)

Table 3.55: Claimed knowledge and use of beamer

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5		5	0	4	4
16+	0	7		7	0	4	4
26+	2	6	1	9	3	2	5
46+	3	1		7	3	1	9
66+	0	0		5	1	0	4

The term beamer is popular amongst children. It occurred spontaneously on tape:

> 10F2PB: Err's this teacher in John Street School, right, an we aw call er Mag, know? [...] This wan time she told aw the pupils in Wan B tae shut up. An they went an - they went like that, an they wouldnae stoap talkin, so she went like that, tae them. 'Stop talking.' An she had a pure beamer on er face. She got a wee feather duster an banged it aff the table, an it went an broke, an then she had a pure beamer. (2B)

Although some adults are aware of the new usage, many would associate beamer with beam 'smile'.

Riddie, as beamer (cf. DSUE red face (or neck) have a, to be ashamed, Glasgow, early 20th century).

Table 3.56: Claimed knowledge and use of riddie

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	0	4	4
16+	0	7	7	0	4	4
26+	0	9	9	0	5	5
46+	0	6	7	1	8	9
66+	1	4	5	3	1	4

There was some suggestion that riddie was more a women's word, and that it was fairly modern, i.e. not current with the oldest generation. The only apparent sex difference in the figures is in the oldest group.

Brassie, as riddie (source Peter MacLaren, teacher).

Table 3.57: Claimed knowledge and use of brassie

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5		5	0	4	4
16+	1	6		7	0	4	4
26+	2	3	1	9	0	2	5
46+	3	0		7	2	1	9
66+	0	0		4	1	0	4

Although adults recognised that the neck as well as the face might be involved in a show of embarrassment, they understood a brassneck to be a 'hard neck':

> 26M6-D: Ye call hard neck - wi yer coaller size - say Ah'm a sixteen, 'He's a sixteen, pure brass!' (18D)

unless they had heard the new usage from children.

10F1-F: Yer neck goes pure red.
10F4PB: Naw, it's just ...
10F1-F: Naw, just yer face an that goes aw red. Ye go aw red an ...
10F4PB: [...] Yer face goes poor red. (53B)

The connection is that in a given situation, a brassneck or a red face could be the different responses of different personalities:

46M7PS: He's goat a - he could have a riddie, but he's brassnecked it. He's - he's shoved it oaf. He's just brassnecked it. E should have a riddie, but he'll no take the riddie. (31D)

46F2CB: Were you sayin, Annie, that Georgina said that kinda thing? A brassie? [...] Georgina would say, 'Oh Ma, Ah goat a right brassie,' or 'You gie me a right brassie.'
46F3PB: Aye. If Ah tell er tae pit oan - mebbe perr a soacks, for instance, wi a skirt, 'Aw, what a brassneck! Ah'm no gaun oot wi thaim oan!' that kinda thing, ye know. (73B)

16F8CD: Ye say that about, ye know, if ye're told of somethin that happened, and ye think, 'Oh that must a been a right brassie,' ye know, 'that must a been extremely embarrassing', ye know, 'it would embarrass me', ye know. (75B)

Synonyms

brass can (16F10-X), beetroot face (children).

There is also a gesture to indicate how hot a person's face is:

10M4CB: Aye, an go like that, 'Get - ' an go like that, 'Get - get the bread oot, an heat it up,' an aw that. We go like that. [...] Ye go like that, an aw that. Up tae their faces an go like that, rub wur hauns thegither. (79B)

3.6.10 What do you call something that's nasty? (In practice, I had to ask for words for 'smelly' to elicit the desired material.) Mingin. Clingin. Gingin. Boggin. Bowfin. Honkin.

Mingin, smelly, late 20th century (SND Supplement, s.v. ming). DSUE also has ming(ing), as 1970s Army slang, and identifies it as dialectal, but appeals only, and unsuccessfully, to EDD.

Table 3.58: Claimed knowledge and use of mingin

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	0	4	4
16+	0	7	7	0	4	4
26+	2	7	9	1	4	5
46+	3	4	7	1	8	9
66+	3	0	5	0	2	4

Reported usage is perhaps affected by the greater freedom of children than adults to pass such remarks. See also 3.7.12.

Clingin, as mingin (source: Peter MacLaren, teacher).

Table 3.59: Claimed knowledge and use of clingin

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	2	1	4	0	2	4
16+	1	6		7	2	2	4
26+	5	2		9	1	1	5
46+	1	0		7	1	1	9
66+	0	0		3	0	0	4

Adults would take clingin to refer to dirt:

26F4CC: Clingin again isnae dirt - isnae smell, it's dirt. 'This place is clingin,' aye, it's clingin i dirt, ye know, in

other words, the dirt's clingin tae the waws an everythin in it, that's for 'dirty' again. (58C)

or as one girl put it:

10F2PB: Aye! 'Yer shite's clingin tae yer drawers!' (16iiB)

The idea of clingin as 'smelly' is perhaps generalised from applications like the following:

26M4PS: When ye say clinging, Ah mean, Ah've only used it wance, an it was years ago, that Ah took a radio, it was a Bush radio, an it - the lid opened up an the music played an - so there was somethin the matter wi it, an Ah worked in Maryhill at the time, an there was this darkie, ye know. He actually sorted radios an that, an Ah gave him this radio, an jist - the smell Ah'm tellin ye aboot, this smell was actually in his - in is house, an when Ah took this radio home, as soon as Ah opened it, this - the smell come out i the radio and Ah mean, Ah had - it was about three months before that smell went out. An that's what ye say, 'Aw that smell's clingin tae that,' an Ah mean it was, it was three months before that smell ( ) that smell - Ah just couldnae get rid i that smell. (25D)

Only the sense 'smelly' has been counted above.

The rhyme with mingin has perhaps also been influential.

Gingin, as mingin (Source: Peter MacLaren, teacher).

Table 3.60: Claimed knowledge and use of gingin

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	5	5	1	2	1	4
16+	3	4	7	1	2		4
26+	2	1	9	3	0		5
46+	0	0	7	2	1		9
66+	0	0	3	0	0		4

Again the rhyme with mingin is probably significant - there appears to be no previous history for the word.

Boggin, as mingin (source: Peter MacLaren, teacher). Cf. DSUE bog, privy.

Table 3.61: Claimed knowledge and use of boggin

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	4	0	1	5	0	4	4
16+	7	0		7	0	4	4
26+	7	0		7	0	5	5
46+	5	1		7	1	8	9
66+	2	0		3	0	2	4

Several people took boggin to be primarily 'dirty' rather than 'smelly':

> 26F1CF: Ah've yaised it wi the weans - 'You're absolutely boggin!' Ye know, if you're in company or somethin, an the wean comes in - 'You are absolutely boggin!' (26F)

The speaker is joking about the very minor linguistic concession ('you are' rather than 'you're') that she might make - boggin was felt by some to be fairly strong language (cf. cludgie):

46M6PB: It's - it's a word in common everyday use, Ah accept it, ye know, but Ah don't like it. Noo, if a kid says tae me, 'That's boggin' - 'Away an waash yer bloomin mooth oot.' It's like swearin tae me. An yet it's no. (73B)

Bowfin, as mingin (source: Peter MacLaren, teacher). Cf. SND bouff[2].

Table 3.62: Claimed knowledge and use of bowfin

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	0	4	4
16+	2	5	7	0	4	4
26+	1	8	9	0	3	5
46+	3	0	7	2	2	9
66+	0	0	3	0	0	4

To bowf can be to alarm somebody with a sudden verbal outburst (the original means 'to bark'), and it would seem that there is a sense transfer here from hearing to smell (cf. honkin, below, and humming):

M: Like your feet. That's what she says tae me every night when Ah take ma shoes off, 'Yer feet are bowfin.' (39F)

Honkin, as mingin (DSUE, Australian and since c.1925 British).

Table 3.63: Claimed knowledge and use of honkin

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	1	4		5	0	4	4
16+	1	6		7	0	4	4
26+	1	7		8	0	5	5
46+	5	1		7	1	7	8
66+	1	0	1	3	1	1	4

This item appears to be older than most of the others above:

> 66F3PC: Ah wouldnae say that Ah use it, cos there's no sae many people honk noo, is there? An there's no many hooses honk. [...] Everythin's aw modern. (44B)

Another metaphorical transfer seems to be at work in the following:

> 26M2CS: 'He's honkin wi it,' ye know. E's goat a load i it. Aw depends what wey ye're talkin again.
> 16M2PB: If ye're talkin aboot honkin, ye can talk maybe aboot somebody bein steamin, drunk.
> 26M2CS: It means e's goat a load i stuff.
> 16M2PB: Honkin wi money. (13F)

Honk is also slang for 'to vomit'.

Synonyms

> 10M7PB: plenty i words, there's millions i words (32iB).

hummin, pongin, pongy (16F7CD), reekin, meekin (46M5PB), geekin (10M8PB), stinkin, stinky, ginkin (16F7CD), gowfin (26M3CS), cleggin (16F10-X);
pooey (10F2PB), (n)yucky (46F5PB);
fumigatin (46M11-X), putrified, putrid, rancid, rotten;
loupin (teenagers, literally 'lousy');
manky, maukit (both for 'dirty');
Abraham Lincoln (= stinkin, 40S), Charles Lawton (= rotten, 40S), Rotten McNaughton (46M1CC), honkin tonkin (46M1CC)

3.6.11 What do you call something that's really good?

Brill(iant). Magic.

Brilliant, as a Standard English word, was felt by adults not to be worth mentioning:

> 46M4PB: Brilliant's no a Scottish word, it's an English word.
> 46F4PB: It's just a word tae me.
> 46M4PB: It's an English word. Ah mean it's no a Brit- it's no Scottish, it's British. (28B)

> 16M2PB: Noo an again. Depends who ye're staunin wi. Maybe ye're staunin wi a social worker or somethin lik that, an ye'd say, 'Aw, that's brilliant.'
> 26M2CS: Then ye'd say brilliant, so they could understaund ye, ye know. (13F)

> 16F7CD: Aye, it really depends who ye're speakin tae as well, Ah think.
> CIM: Well, what sort of occasions would ye say brilliant?
> 16F4PS: In front i ma Da!
> CIM: So that's a kind of acceptable ṭhing tae say?
> 16F4PS: Mm - aye.
> 16F7CD: Ah suppose Ah say, 'That's the gemm,' as well. Ah say, 'That's gemm.'
> CIM: In front i yer Da.
> 16F7CD: Aye, in front i ma Da, or Ma, aye. Ah suppose merr like the boss Ah wouldnae say, 'That's the gemm,' Ah'd say, 'Aw, it's brilliant,' or somethin like that. Wouldnae say that in front i the boss. (38D)

Brill, superlative (DSUE s.v. brilliant, first noted in Liverpool, 1979, and quickly shortened to brill). Its widespread and fashionable use amongst the young is underlined by the following:

> Mega (our Political Editor's daughter writes) is this year's answer to 'brill', which is totally out of date. (New Statesman 'Miscellany', 11 January 1985).

Table 3.64: Claimed knowledge and use of brill

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	5	5	1	3	4
16+	3	4	7	3	1	4
26+	5	2	7	3	1	4
46+	6	0	7	6	1	9
66+	1	0	2	2	0	4

This is very much a children's word:

26F4CC: Or brill is the - that's the in one at the moment. Everythin's brill in ma hoose. [...] It's just aw the usual words only they shorten them, ye know. (58C)

26M2CS: A wean would say it.
16M2PB: [...] Ye get some adults sayin it. No very many, but. It's adults that's never grew up. (13F)

Other variations are brillso (10M7PB), brylcreem (16F10-X), P.B. (= pure brilliant, 10D).

Magic, superlative (DSUE, popularised by the 'Selwyn Froggit Show' on television, 1975).

Table 3.65: Claimed knowledge and use of magic

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	2	3	5	0	4		4
16+	0	7	7	1	3		4
26+	3	3	6	1	3	1	5
46+	1	5	6	0	9		9
66+	0	3	3	3	1		4

Although magic was also sometimes felt to be a children's word, some adults, especially men, would use it, but they had perhaps picked it up quite recently:

46M7PS: Ah would think that is - Ah think that's - Ah'm even intae that - an Ah think it's a new word for me, but magic is quite good, aye. [...] Ah think we can even - we can associate it, oor age, Ah can associate magic, aye.
46M5PB: [...] Naw, naw, Ah used that word years ago.
46M7PS: Did ye?
46M5PB: Aye, every time Ah was foallaein the Rangers? Magic! We were winnin then, ye know. Naw, this is true. [...] Jimmy Miller scored a goal? Bill Brand pit another wan, Ah says, 'Magic.' Naw, Ah did, all kiddin aside. (31D)

46M6PB: Ah think again that's a modern expression, which we would use. (73B)

Synonyms

te-ri-fic, triffic, trif, terrif, fab, fantastic, fandabbydosy (from television), fan-dab;
smashin, crackin;
a cracker, a stoatir, a topper, a brammer;
rerr, gemm, primier (66M5PB), braw (16F10-X), stipendous, stupendous, gallus (see below), marvellous, great;
ex-cellent-o, excellent:

10F6PB: No a lot i people, just coupla people say magic. [...] Ah say excellent aw the time noo. Cos that's what everybody says noo: excellent. (80B)

3.6.12 What does gallus mean?

Gallus, wild, reckless, flamboyant, 20th century (SND s.v. gallows II 2).

The word was universally known, and only a few said they would not use it.

Amongst children, and as reflected in recent Glasgow dialect writing (e.g. Hamilton, 1982), gallus can be a general term of approval:

16M5CS: That would mean 'good' tae me - 'That's gallus.' That would be - ye would be excited aboot somethin, ye know, Ah think, ye would say it was gallus. (74B)

This is a case of 'anti-language' (Halliday (1976), parallel to the better-known example of American Black English bad. The group at whom criticism is aimed rehabilitate the word by reversing the value judgement. Cf. 10F8 on the subject of the Spur: 'They're gallus as fuck, man.' (2B)

For adults, and still for many children when applied to persons, the meaning of gallus is more specific, though hard to define - the traits that mark a person as gallus could express themselves e.g. in clothes, hair, speech or posture, but any specific, superficial indication might not in itself be a true guide to the person's character:

46F4PB: Like, ye get nice girls, they're nice enough girls, but they wear kinna gallus clothes, ye know, an even - Ah'm no talkin about way-out girls, Ah'm talkin aboot - there's somethin aboot them -
46F5PB: Full a confidence.
46F4PB: that makes them gallus. It's no even - how dae ye explain it?
46M3PB: It's maybe even their walk, they wey they walk.
46F4PB: Aye, doesnae even need tae be their dress.
46M4PB: Their make-up.
46M3PB: Aye, a gallus walk.
46F4PB: Ah'll give ye a - Ah'll give ye an instance. A woman came intae work beside me years ago. Noo, B---- D--- -
46M4PB: Wee B---- D---?
46F4PB: Very nice person. She was oaf i a big, big family. Nineteen i them.
46M4PB: Aw aye, there was - naw, fifteen, Betty, was it no?
46F4PB: Fifteen. Thoat it was nineteen. It was a big, big family anyway. Noo B---- D--- is a very nice person.
46M4PB: The mother was deid.
46F4PB: She's goat a - a fived-room villa up in Burnside. See

when she came intae the work, nobody, but nobody would a thought - Noo, B---- wasnae even gallus dressed, dae ye know what Ah mean? [...] She wasnae even gallus dressed, but there was something gallus aboot er, ye know. But ye couldnae a sayed she was flamboyantly dressed or there was anythin aboot er. Some people have a gallus laugh or - ye know, mean, she left us tae work - the work -

46F5PB: Looked kinna common.

46F4PB: an she came back in - She actually married one i D---'s the TV people. An she's loaded! Ye'd never know it tae hear er.

46F5PB: Still looks gallus!

46F4PB: Funnily enough, she doesnae look sae gallus now, because she used tae have er hair dyed black an noo she's let it go intae er own grey, an she's wearin glasses. An she seems so different. But <u>still</u> there's that wee thing aboot er, ye know.

46M4PB: If ye met the family, ye'd realise, Betty.

46M3PB: Aye, it's hard tae define <u>gallus</u>.

46F4PB: Ye could maybe look at a girl an say, 'She's right gallus dressed,' but she might no be a gallus person! An yet ye could get a person who's no what we would say gallus dressed, but is - has goat gallus -

46F5PB: There's an air about them.

46F4PB: Other things about them, ye know.

CIM: What about if it was a man that was described as gallus?

46F4PB: [...] As Ah say, there's a man goes up tae oor Club, an is name's S-----. Goat dark, dark hair, an kinna black sidelocks -

46M4PB: Him in the leather jaicket?

46F4PB: an e's awfa dark, an e wears a black jacket, a leather jacket. E's one i the quietest people that goes up tae that Club. Ye never hear im speakin tae a soul, an e's so quiet. But there's - ye would think e was a fly-man! An e's <u>not</u>, ye know. [...] Oh no. James, this man's never a word oota place. E's so quiet. E's so well-mannered. Ah don't know what's - the dark sleeked back herr, an the side - black

sidelocks. An e's goat oan this black leather jacket - an e's quite tall, there's nothin wee aboot im. An e's so quiet. But yer first impression is, 'He's kinna tough lookin,' an the - e's - somebody less tough ye could never find, ye know.

46M3PB: [...] Ah mean, we know, Ah mean, we're tryin tae explain tae you, we know, when we look at somebody an say, 'Aw, e's gallus,' we know what we're lookin for. Whereas we're tryin tae explain tae you, an yet we cannae explain it tae ye like, ye know.

46F4PB: [...] See we would've described a Teddy boy as gallus, because - an they didnae wear these kinna clothes, but probably ye goat Teddy boys that were - were not gallus. But because -

46M3PB: Naw, Ah mean, the Teddy boys - the Teddy boy era was - they were nicely dressed, the Teddy boys, in that sense.

46F4PB: Aye, there was only certain boys dressed like that. [...] Oh, they were the dearest i clothes!

46F5PB: Ah would say they didnae have a sense i dress, somebody that was gallus, they wouldnae have a sense i - rightly dressed..

46F4PB: See in ma day, Caroline, somebody gallus wore big feathery flowers on their shoulders, ye know, an they were gallus lookin. [...] An in a lot a instances, Caroline, it can even be in their speech. Like some i these words they would be usin all the time, ye know. Like see for instance, ye would talk aboot a hawker -

46M4PB: As bein gallus,

46F4PB: Ye always found their - they leaned towards bein gallus, yet they'd the most beautiful jewellery, ye know. But it was maybe big, long earrings, an - ye know what Ah mean, Isa?

46M3PB: When ye see the - when ye see the Orange Walk there, ye - ye'll see them Ye know how they walk? Well we would say that's a gallus walk.

46F5PB: Tryin tae impress, tryin tae impress people.

46M3PB: [...] A kinna loud speaker, even, ye know. She's always talkin loud, ye know. Ye would say, 'Aw, a right gallus voice that yin,' ye know. [...] Or even the way they sing, ye

know. 'Bo-o-o-ony Me-e-e--iry o-of Argyll!' Ye know, Ah mean a gallus singer, ye know. Maybe a nice person, but, ye know.
46F5PB: [...] 'Boanny Scoatland!'
46M3PB and 46F4PB in unison: 'I-i-i-i-i adore ye!' (28B)

In a man, a gallus character is a certain toughness, a flashy self-importance associated with an insecure and shady way of life, or with teenage bravado. But because gallus traits are so much more liable to disapproval in women, the female type springs first to many people's minds:

46F6PS: Gallus tae me was somebody - maybe a lassie when she was young, dressed up wi a wee shoart skirt an high heels an the wee tight coat, things like that. Right wee gallus walk. But it's different noo. Ah think it means somethin different noo. (39F)

and some adults would reserve the term for a female:

26F4CC: Used tae be if ye sayed somebody was gallus it meant - if a - like if ye sayed a lassie was gallus: 'She's dead gallus,' it meant she was a herry, or a hussy or a jezebel, right? But in the present day, when they say somethin's gallus, they mean it's great, it's good, ye know, but Ah mean, personally, if Ah s- ye know, Ah wouldnae say, 'That's gallus,' Ah would say, 'She's gallus,' [...] But noo, ma wans when they say, 'Oh, he's gallus,' know, somebody oan the tel- 'Oh, he's gallus,' it means e's good. [...] It was nothin for a man tae be gallus. If a man was gallus - Naw, ye wouldnae really a sayed, ye know, ye'd a sayed e was a teddy boy or a - ye know, ye know, 'He's a right te- a right - a ned.' A ned woulda described a man that was gallus. Gallus was used for lassies, ye know. No even women: lassies, ye know, were gallus. Like, roon aboot the teenage stage, ye were either a lady or ye were gallus, ye know, so - that- naw, Ah wouldnae a sayed it for a man. As Ah say, a man had the gallus traits, ye'd a sayed he was a ned, ye know, or a spiv, somethin

like that, ye know, as opposed tae gallus. But tae me it was just an adjective for describin lassies. (58C)

26F6CB: Naw, if Ah was sayin gallus, Ah'd be like maybe talkin aboot, like a school age wee lassie, 'Oh, she's dead gallus,' ye know, if she's maybe swearin an things like that, ye know what Ah mean.
26F7PB: Sweerin an smokin. (29B)

A gallus female would be forward, brazen, common, a herry.

Anyone called Alice was in danger of attracting the nickname 'Gallus Alice':

46F3CB: The thing Ah always remember, was mainly when Ah worked in Ritchie's - ma name's Alice, right, an, ye know, rhymin slang again would come intae it: Gallus Alice! An there was on e girl in particular, one woman in particular, she says, 'Course,' she says, 'That's something they cannae say aboot you,' Ah was that straight-laced, ye know. Like you [46F2PB] sayed - a 'snottery-nosed git'. That - it was an unfortunate rhyme, ye know, put tae ma name sorta thing, so in a way it was derogatory. But in ma - ma age, we - we classed it as - as bein derogatory. Ah suppose - Ah think it came tae mean more cheeky, than anything. A right cheeky so-an-so - a right gallus so-an-so, ye know. (64B)

The polarisation of taste and outlook (the rough v. the respectable) is already apparent in the term as applied to people, and is ironically acknowledged by transferring the insult to the other's supposed point of view:

16F10-X: She acts gallus.
16F2CB: She thinks she's wide an aw that, thinks she's a tough nut. [...] Or else if ye're bringin somebody in, 'Look at her, thinks - she thinks she's gallus,' or somethin, know. (43B)

10F2PB: Ye think ye're big. [...] Ye think ye're smart, ye can dae everyhin. Like jump aff waws, jump aff buildins! Get a parachute an fly the world! That's impossible! (16iiB)

3.6.13 How do you tell somebody to hurry up? Get a jildi on.

Jildi, hurry, as verb and adjective from the late 19th century, as a noun from the Second World War. DSUE considers it obsolete by 1975 (DSUE, see also the second Supplement to OED s.v. juldie).

Table 3.66: Claimed knowledge and use of jildi

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	1	5	0	0	4
16+	0	1	7	2	0	4
26+	3	0	8	1	2	5
46+	3	3	7	2	5	9
66+	2	0	3	0	4	4

Although several adults commented on this being an old word, it seems to be quite a tenacious one:

10F6PB: Or 'jildi'! [...] Ma uncle says aw the words, that's how Ah get them fae im. (80B)

A number of people identifed it as 'Indian' [Hindi-Urdu], mostly through the Army connection:

46M3PB: That's an Indian word again. [...] Funny enough, Ah used that more in India than Ah've used it here, ye know, because jildi's a word, ye know, Ah used it more there. (28B)

but the (unlikely) possibility of influence from Hindi-Urdu speakers in Glasgow was also pointed out:

46M6PB: That's an Indian word, jildi, isn't it? Aye. [...] That's right. That probably came in when the Indian seamen came ower here durin the War. [...] That was a word men used. (73B)

16M2PB: 'Allatoowaggery gildy.' That's Pakis an aw that that's intae that. (13F)

The suggestion that it was a man's word (see quotation above) was by no means unanimous, but accords with its origin as Army slang. As well as the expression prompted for, jildi hai (46M7PS) and jildi up (26F7PB) were mentioned.

3.7 People

3.7.1 What do you call somebody who is thick? Balloon. Sody-heidit.

Synonyms

Words for various shades of stupidity were elicited. Since these don't necessarily correspond closely to any of the prompt items, they are listed first. Older people tended to gloss 'soft in the head' while teenagers and young men tended to gloss 'demented'.

glaikit ('more Scots', 26M5PS), dizzy (46M4PB), dummy, dolt, moron, imbeceel, daft, eejit, dopey, nincompoop, half-wit, doatty (16F2CB), stoaty idiots (10F6PB), tit (10F6PB);
simple, Dolly Dimple (26F3CF);
doowally (46M3PB);
a big stumor (46F5PB);
a big tottie (46M4PB), (sody) scone, (46F5PB) doughnut (26M5PS), dumplin (46F6PS), sawdust-heid (10M7PB), pea-brained (10M7PB), saft in the heid (10M7PB), baw-heid (66F8PS);
waally-heidit (16M2PB), widden-heid (46F6PS);
no the full shillin, tuppence aff the shillin, a ha'penny shoart (all from older adults), a wee bit lackin up the sterr (26F4CC), loast a slate (10M7PB);

thick as a brush (16F7CD), thick as two planks, thick as shite in the neck i a boattle (16M7CD, reluctantly), thick as two shites (M, 39F);
nutter, nut-job (young males), heid case, hard case, mental, bampot, bamstick, bam, crazy, demented, twisted brain (16F10-X), a Leverndale case (16F10-X), screwball (10F1-F), cococalypso (10M7PB), melancholy (having cauliflower ears, 16M2PB).

Balloon, fool, McGhee, Cut and Run (1962). (DSUE knows this only as a railwaymen's pun, 20th century.)

Table 3.67: Claimed knowledge and use of balloon

Age	Females				Males			
	K	U	?	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	3	1	5	0	1	1	4
16+	1	3		7	0	3	1	4
26+	2	5		7	0	5		5
46+	1	5		7	1	8		9
66+	2	1		3	0	4		4

The majority view amongst adults was that a balloon would be a blow-hard, somebody who talked and bragged and failed to see that the company was not entertained (i.e. the image is 'full of hot air'):

> 46M7PS: Either e talks too much or whenever e talks, e talks like a budgie. 'Talks lik a budgie' - pit that doon! (31D)

> 66M5PB: One that - aw their stories that's away up in the air, ye know, a lotta nonsense, and so on like that, a big balloon, aye. (20D)

> 26M5PS: Somebody that kerries oan. Maybe somebody that sees the funny side i things where you don't see the funny things. (25D)

On the other hand, a few men connected it with football:

66M6PB: Oh, a balloon is - e couldnae dae nothin right. [...] That was used more at the fitba match than anywhere else! (65B)

To several girls, it simply suggested somebody fat.

Synonyms

blaw-hard, bum (66F8PS), gas-bag, loud mouth;
big-heided;
mug, clown, diddy (16M2PB), tube (16M2PB), haddie (46M6PB), eejit, banana (10F4PB);
bam, bampot

Sody-heidit, McGhee, Cut and Run (1962: 121, sody-heided); SND sodyheid, late 20th century (s.v. sodie).

Table 3.68: Claimed knowledge and use of sody-heidit

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	1	0	5	0	0		4
16+	1	0	7	2	1		4
26+	5	0	8	2	0	1	5
46+	0	6	6	1	8		9
66+	3	0	3	1	3		4

There are two related senses of sody-heidit: as a permanent state it would mean 'soft in the head'

46M7PS: Well, it's nearly the same [as balloon]. Sody-heidit, he disnae even talk, he's a scone ... (31D)

but it could also apply to a temporary state of thick-headedness, particularly to a hang-over:

46M8PS: Well, that's somebody - it could maybe apply tae me in the morra mornin! It's just somebody that is - they're no

> stupit, but they're just no thinkin i what they're - like, what they're daein. They've got all their faculties, but at that particular time, they're just sody-heidit. (21D)

As a term of abuse, this is very mild:

> 46M4PB: Ah'd probably use somethin a bit stronger, but Ah'd better no tell ye oan the mike! (9B)

> 26M6-D: Sody-heidit? Well, that's a nice expression. [...] Half-wit, Ah caw them.

> 46M6PB: Ye'd apply that maistly tae Annie's family, no tae oors!
> 46F3PB: Cheeky! (73B)

and many regarded it as old-fashioned.

3.7.2 What does a person who is a minesweeper do?

Minesweeper, McGhee:

> ... I happened to glance in the wall-mirror behind them, and there was Davie the Dummy seeing off one of our drinks. I'd known him for years. Knew he was a bit of a 'minesweeper', for I'd seen him at it with other people's drink, and he'd been barred from various hostelries for it. (1962: 28,9)

I was unable to confirm this item. It may have been a fairly private joke. Cf.:

> 46M3PB: Ah've heard i some men bein called a destroyer. Ay lookin for a sub! (9B)

3.7.3 What kind of person is a bampot? Is there any difference between a bampot and a bamstick?

Bampot, fool, c.1950 (DSUE s.v. barmpot).

Table 3.69: Claimed knowledge and use of bampot

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	4	4	0	3	1	4
16+	1	6	7	0	3		3
26+	2	5	7	0	5		5
46+	0	7	7	0	9		9
66+	1	2	3	0	4		4

There is general agreement that a bampot is a certain kind of idiot. Some adults emphasised the tendency to talk big (hence an overlap with balloon):

46F7PD: Ye know how they're aw talk, an ye say, 'See you, you're a bloody bampot,' ye know. (51D)

26F1CF: That's a fella that thinks e knows everythin. Or she knows everythin. 'Aye, you're a bam.' Ye wouldnae say bampot ye know, ye'd say, 'Yeah, he's a bam.' (26F)

but foolhardiness in practice is also an important element:

CIM: What kinna things would a bampot do?
M: Anythin!
46F6PS: [...] if somebody went aff their heid noo an again, mind, used tae fight, things like that. [...] Aye, nae control, that's right. (39F)

46M6PB: Bampot would be somebody again who was just high-spirited, or it could be somebody who was a ned, or it could be somebody who was just - a bampot! Usually applied tae somebody that was kinna quick wi their fists an their mooth. (73B)

10M8PB: They'd be daein somethin really really stupid, like even, could be sittin in school an he's sittin an e's stickin aw these - e's maybe - could be sittin in Art, an e's shovin aw the - aw the paints an paper an everythin intae is schoolbag an things like that, when the teacher's - when the teacher turns is back.

C1M: Seriously meaning to walk away with it?

10M8PB: Aye.

C1M: So is there a kind of daring sort of implication?

16F8CD: Yes, because a bam or a bampot's, ye know, sort of foolhardy stupid, if ye see what Ah mean. If ye do something dangerous, yer friends might say ye're bein, ye know, a bamstick, bampot, or that.

10M8PB: Or it could be in a funny expression, like ye could be walkin doon the stairs an yer pal could faw, an ye'd call im a bamstick or a bampot or somethin. (75B)

10M4CB: Dae things wrang an aw that. Say 'Don't dae that,' they would end up daein it, or somethin. If ye're playin a game, an ye say, 'Don't go oot there, cos they'll catch ye,' they'll jump oot. Ye'll go like that, 'You're a bampot,' an 'daft,' an aw that. (79B)

Some foolhardiness might find admirers (cf. gallus):

26F4CC: But a bampot was somebody that ye could maybe admire, because they had nerve tae dae anythin [...] Like the guy that would walk alang the - a six fit waw, ye know, was a bampot, ye know. Ah mean, e wasnae necessarily daft, e was just full i nerve [...] A bampot was merr tae be admired than scorned (58C)

but this was very much a minority view.

The phonological similarity makes bam a convenient substitute for bastard:

10F: [names for boys] Lanky bams.
10F2PB: Lanky bastarts, she means! (16iiB)

wee girl: By the way, the Pope's a baldy bam!
second wee girl: [...] The Pope's a baldy bastard. (68B)

Bamstick, as bampot, from Mackie (1984).

Table 3.70: Claimed knowledge and use of bamstick

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	2	0	3	0	1		3
16+	3	1	7	0	3		3
26+	1	6	7	0	4	1	5
46+	0	7	7	1	8		9
66+	0	2	3	0	4		4

Bamstick is a less common word than bampot. Where there was (occasionally) felt to be some distinction, there was disagreement about which was stronger:

26F4CC: if Ah was sayin he was a bamstick, Ah would mean somebody that went oot lookin for trouble. As opposed tae a bampot just bein somebody that done stupit things for fun, ye know, as Ah say, took chances. Ah mean, a bamstick was - if ye - ye know, if Ah says, 'He's a bamstick,' Ah would mean he's the kind that goes aboot wi a razor in is poacket an - or somebody in this day an age, somebody that mugs auld women. That was a bamstick. (58C)

16M6CS: Tae me, bamstick is somebody that's daft; tae me, bampot is somebody that's bad an daft, if ye know what Ah mean. (74B)

Synonyms

In addition to daft, etc. and heidbanger, etc., bampot was glossed as no-user (66M6PB), a dud (10M3CB).

3.7.4 What kind of person is a chanty wrassler?

Chanty wrassler, shifty unscrupulous person, 1970s, Mid Scots (SND Supplement chantywrassler, s.v. chanty).

Table 3.71: Claimed knowledge and use of chanty wrassler

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0	3	0	0		4
16+	1	0	7	1	0		3
26+	4	0	7	1	2		5
46+	6	1	7	2	6	1	9
66+	0	2	4	0	4		4

Chanty wrassler seems to be one of those jokey slang terms which are popular for a while with a generation of young men particularly, then go out of fashion. The sense appears to have two main components: like a balloon or bampot, a chanty wrassler is a blow-hard, but he is also specifically someone who fails to live up to his bragging:

> 66M5PB: A chanty wrassler is one that is doin this an doin that and he doesn't do the things properly, ye know. (20D)

> 26M4PS: Jist somebody that tries their haun. [...] They do the thing, an they've no done it right, ye know, they're just - they've made an attempt at it, ye know. 'Bad workman', ye know. Somebody that does the thing, an ye know, e's no goat a clue. (25D)

There was some disagreement about whether this failure would be a deliberate con:

> 66F10PC: It's somebody that takes ye for a ...
> 46F8PD: A mug? Think they're takin ye for - [...] Aye, aye, somebody that's tryin tae make a clown i ye. (66B)

46M3PB: See the words that -

46M4PB: Where d'ye get thaim fae?

46F4PB: Aw, ye've heard that one.

46M4PB: Och aye, Ah've heard that! [...] A bloody rogue. [...] Aye, a con man.

46F5PB: Blawin their trumpet.

46F4PB: Naw, a sorta con man, ye know. (9B)

or on the other hand:

46M7PS: thae chanty-wrasslers an that, they're harmless, ye can - ye can take thaim, but a ned - a ned's a fly man. (31D)

The imagery remains elusive: why a chanty wrassler? From the comments received a train of association could be constructed, but it might be completely wide of the mark.

46M6PB: Any bugger that come up the close too quick, was a chanty wrassler. (73B)

A person who could find themselves wrestling with a neighbour's chamber-pot under these circumstances would be, essentially, a breenge. Hence the applications suggested here:

66M6PB: E was a no-user or a - didnae matter what ye were referrin tae - you could be referrin tae - e could be a chanty-wrassler at anything. If ye goat ma meanin. E could be a chanty wrassler at football or a chanty-wrassler at boxin, or a chanty-wrassler at dancin or anything. (65B)

and generally someone with misplaced confidence in their abilities.

Synonyms

bum, blaw-hard;
bampot, no-user, disaster area;
chancer, fly boy, cowboy

3.7.5 What kind of person is a ned?

Ned, shady (young) man (SND Supplement associates ned, through Edward, with the Teddy boys, Argyllshire and Glasgow 1975; DSUE descibes a ned as a Glasgow gangster, late 20th century).

There was only one girl in the 10-15 group to whom the item was unknown, and only a few people, mainly female, who said they would not use it.

Ned was used on tape in describing gallus (where a female would be gallus, a male would be a ned) and chanty wrassler (the former might be harmless, where a ned is a rogue):

> 26M2CS: He would describe me as it! Or some i thaim oot -
> 16M2PB: A yobbo. Just - they hing aboot coarners an get up tae mischief an things lik that. Drive mini-buses.
> 26M2CS: [The allusions are becoming personal.] Thank you.
> 16M2PB: Grow berds an moustaches.
> CIM: Wear Arran cardigans.
> 16M2PB: Wear Arran-knit cardigans!
> 26M2CS: A ned is just somebody - Ah'm not, by the way, a ned. [...] Tae me, ye're describin somebody that does wrong. He's no goat the right attitude, ye know. (13F)

> 10M4CB: Person that does things wrang an that. [...] Cos when ma big brother batters me or Stephen, e says, 'You're a ned.' (79B)

> 46F4PB: Ye know, there was a lot i thaim durin the war as well. 'Oh, he's a right ned, him,' a fly man, cute, ye know. E could get money while you were sleepin. A ned, he was - he would've done ye as well, ye know, e would've taken ye for a - for money. (9B)

One teenage girl said that she would apply it specifically to females, but otherwise there was agreement that a ned is male. Some adults were at pains to disassociate the term from the Teddy boys, the latter being merely the followers of a particular fashion.

Synonyms

fly boy / man / block, con man, wide boy, spiv (the London equivalent, 46F5PB);
gallus case (10M8PB), hooligan, yobbo, no-gooder, hang-arounds (46F2CB);
bully boy, hard man, thug, bando (26F2CF)

3.7.6 What kind of person is a keelie?

Keelie, a rough city dweller, now especially associated with Glasgow, 19th century, from Gaelic gille 'lad' (SND keelie[2]).

Table 3.72: Claimed knowledge and use of keelie

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	2	0	0	4
16+	4	0	7	3	0	3
26+	2	1	7	0	3	5
46+	7	0	7	5	3	9
66+	3	2	3	3	1	4

Many people were aware of the use of keelie as a nickname for anybody from Glasgow, but it was seen as a more or less derogatory label conferred by outsiders (from Edinburgh, for instance):

66M3CC: A keelie, that's used outside i Glasgow, a Glasgow keelie. At times they used tae steal hens. That's what they used tae say, well, they sayed - used tae say, 'Gather in yer hens, here's - here comes the Glesga keelies.' See they were oot - ye know, the Glasgow people were out in the country: 'Gather in yer hens, here's the Glesga keelies.' (56C)

young woman from Airdrie: Yes, well, we use that expression, aye, ye're right, quite a lot.
26F3CF: [...] Aw aye, you're sittin there no even openin yer mooth.

16F5PS: They don't call me a Glesga keelie!

26M3CS: Naw, she's a teuchter.

26F2CF: Aye, you're a teuchter - you're fae Rutherglen, you're in the burghs.

26M3CS: [...] She'll no be hearin it any merr - she'll be gettin a keelie.

16F5PS: [...] Does it just refer tae a girl? Is that just a girl?

26F2CF: [...] How, what d'ye call a boay fae Glesga.

young woman from Airdrie: Don't call im anythin.

26F3CF: Cos ye're too feart!

young woman from Airdrie: Don't have an expression for that, just yaise that for a girl.

26F3CF: [...] She never says it in here anywey! (72F)

(One middle-aged man also expressed the opinion that it would apply more to females). At best:

46M10CD: Any person that is classed - is in Glasgow would be termed that, probably, aye. Ah don't think it's any harm, again, them sayin that tae us, right enough, just a matter a - it's like us sayin the Liverpool - (18D)

However, the picture is complicated by the continuation of the earlier sense of a person from the country (originally a Highlander) coming to the city:

66F10PC: At one time, the Glesga keelies was people that come doon fae the farms, an got a - a thingby at the market, for every six month, ye know, a f- what they caw a fee at the market, they cawed it. An they cawed thaim the Glesca keelies. See what Ah mean. [...] Up at the meat market. They come doon therr. (66B)

Compare:

> 66F10PC: Then oan a Wednesday, it was a laugh, the country yokels used tae come doon tae the dance hall, doon next tae the polis oaffice, an they used tae - they used tae get - they used tae aw fart at them, 'There's the country yokels, that's thaim gaun doon,' an that was thaim comin fae the country, in fae the country, they were in - in for a dance - in - oh my, doon at the polis oaffice. (81F)

Thus, for a Glaswegian to be a keelie could imply two contradictory things: that they either were or were not fly, street smart:

> 66M1CC: that's supposed tae be a Glesca keelie, Ah suppose. They're supposed tae be fly. Flier than the country boys. But the country boys could learn ye! These people [CIM] fae - fae Blackburn! (52C)

> 16M2PB: The description ma auld man gies it is, if you're a Glesca keelie, ye don't know nuthin. Ah mean, if ye were tae go - it just means that you're in this errea, if ye were tae go ootside this errea, ye would be loast. [...] Ma auld man uses it, but he's exceptional, he's intae is second childhood noo. [...] Fifty four. (13F)

There is also a further complication. A number of people were confused between <u>keelie</u> and <u>coolie</u> (and see Appendix C):

> 46M9PS: Heard i a Glesga coolie. [...] Heard i a coolie, no a keelie. [...] Naw, if we were sayin a coolie, we'd be talkin aboot a darkie! [...] 'There a Glesga coolie,' a Glesga darkie, that's aw.
> CIM: People take that as very insultin, to be called a coolie.
> 46M9PS: That's what Ah'm sayin, because we - usually a coolie's a darkie. (59B)

The link might seem rather tenuous, although Glasgow did have its own 'coolies', the Laskar seamen (King, 1983: 27):

> 66M3CC: Aw, that's coolies, that's a different thing altogether. That's the - the lowest i the low blacks from India, that's the lowest i the low, even the - even their own Indians look down oan thaim. They - they worked in the Anchor Line an the - the Clan Line for buttons. An they used tae walk in single file, ye know, they never walked beside each other, an they went tae what they call Paddy's Market, and they would bargain an bargain an bargain tae get clothes tae take back an sell them , tae make more money. See there's the Clan Line an the Anchor Line, they both employed coolies. So how would ye tell - if the captain i the Clan Line was oan the tap - toap deck i the bus, or the tram, an e saw some coolies walkin down Argyle Street, how would e know which was the Clan Line an which was the Anchor Line? [...] Well, the Anchor Line coolies walked wan behind the other, an the Clan Line coolies walked wan in front i the other! (56C)

I was told in conversation by 66M8PB, that the Glaswegian soldiers in Egypt called the locals <u>keelies</u>, an instance of the confusion in reverse.

Synonyms

<u>teuchter</u>

3.7.7 What kind of person is a bachle/ bauchle?

Bachle, bauchle, old shoe, hence small shuffling person, 19th century (SND s.v. bauchle).

Table 3.73: Claimed knowledge and use of bachle

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0		3	0	0	4
16+	1	0	2	7	0	2	3
26+	1	0	1	7	1	1	5
46+	1	6		7	1	8	9
66+	1	2		3	0	4	4

A bachle is specifically a person with deformed legs, characteristically as a result of rickets:

46F8PD: Aye, that's somebody that's goat wee - Ah was wan at wan time. Ah'd rickets, aye, Ah'd rickets.
66F3PC: Ah never had rickets, but ma legs was like that. Walkin too quick, ye see.
46F8PD: Naw, Ah'd rickets, an Ah didnae walk tae Ah was nearly eight. Mm-hmm. Ma legs - ma legs was like that.
66F2PC: But that - in your days, Jean, that was a - that was rife.
46F8PD: Ah was boarn durin the Depression, Ah was boarn durin - durin the Depression.
66F2PC: There isnae any noo, because -
46F8PD: Because we're gettin fed noo, where we didnae get fed durin the Depression.
66F2PC: It was the lack i vitamins, wasn't it?
46F8PD: It was. [...] Aye, Ah was pushed aboot in a pram tae Ah was eight. Ah went tae school in a pram tae. Aye. An it was ma faither that used tae take me doon tae the salt - doon tae Lunderston Bay tae camp, tae the camp, used tae take me intae the waater every moarnin an e rubbed me doon wi seaweed - rubbed ma legs wi seaweed, an they gradually goat straighter an

straighter - Ah'm still a bit kinda - but oh, nothin tae what Ah was. Ah've goat photies an Ah'm like that. Ah have. When Ah was a wee lassie. An as Ah say, it - it was - he'd the motorbike tae an Ah - Ah was playin aboot wi it - Ah was sittin in ma pram, an Ah was playin aboot wi it, an ma finger goat caught in wan i the wheels or something. An Ah goat up an Ah walked. Aye, cos ma finger had goat - had ..

66F3PC: It was a miracle.

46F8PD: It was a miracle, really. [...] They thoat Ah'd never walk, really, cos ma legs was so bad, the - the bones was that soaft. But wi him, an the constant rubbin wi the - for six weeks every year, salt waater an the seaweed. Aye. An cod-liver oil an malt. Oh, Ah was fed up well. Ah was fed up well right enough. But Ah was a wee bachle actually. Naw, Ah was a wee bachle. (66B)

To older people, it is a very hurtful name:

66F8PS: maybe somebody that's a wee bit deformed or somethin, ye know, an wasnae as straight, maybe, built as yersel. [...] women's a great habit i yaisin it, cryin some other wuman it. (23B)

More colourful insults along the same lines are 'Were ye boarn in a saddle?' (26F7PB, 29B), 'swallied a gird when they were young - Ah swallied a barrel' (46M1CC, 34F), and the very telling:

66F3PC: Ma mother used tae go tae Dundee, an they used tae caw me 'Glesga legs'. (66B)

To a younger generation, for whom such hardships are a thing of the past,[9] some of the other connotations of the word have become more central: on the one hand a <u>bachle</u> might be a person bearing the marks of poverty and neglect:

46M4PB: Tae me, a wee bachle was a wee drunk, untidy, comes up tae ye, ye now. A wee bachle. (9B)

On the other hand, certain character traits are associated with undersized people:

66F3PC: Ah'll give ye a case. Ah'd a coalman, an e wasnae - e was only aboot that height. An thin. But e could kerry the coal up two sterrs anywey. Here this day, Ah met im in the London Road. Ah was in Dunchattan Street when Ah first knew im, but Ah met im in the London Road, an e'd a good drink. 'Hullo, Mrs. R-----,' - there were two policemen comin - e says, 'See thae bastards? Ah'll go for thaim!' Ye see - the inferiority complex, an wi the drink, e was six feet tall. See he resented anybody taller, cos e was small. For a man, e'd be aboot ma height. An wi ma build. But e was a stroang wee man. But - an Ah'm sayin, 'Oh, watch what ye're daein,' ye know. 'Watch yer step.' An they never even looked at im. (66B)

16F8CD: A backle [sic] is someone who's a bit nebbed. They're - ye know, they're not as bad as bampots but they're - they're not, ye know, very capable! They're not sort of efficient. (75B)

The alternative form bauchle was sometimes mentioned, but there was disagreement about which is correct (see 5.2 below).

3.7.8 What kind of person is a bun?

Bun, abusive term for a woman, late 19th century (DSUE mentions Glasgow specifically for the most strongly pejorated sense 'whore').

Table 3.74: Claimed knowledge and use of bun

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	3	3	1	2	1	4
16+	2	4	7	0	3		3
26+	2	4	7	1	4		5
46+	3	4	7	2	6	1	9
66+	1	2	3	0	4		4

A bun is literally a loose woman, and is pretty well a swear word:

> 46M11-X: Aw, heh! heh! Tony, listen tae this yin! C'mere! C'mere, Tony, quick. She's askin what a bun is! (40S)

> 46M6PB: Ah wouldnae a used it, naw, because as Ah say, Ah'd a goat kilt - seriously, no kiddin. If Ah'd been overheard sayin any i these words, Ah'd a been annihilated. But oh aye, it was words that were well used within wur crowd. (73B)

> 26M3CS: Ah goat a belt oan the jaw aff ma Maw for sayin that years ago. (72F)

As is often the case, children use it as a general insult for women without attaching any such meaning to it:

> 16M6CS: It used tae - it used tae mean 'big fat women' tae me, when Ah was wee. [...] Wi an ugly face. [...] Used tae say 'auld bag' as well. 'Auld boot', another word! (74B)

One adult had even generalised the insult to males:

> 26M5SS: But Ah now know - Ah mean Ah do know that a bun stand for - stood for 'prostitute'. And yet Ah didn't know that until aboot maybe aboot a coupla year ago, actually, believe it or no, an Ah used tae call a bun an eejit, a clown, sorta style.
> CIM: So before you found out what it meant, you'd maybe have applied it tae a guy?
> 26M5PS: Yeah!
> CIM: [...] An nobody ever said tae you ...
> 26M5PS: No, nobody ever pullt me up an said tae me, 'Heh, haud oan a minute,' ye know. Quite surprised. But now, when Ah fun oot it was - Ah'm surprised Ah never had a few punches in the mouth when Ah did use it! Bein honest, ye know. (25D)

Synonyms

curran bun (46M7PS);
prostitute, hoor, tart;
cow, tramp, a wee herry, scrubber (26F3CF), slut, boot
easy goer (26M2CS), a right good thing (26M4PS), nymph (26M3CS);
hing-oot (26M3CS), washin-line (26M3CS);
[brass] nail [= tail] (26M3CS).

There were also euphemistic circumlocutions such as 'woman of the twilight hours' (46M8PS).

3.7.9 What kind of person is a guppy?

This was an invented term (but intended to be plausible), included as a control. It was very useful in clarifying how individuals tended to react to a plausible suggestion. A common response was to try to find the nearest referrent with a dialect name, viz. baggy meenie, and to offer this tentatively. Sometimes the item was explored as a metaphor, and there was speculation about what kind of person a guppy might be. This item confirmed that it was quite clear in most cases when informants were offering definite information, and when helpful suggestions.

3.7.10 What kind of person is a gitter?

Gitter, a talkative person, from Mackie (1984).

Table 3.75: Claimed knowledge and use of gitter

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	0	3	0	0	4
16+	2	0	7	1	0	3
26+	1	0	6	0	0	4
46+	2	2	7	1	4	9
66+	0	2	3	0	1	3

The item was apparently better known as a verb, to gitter:

> 16M2PB: Ah, that's just somebody that gitters oan. Like an auld age pensioner, know, maybe gitterin oan aboot a loat a rubbish or somethin like that. [...] Ye've heard the auld wuman, 'Ah'll skelp yer arse wi a tea-leaf.' Auld J-------- C--- used tae say that tae me every day. (13F)

This is probably a case of onomatopoeia - the verb is very guessable.

Synonyms

yap, yap i hell (46M4PB), blether i hell (M, 39F), gab, gabber (16F7CD), rabbler (with to rabble, children), a rabbit (26M6-D)

3.7.11 What kind of person is a boot?

Boot, abusive term for a woman, c.1950 (DSUE; Agutter, 1979).

Table 3.76: Claimed knowledge and use of boot

Age	Females				Males		
	K	U	?	N	K	U	N
10+	0	2		3	1	3	4
16+	2	4	1	7	0	3	3
26+	5	1	1	7	0	5	5
46+	3	1		7	4	4	9
66+	0	0		3	0	0	4

Boot is a newer word than bun and often has more specialised implications: age, and possibly ugliness:

> 26M6-D: Aye well, a person that's old an let theirsel go away down an had been a kinna like a prostitute, an ye just say, 'Look at that auld boot.' (18D)

Synonyms

In addition to cow, etc. (see bun, above): bag.

3.7.12 What kind of person is a mingmong?

Mingmong, an insult amongst children (interview 2B). Cf. 3.6.10.

Table 3.77: Claimed knowledge and use of mingmong

Age	Females			Males		
	K	U	N	K	U	N
10+	0	3	3	1	2	5
16+	0	1	7	1	0	3
26+	0	0	6	0	0	5
46+	0	0	7	0	0	9
66+	0	0	3	1	0	4

Mingmong is a very interesting case. It appears to be a newly-invented word, originally a nickname, on its way to becoming a general insult within a particular youth club, and perhaps in local schools. It was used spontaneously in a preliminary interview:

> 10F: There's this boay in here wi a leather jaiket oan an he fancies me, an he's a pure mingmong. (2B)

Some other children interviewed at the youth club said they would use it in this way, but two groups of boys (not included in the figures for (K) above) separately gave two different candidates for the title of 'the mingmong':

> 10M4CB: Aye, wee D---- M-------- because - e used tae have two dugs an aw that, an hingwy, a cat -
> 10M3CB: A cat - it smelled the hoose.
> 10M4CB: an e'd fish an aw that, an when ye went in an aw ye could smell is dug food an aw that. So they called im 'mingmong' an aw that. [...] Aye, mingy an aw that. [...]

Know how that new shoap doon therr -

10M3CB: Mini-market.

10M4CB: Mini-market, we call it Mingy-market! Cos it's darkies an therr hunners i flies an aw that, deid wans in it. So we call Wee D---- it. [...]) Aye, we call D---- it sometimes if e's annoyin us.

10M3CB: We don't call im it very - lot.

10M4CB: Only if e's annoyin us. (79B)

10M2CC also had a specific individual in mind, who was 'the mingmong from Planet Dingdong'. Unfortunately this interview failed to record. I give this detail from notes made immediately afterwards.

Synonyms

a smeller (46M4PB), midden, minger (young women)

3.8 Animals

3.8.1 What is a bubbly-joack?

Bubbly-jock, turkey cock, late 18th century (SND).

Table 3.78: Claimed knowledge and use of bubbly-joack

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	0	0	3	0	0		5
16+	1	0	7	2	0		3
26+	0	0	6	0	0		5
46+	1	0	7	2	1		9
66+	0	0	4	0	0	1	3

Although bubbly-joack as a turkey was not unknown, many adults took it to mean 'somebody that's always greetin' (66F2PC, 37B). This punning sense (on bubble) was perhaps encouraged by the fact that this question follows the section on people. Some preferred gobblyjoack for 'turkey'.

3.8.2 What is a netterie?

Netterie, spider. Forms of the word are recorded from the 15th century in Scots, and the origin is Old English (SND s.v. ettercap; LAS vol.1: 317, where Lanark 4 is Glasgow).

This item was not known to any of my informants.

3.8.3 What does it mean to put the hems on somebody?

Put the hems on someone, curb them, literally put the horse-collar on them, 20th century (SND to hae (pit) the hems on one, s.v. haim).

Table 3.79: Claimed knowledge and use of hems

Age	Females			Males			
	K	U	N	K	U	?	N
10+	1	0	3	0	0	1	5
16+	3	0	7	3	0		3
26+	4	0	6	3	1		5
46+	4	3	7	2	5	2	9
66+	2	1	3	0	4		4

Although the imagery was opaque to my informants, the sense of the idiom was, for many, one of physical restraint:

> 26F9: Keep them tied down. Keep them in, if they've been bad! Comin in late - the hems are oan ye. Aye. (29B)

> 16F8CD: Ah think Ah've heard people use it, ye know, in the sense of - 'Ma Mum's put the hems oan that,' ye know, sort of keeping someone in, would be like that. (75B)

exercised by someone with moral authority:

> 46F6PS: Naw, put the hems oan somebody is tae straighten them oot. [...] Nip them in the bud, that's the word. [...] Or even yer faimly, 'Ah'm gaunnae put the hems -' ye would say

that, 'Gaunnae put the hems oan you,' soart ye oot, straighten ye oot. (39F)

By extension, it often means to report (grass, shop, clype on) someone to authority:

66F8PS: Oh well, that's you - ye're gien them away, ye're tellin oan them [...] ye'd maybe send the polis efter im. (23B)

It is perhaps in this sense that the idiom comes to be associated, by several adults, with the underworld:

16M2PB: It's gangsters that use that. (13F)

46F5PB: Ah think that's just a wide - a nation-wide - Ah think it's all over. [...] In the criminal world, they would be usin it a lot. (40S)

3.9 Language

3.9.1 What do you call the bones of the body? Skelington. Would that be used seriously?

It was difficult to clarify the responses to this item. The form [skɛlnʔn̩] is produced by forward assimilation. It often remained unclear whether speakers were contrasting skeleton / skelinton v. skelington, or skeleton v. skelin(g)ton.

The question was potentially embarrassing. Contrary to my impression that this was a jokey mispronunciation (cf. occifer), it turned out to be possible as a genuine hypercorrection:

26M5PS: Ah probably have used skelinton, it just depends oan who Ah'm talkin tae or what Ah'm tryin tae do. If Ah was sittin talkin, say, or 'Look at that skelinton,' but if Ah was talkin tae somebody, like Ah'm talkin tae you, Ah'd say skelington, ye know, no tae be posh, jist tae ... [...] But

normally, as Ah say, Ah'd say 'skelinton'. [A joke?] Naw, Ah'd be in amongst the English tae say that.

26M4PS: Ah don't think, actually, ye would say that, skelinton, know, because Ah mean, it's no - for a start, that's no the way it's spelt, ye know, skelington, Ah mean, skelington, as you say, if you have used that , you are obviously tryin tae -

26M5PS: Imp- well, no impress, but ...

26M4PS: Aye, well, ye're tryin tae impress somebody and it's just like tryin tae speak polite when ye're no polite an ye're actually puttin yer foot intae it, by -

26M5PS: Yeah. Yeah.

26M4PS: pronouncin a word that it's - Ah mean, it's no pronounced that way, ye know.

26M5PS: That's what Ah was - well, that's what Ah meant, Ah would say it if Ah was amongst the English.

26M4PS: Yes.

26M5PS: Ah wouldn't say it if Ah was amongst, say, our own crowd, the Scots. It's basically because bein the English they're apt tae be very - [...] When ye're in England - because if Ah speak the wey Ah normally speak nobody in England would understand me, ye know.

CIM: So it would be like an exaggeration, sayin it like that?

26M5PS: Yeah. Tryin tae be - tryin tae be flash, Ah suppose. Tae impress people maybe. (25D)

I remain unsure whether the speaker thinks the English say skelington - there may be an element of, as it were, talking louder to foreigners.

3.9.2 Would you say occifer instead of officer? Would that be used seriously?

It was difficult to clarify the responses to this item. There was disagreement about whether it would be a genuine mistake, the product of drink or nervousness, or a stereotype of drunken speech. The majority view is that it would be a joke of some kind:

26M4PS: Ah mean, the only time that Ah have used it is maybe in the work an jist jokingly, because although we're postmen, ye know, ye're sometimes - get the name, know, 'officer', know, 'What officer delivered it?' ye know, and Ah'd maybe say, ye know, been kiddin oan wi somebody, workin, say, 'Aw, she's the occifer that - know - know, delivered that wrong letter,' or somethin, ye know. But that's the only time that Ah've had cause tae use it, ye know. (25D)

This type of word-play is not uncommon in slang. Other examples were mentioned:

16M5CS: A few i ma friends call 'criminals' crinimals. Ah don't know if that's slang, or if it's just - they cannae get their tongue roon it. It's funny, that, a few people say it. (74B)

16F3PS: Or donimoes, insteid i 'dominoes', that's quite popular. (75B)

3.9.3 Describe a sherrickin.

Sherrickin, a public humiliation, 20th century (SND s.v. sherrack; DSUE identifies this as a Glasgow term, but again refers only to EDD).

Table 3.80: Claimed knowledge and use of sherrickin

Age	Females				Males			
	K	U	?	N	K	U	?	N
10+	1	0		3	1	1	1	5
16+	1	1	2	7	0	3		3
26+	0	6		6	0	5		5
46+	0	7		7	0	9		9
66+	0	3		3	0	4		4

Most people who were familiar with the term did see the presence of an audience as an essential part of the sense:

46F5PB: Tell him a few home truths in front i everybody. (9B)

26F1CF: Know, yer Mam used tae gie ye a shirrickin, tellin ye aff. Tellin ye no tae dae somethin. [private?] Naw, it could be a family afferr. Ah've had a few shirrickins aff ma Ma an Da thegither. [...] So ma Dad goat us aw thegither, an we aw sat in the room. An e went aw roon us aw. So that was a shirrickin Ah goat efter Ah goat a doin! In front i them aw. Tae make ye feel ye've done wrang, an ye know that everybody else knows aboot it! So it is better wi an audience. (26F)

46M6PB: Oh yes. How tae give somebody a right good dressin down, usually done in the street. [audience?] Well, it couldnae be described as a shirrickin unless somebody heard it, who would say, 'Jeannie gave er daughter a right shirrickin in the street,' or 'er man a shirrickin ootside the pub.' [...] A wumman went doon tae collect er man's wages, know, maybe oan a Friday, somethin like that, and he maybe went tae the pub before ( ) went up the road, an she would staun ootside the pub an she'd gie im a right shirrickin. Or a lassie comin in late, or steyin oot in the back close too long wi er boyfrien or somethin like that, an er Maw would come doon the stair, an she would get a right shirrickin then. [...] Goat tae be an embarrassment, [...] otherwise ye'd just be gettin a bawlin out, tellin off, ye know. (82B)

Some said that it could be a private telling-off, but this appeared to be from an opinion that a telling-off should be private.

Synonyms

Near-synonyms are bawlin out, tellin off, tickin off, dressin down, rollockin (26M5PS), bollockin (younger adults).

3.9.4 Give examples of patter.

Patter, underworld cant, cheapjack's oratory, hence from the mid 19th century, mere talk (DSUE).

In this case examples were asked for; knowledge of the word was universal. A person's patter is their style of conversational wit, including their favourite expressions. Children and teenagers are overtly possessive:

> 10M5CB: If ye say somethin funny, an somebody else says it, ye say, 'Aw no, that's ma patter.' (79B)

> 10F4PB: Och sayin, like 'ya poor radge' an aw that. They've goat a lot i patter. Or somebody's takin somebody else's patter. Say it was - ma big brother, right, that says things like that, an Ah was gaun away tae say tae ma pal, 'Sharon, you're a poor radge,' an aw that, Ah'd be takin ma big brother's patter. (53B)

A person whose conversational offerings are being disparaged can be told 'your patter's like watter (it runs)' - the imagery being that of verbal diarrohea. A person who habitually adopts this type of social interaction can be called a patter-merchant, either as an ironic compliment if he (it is usually a he) has a talent for spontaneous wit, or as a rebuke to someone whose ulterior motives are too evident.

> 46M3PB: Oh, the patter merchant type a man that - he walks intae the shoap an e says, 'Have ye goat a pound bag i salt?' E says, 'Have Ah goat salt?' e says, 'Come in here,' e says. Takes im intae the back shoap, an right up tae the toap i the roof's - it's aw bags i salt. E says, 'My goodness,' e says, 'you must sell some salt.' E says, 'Oh,' e says, 'Ah don't sell mony - much salt,' e says, 'but the man that sold me salt,' e sayed, 'he can sell salt!'
> 46M4PB: He's a patter merchant! [...] If you've goat a hunner

ton i salt an ye can sell mair salt, that's a patter merchant.
46M3PB: [...] That illustrates patter tae ye, ye know. (9B)

Patter would be used with a serious motive as an inducement to buy, as in the earlier sense, or to coax someone in other respects. Thus to patter up someone of the opposite sex is to chat them up.

Synonyms

gift i the gab, slick language, gemmy talk
rabblin (10M4CB), slabberin (10F1-F), 'Somebody that's vaccinated wi a gramophone needle! Forgets tae stop.' (46F5PB); sody waater (46M10CD).

A patter merchant is a: con man, blow hard, rabbler (16F2CB), chatter-boax (16F2CB.

3.10 Conclusions

Of the various published sources drawn on for the questionnaire, Mackie (1977) and McGhee (1962) have been found to be generally reliable. Two items - bing bang skoosh and Gloshins-for which Opie and Opie (1959) is the sole source, have not been confirmed in those forms. Some of the LAS material, e.g. thibbet, is, as we might anticipate, obsolescent. The record of Glasgow dialect in the SND is, as we know, very incomplete, and a great deal of material could be added, especially if editorial policy were relaxed to allow the inclusion of slang. Even for known items, change is continuous, and we can note, for instance, the persistence of two bob, the use of sugarallie as a mangled oath, closet as an insult, chucky stane as rhyming slang (3.2.5), the confusion of keelie and coolie, and in general, the degree of reproduction of the dialect from generation to generation. In the area of children's language, there is always new material to be collected, e.g. jeggie, mingmong, even though Munro (1985) has recently covered this ground quite thoroughly.

Each item has been treated separately in this chapter. It would not be helpful to compare the informants in terms of how many

of the questionnaire items they knew and used in total. Firstly, not all completed the questionnaire. Secondly, the items were carefully selected in advance to represent a range of registers within the vernacular. It will be clear from this chapter, that which items are known and used in much more meaningful than how many. Some Scots items which have emerged with strong age patterns will however be used as the basis of an index of traditional Scots in Chapter 4.4.2.

Through whatever combination of personal recollection and community opinion, there is, for the most part, very good agreement between the figures and the incidental comments. Cf. for instance the association of gelt with older men, or the age-specific sex-difference in usage of riddie. There is, however, a discrepancy in bachle, where the comment that women tend to use it is not matched by the figures. There are sometimes unexpected classifications of individual words, as Sandred (1983) also found. For instance, wall was seen as 'common' (cf. Chapter 5.2. /wa/), boggin as 'aul'. 46F5PB thought bob and tanner were more the language of corner boys, but others in the conversation disagreed. Messan 'cur', which one might see as a traditional Scots word, verges on swearing in its metaphorical application to a person, and was described by 46F4PB as 'a very, very cruel word'.

There is one bias which is rather consistent, namely the under-estimation by older adults of the knowledge of traditional lexis amongst the young (cf. poky hat, well). This is in itself an interesting finding, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

There are numerous items here where the age gradient suggests loss of vocabulary between the generations, but only the passage of real time can show whether this is the case, or whether more of the young people of today will grow into their cultural heritage in later life. In some cases where the older groups are already at the bottom of a gradient, it can probably be agreed that the word is obsolescent (e.g. thibbet). There is certainly a perception in the community that traditional Scots words are dying out. This will be examined further below (Chapter 4.4).

When the age gradient runs in the opposite direction, it can more confidently be interpreted as showing innovation. The

comments of older informants suggest that their passive knowledge of children's language depends on contact with grandchildren. Only rarely is there a new referent (e.g. elastics, chinks). More often these are neologisms in semantic fields that are particularly productive of slang.

The overall picture with slang items is complicated. As Agutter (1979) found, many such items stratify by age. It would seem that there are fashions in slang as in, for instance, dress and pop music, and that the new fashions tend, similarly, to be the creation of teenagers (or perhaps better, young unmarried people). The creativity of youth throws up a quantity of ephemera, which lexicographers would not aspire to catalogue, but even slang idioms which gain a certain currency tend to be transient, probably because even the generation whose fashion they are do not necessarily carry many of them forward into the speech habits of later life. On the other hand, when a neologism comes into vogue, it may sometimes be picked up by older adults as well, and this seems to be the case with e.g. take the spur and magic, where the appropriate age stratification is lacking, although the item is remarked upon as 'modern'. Similarly, stookie, as a slang term, has a much less prominent gradient for males than for females.

The gradients for K and U tend to fall or rise together. Where a gap opens between knowledge and usage in the middle age groups, it probably represents the point at which a word passes from predominantly active to predominantly passive knowledge, e.g. hunch cuddy hunch, sugarallie, hippen, knock, waggity-wa, brace, jawboax.

We are now in a position to summarise the processes of decline in Scots vocabulary.

a) Active use gives way to passive knowledge Decline in active use of words is noticeable to older members of the community and can be confirmed for specific words. As we would expect, use declines in advance of knowledge.

b) Dialect becomes idiolect

Whereas anyone growing up in a community will learn its everyday language, words falling out of use may or may not be learned by particular individuals. An instance was given by the lady who said of the word jawboax that her children would know it from a favourite anecdote of her mother's. In such a situation, it becomes necessary to sample a range of speakers in order to establish what the average person might know of the Scots language, making it much harder, for the future, to investigate the state of Scots around the country, a task which is becoming urgent to bring the dictionary record up to date. The paradox is familiar to linguists - information on the language of the community can be obtained from a single informant, but information on the language of the individual requires survey methods.

c) Derived forms survive best

Aitken (1984a: 109) tells us that 'many words for common and permanent notions ... in most of their areas of survival, no longer display their former, full semantic range'. As Jakobsen (1897) observed in relation to Shetland Norn and Glauser (1974) in relation to the Borders, derived forms, metaphorical senses, idioms and compounds often survive while the root in its basic sense is replaced by the everyday Standard English word for that idea (or the idea itself becomes culturally obsolete). This is seen for instance in the survival of bob in phrases, of stookie in the expression 'like a stookie' and the derived verb to stookie, of sugarallie in sugarallie-watter, wrassle in chanty wrassler and so on. This is perhaps because the derived form offers some distinctive encoding of an idea (cf. 2.1.4).

d) Commonplace becomes colourful

Another aspect of this process of fragmentation is the stylistic one. Words which were once the everyday names come to be used only occasionally, for more or less conscious effect. There is the additional complication, for future, wider investigations, that many speakers (perhaps as a result

of their own social mobility) use Scots as a whole in this way, switching into broad vernacular only for effect. Even within a Scots-speaking community, like the East End of Glasgow, we will see in Chapter 4 that the concept of Scots as an ordinary everyday language variety is apparently losing ground amongst younger speakers, who may be equating traditional dialect, to its detriment, with slang and patter.

The methods used here were very intensive, and could hardly be applied to large-scale lexicographical enquiries. There are some indications that results for well-known and commonly used items would not be very much less reliable with a smaller body of informants. There is an encouraging degree of consensus about sense and usage restrictions (at least amongst people of the same sex and age group). On the other hand, individuals often emphasise only one connotation of a word (e.g. balloon, bampot, bachle).

For less common items, and those becoming old-fashioned, there is less consensus and more idiosyncratic associations to the word, though some of these are themselves very interesting - it is only from a sample of this size that one could hope to collect the occasional joke or anecdote that shows how a word (e.g. tossing school, waggity-wa, jawboax, knoack) passes into family and local tradition as something to mention, if not use. But even 53 people were not enough to produce a satisfactory account of chanty wrassler.

Notes

1 With the interesting exception of middle-aged women who had been out of the village for their secondary schooling.

2 When Scots borrows from non-rhotic accents, the result can be an r-less form, e.g. bampot (3.7.3), or intrusive /r/ as in brammer. The latter looks like an agentive noun (cf. stoater) from a verb *bram. Brammed up has the appearance of being derived from the same stem, but as far as I am aware, the verb *bram itself has not been created.

3 The SND's suggested etymology for Annacker's midden, namely 'a knacker's midden' is a wild guess. I am grateful to Elspeth King for copies of correspondence on the subject in the Glasgow Herald in January and February 1986. She writes on 29 January that Pierre Annacker started a chain of pork butchers in Glasgow in 1853. The business later concentrated on sausage making, and closed in 1942. At her suggestion, William Hunter of the Glasgow Herald interviewed an elderly Bridgeton man who gave a credible account of the idiom: the reference was to the tray from which Annacker's sold bruised sausages, scraps and so on (6 February 1986). The People's Palace has in its collection a shop sign from Annacker's at Bridgeton Cross.

4 Cf. Barr (1973: 109):

> At the rear of the close at 80 Nicholson Street is situated a unique two storied building with an outside stairway. It is literally built on the back court and is known as a back loan [sic] house.

5 For arguments in favour of mixed use of urban spaces, see Jacobs (1961).

6 Padden-ken 'lodging house' occurs in Strathesk (1884: 18).

7 In Strathesk (1884: 16) a cadge is apparently an episode of begging.

8 An enquiry of 1907-8 into the physical condition of children admitted to Belvidere (the East End's fever hospital) found that of 1357 two-to-ten year old, 26.7% of the females and 31% of the males had rickets (Checkland and Lamb, eds., 1982, Appendix II).

Chapter 4. Findings: Language Attitudes

4.1 Existing models

This chapter presents a digest of informants' comments on the use of language. Earlier work on language attitudes in Britain has suffered from a lack of exploratory work on the terminology of language attitudes within the working-class, and the issues that are of active concern to them. The superiority of Standard English is so fundamental a premise of English-language-medium education that it is very difficult for any contradictory view to find meaningful expression - especially when the research agenda keeps niggling away at a sensitive area: the contrast in status between Standard English (middle-class) and the vernacular or non-standard English (working-class). Labov writes:

> There is a great deal of evidence to show that many local vernaculars are heavily stigmatized. But this evidence is almost always in response to some direct inquiry about language. The stability and vigor of urban vernaculars argues for an opposing set of values that are not as easily elicited, but which have an even stronger effect than the standard values that appear in a test situation.
>
> (1974: 250, author's italics)

It has become virtually an orthodoxy that the alternative ideology is not only withheld from academic researchers, but is actually inarticulate. In Trudgill's Norwich work:

> Favourable attitudes to non-standard speech are not normally expressed, however, and emerge only in inaccurate self-evaluation test responses. (1972: 179)

From the viewpoint of dialectology, this is surprising, but it should be remembered that the vernacular in New York and Norwich is not nearly so broad as in Lowland Scotland and the North of

England, nor do the former varieties have the tradition of literary representation that Cockney, for instance, has.

The only work known to me that gives a coherent version of the working-class point of view on language is Barltrop and Wolveridge, The Muvver Tongue (1980), an account of Cockney language from within. There are also some useful pointers in Roberts (1971), and Tom Leonard's poems in Glasgow dialect (see e.g. Intimate Voices, 1984) express, in their pungent way, many of the same feelings that emerged in this research, as well as others beyond the scope of the present work. Some academic findings, for instance 'linguistic insecurity' (2.1.5 above) seem to be tapping only a superficial 'public' version. Other work (see for instance Ryan, 1979) produces more complicated and contradictory results, probably because it drives deeper into the private and hidden injuries of class. (Because of its sensitivity, the question of language and class is a dangerous one to introduce into the interview situation - see Chapter 2.)

The situation in Lowland Scotland is complicated by the residual high status of the Scots vernacular even amongst the middle-class. The view of Aitken (1982) is that there exists, amongst schoolteachers, for instance, a linguistic value system with three terms: Standard English, 'good Scots' and 'bad Scots'. The latter is characterised by slang and non-standard grammar, and associated with the urban proletariat (and with younger speakers who may display little Scots lexis). It is in effect 'bad English', and is given the label 'bad Scots' in an ideological move to recuperate its status. Sandred (1983) investigated the meaningfulness of these categories - 'good Scots', 'bad Scots', 'good English', 'bad English' - in a study in Edinburgh. He presented 40 informants with a list of items to be assigned to one of the categories. No consistent pattern emerged. As I pointed out in reviewing Sandred (Macafee, 1985a), the word Scots has a positive value (at least in working-class discourse) and bad language is its opposite, so that 'bad Scots' is a contradiction in terms.

This chapter does not pretend to throw any light on bourgeois Scottish attitudes. It attempts rather to elucidate the linguistic

ideology of the working-class people interviewed. It assumes that this ideology is implicit in the semantic processes of naming and attributing (see below, 4.7) as well as being explicitly expressed. A number of public and private accounts of language attitudes are summarised below. The view that emerges, though cut through by the dominant ideology, and sometimes apparently giving way to it, implies a powerful critique of external influences and their impact on the working-class vernacular.

4.2 The Scottishness of Glasgow dialect

When the informants' comments on language (apart from those assembled under individual headwords for Chapter 3 and Appendix C) were gathered into a file, the range and explicitness of the comments made seemed to demand separate treatment. It was anticipated that this would also throw light on two responses to the fieldworker: one rather frequent response, especially from men, was to focus on the slang component of Glasgow dialect; another was the attempt to place me as non-Glaswegian, probably from Edinburgh or even from England.

Most of the lexical items and word-forms spontaneously mentioned to me in the course of the fieldwork (or commented on after being used spontaneously) were Scots. (There would be little point in taking space to list them here.) Middle-aged and older informants also sometimes mentioned as 'old words' items that were once the usual terms (albeit not particular to Scots) and have since been replaced by modern parlance. My attention was drawn on several occasions to the disuse of lobby, scullery and kitchen in the sense of 'living-room' (along with Scots jawboax, press, etc.). One lady also noted how psychological terminology has come into general usage - thus tension rather than nerves. Such observations are presumably based on the informants' own experience of change in the everyday idiom.

It was also interesting - and somewhat embarrassing - to find that many older people especially were prepared to attribute to me, as a fieldworker, a comprehensive ignorance of Scots. This was partly a genuine exploration of what kind of material would be of

interest to me, but it was partly role-playing. This occurred more in the preliminary interviews, and in the early stages of interviews before informants were introduced to the questionnaire. I was an outsider and they were going to regale me with a few public stereotypes.

But it is interesting to note the roles thus automatically put on, and in particular the role ascribed to the outsider,[1] because this gives a clue to one stereotype (or public version) in working-class language ideology. When asked where I came from, I would say Brigton (great hilarity), Bridgeton (surprise), Blackburn (true, but not always very informative) or Edinburgh (near enough, and precisely the expected answer). Glasgow and Edinburgh are symbols of the Scottish urban working-class and middle-class, respectively. The economic and political bases of their mutual misunderstanding are not relevant here (but see Rodger, 1985). The stock response on discovering that someone is from Edinburgh is to mention snobs or toffs. (Unfortunately, occasional exchanges along these lines took place off tape. On tape, most of the allusions to Edinburgh are straightforward east-west comparisons of dialect). The difference between spoken Scots, and Standard English with any kind of Scottish accent, is easily underestimated by class outsiders, who will rarely hear very broad speech, and will not realise the extent to which broad speakers are accommodating to them:

> 26F4CC: [on not using knoack any more] Ah think we're aw gettin kinna toffy in the East End i Glasgow noo, ye know, but tae be ferr, Ah dae say the cloack, Ah never say clock, ye know. Unless, as Ah say, ye're ootside. (58C)

I was occasionally asked, both by children and adults, if I was English (again, unfortunately, not on tape).[2] It is my impression generally that urban middle class Scots are perceived by the working class as anglicised, and if their speech is quite standard, they are in practice very much closer to an English speaker of the same class than to a fellow Scot who speaks the dialect.[3]

Conversely, Glaswegians seem surprised that ridding their speech of the broadest dialect elements does not guarantee that they will be intelligible to people from England (or beyond).

46M4PB: Ah remember one year we were in Blackpool, Caroline, ye know, an there was English people sittin like at - say, at a table there, an you - an there were three Glasgow lads sittin at this table. An of course, if Ah was talkin tae them, like that, Ah was sorta -
46M4PB: Aye, you were just sorta talkin normal.
46F4PB: watchin what Ah was sayin, ye know, an slowin down. An then Ah'd turn tae the Glasgow boys an they honestly thought Ah was foreign, ye know. Ah was speakin a foreign language when Ah was speakin tae thaim!
46M4PB: That's a fact.
46F5PB: Mind yer brother says, 'Ah don't understand - they don't know what we're sayin.'
46M4PB: Aw, see the Leeds people, James.
46F4PB: Did we tell ye aboot that? Isa's goat a friend -
46M4PB: Isa's goat a friend fae Leeds -
46F4PB: Yorkshire.
46F5PB: Friends up from Yorkshire.
46M4PB: An er mother was really - your mother was kinna - ye know she was very broad.
46F5PB: They couldnae understand what she was sayin.
46M4PB: An these Leeds people are like <u>that</u>.
46F5PB: She's: 'Ah don't know why they - they don't know - Ah'm speakin plain English.'
46M4PB: Oh God.
46F4PB: An ma mother - see ma mother would say tae me, after we'd left, ye know, Isa would have er up, an we'd be up visitin, 'Ah - Ah don't know a word that wumman's sayin,' she would say, 'Ah don't know a word she's sayin.'
46M4PB: She <u>didnae</u> know what she was sayin either!
46F4PB: An Ah sayed, 'Mother, she disnae understand <u>you</u>.' 'Ah don't know how she disnae know me, Ah'm plain.' Ah says, 'Aye, ye're that plain, she <u>disnae</u> understand.'
46M4PB: 'Ah'm plain.' My God. (28B)

66F7PB: Well, Ah've goat tae talk proper, sorta proper while Ah'm - or the children, know, they don't understand too much, ye know. But Ah've got ma - ma little grandaughter - she'll say - she's a wee scream, she's awfa like - know, well everybody thinks their children are intelligent, but she really is, but she's always been sayin tae me, since she was aboot two, 'Ah'm a wee Scots girl,' she'll say, an she'll still say. She'll say, 'I'm not an English girl, I'm a wee Scots girl.' This is what she was sayin the last time Ah was doon, ye know, when Ah had er out, 'I'm not an English girl, because I - I'm a wee Scots girl,' ye know. An so it's sorta - there maybe things that Ah - ye come away wi - Ah'll say wee: 'Will ye get me that wee ...' an then Ah've - ye know - but she knows what Ah mean, ye know, but otherwise Ah've goat tae talk - well, when Ah did live there masel, Ah mean, ye had - ye found oot, ye're no tryin tae put - but if say ye met - or - Ah've a lot i friends in the East End, a lot a Scots people - they live in the East End, ye know, that come fae Glasgow, well, say ye're in among aw thaim, ye - ye'll talk - ye'll talk just the wey we talk in Glasgow, ye know, all together. But if you heard ma daughter talkin on the phone, ye know, an ( ) - like, Ah've listened tae er conversation, ye know, wi - ye know wi - maybe it's business or somethin, an she talks completely different, ye know, an that, an she disnae make any bloomers, ye know. An then ye realise then that you've goat tae sorta talk pr- you've goat tae do that for the - Ah used tae think when Lulu went there, Ah used tae think she was puttin aw the accent, ye know, that she was oversteppin ersel, an aw that, forgettin er accent, but ye understand it, ye know, because there's places that ye go that they just don't know what ye're sayin if ye're talkin real Glasgow, ye know. There's other people dae understand, ye know, an then you find oot there some places that they really don't know what ye're talkin aboot if you spoke plain Glasgow, ye know. ... ... An then as Ah was - course, there's such a lot i foreigners in London an, ye know, that - you're no - you are a foreigner tae some i the foreigners, if ye get what Ah mean, that if you talk Scotch,

then some i them have never heard aboot - ye know, say Scot- ye know, some i them have actually never heard - specially if you meet people fae Germany - no Germany, Holland an that, an then there's other - other girls that Ah've met an they've come here in the summer an they've loved it, come tae work, sorta doin their nanny somewhere, ye know, they've put in an goat a position as bein a nanny or that, an they've loved it, ye know. An it - Ah've seen me meetin Indians fae - an that, an they knew aboot Scotland, ye know. An Ah've met other ones that had never heard i it, ye know. (77B)

Some put the difficulty down to speed of delivery:

46F5PB: Put that tape oaf just now. The only reason they thought Ah was snobbish, Caroline, was cos Ah was away for three an a half years in the Services doin shorthand typin,
46M4PB: She was a snob, James, wint she, come on.
46F5PB: [...] An when Ah had tae read letters back, when they sayed, 'Read that back over tae me,' they used tae say, 'Slow up, Stevie, Ah don't know what ye're sayin.' So eventually Ah'd tae say, 'Dear, sirs, you, are, now,' an Ah had tae speak - an Ah had three an a half years i that -
46M4PB: Ye always spoke like that!
46F5PB: An Ah spoke like that when Ah come back for aboot six month.
46M4PB: It's only us that's goat ye back tae the Glasgow.
46F5PB: That's why they thought Ah was snobbish, because Ah had tae speak - try an speak as near - as <u>English</u> as they could understand, because they didn't know what Ah was talkin about. (28B)

26M5PS: Ah mean, Ah was sailin months an months, Ah was in the Merchant Navy, wi English guys, Welsh guys, Irish guys, ye know. But very few Scots, ye know, oot i a crew i sorta forty, it was maybe only two Scotsmen! This kind i thing, ye know. Or when Ah was in the - when Ah was in the Army, Ah was - Ah was in wi a Scot- a Scottish regiment, but Ah - although Ah

spoke Scots when Ah was in work, but when Ah went home Ah spoke English, cos Ah was actually minglin wi English people, well, likes i ma wife was English, an her neighbours, most i the neighbours were aw sorta fae English regiments. An that wey again Ah'd tae slow down, because - so they could understand me. (25D)

46M4PB: See likes i gaun tae England, ye've goat tae actually - we speak very fast, by the way, as ye realise. When ye go tae England ye've goat tae kinna slow it down. An ye say, 'Are, you, going, out?' 'Are ye gaun out?' (28B)

The last example shows that 'speed' here stands for a whole range of historical and colloquial reductions, relative to the written language or careful educated speech. In practice there <u>are</u> more phonetically weak forms even in Scottish Standard English than in RP (cf. Gimson, 1980: 284,5). Also, of course, there are individual words and idioms which cause difficulty ('covert Scotticisms' in Aitken's 1979 terminology) e.g. a <u>half</u> meaning a double whisky (66M7PD).

4.3 Rural Scots

Glasgow's population peaked at over one million in the late 1930s. Emphasis is usually given to the distinctive immigrant groups - Highlanders and Irish in the nineteenth century, Jews and Italians in the first quarter of this century - but the growth of Glasgow, like other cities, was fed by a constant flow of migrants from the countryside. Although the urban population began to move out to suburbs and new towns, it was only in the 1960s that, in Britain as a whole, the rural areas ceased to lose population to the cities (Kennett and Hall, 1981). For many families in Glasgow there is a rural connection through at least one great-grandparent; for others the connection is more distant.[4] Rural Scotland, in which traditional Scots was and is more strongly preserved is, for many Glaswegians, part of their family history. We saw in Chapter 3 how

words no longer in active use sometimes become enshrined in family lore and this can also be a connection back to rural Scots:

> 46F4PB: Well, ma father's name for a tea-pan was a pingle.[5] [...] 'Pit oan the wee pingle, L--.' [...] Know, the wee toty, what ye'd say, a wee egg-pan, a wee - but they used tae make tea in that, if it was only a cup. [...] He called laces twangs. Laces were twangs tae him. He came from Dumfries.
> 46M3PB: Actually Thorniehill it was. (9B)

The effect of urbanisation on traditional dialects is now well understood (cf. Milroy, 1982; Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Trudgill 1986). Those non-standard features that do survive are reshuffled and modified, but the mixing of speakers of different varieties favours levelling towards the standard. Such common Scots forms as een (plural of eye) and bits (boots) were noted as non-Glaswegian.[6] There is perhaps a sense of inevitability about this process, and a tendency for it to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

4.4 Scots is declining

4.4.1 Qualitative data

One very important stereotype is the decline of Scots amongst the young. Here were are in a position to compare the informants' 'predictions' of the currency of specific items with the results reported in Chapter 3.

Comments to the effect that younger people would not know a given word are very frequent, e.g.:

> 46F5PB: See, that's what Ah would caw a wee peenie. A wee shoart peenie.
> 46F4PB: [...] You [CIM] probably wouldnae a known. Ah doubt if Eleanor would know what a peenie is.
> 46M4PB: Ah doubt it.
> CIM: Ah would associate it wi ma grandmother.

46F4PB: Yes, that's what Ah mean, aye. Ma mother would a sayed, 'Aw, Ah'll need tae get ma peenie on.'
46F5PB: Are you puttin yer grandmother in the same age group as us!? (28B)

In fact, peenie is still quite well known even among younger speakers in the sample. Some of the words which attracted this kind of comment do show a marked fall down the age groups in the graphs in Chapter 3 - tishyroon, hunch-cuddy-hunch, hippen, knoack, waggitywa, brace, closet and butts. But synd, like peenie is still current:

26F1CF: Aye, ma Ma would say that. She'd say that tae us, ye know, but Ah wouldnae yaise it. [...] Ah wouldnae yaise it the day, cos the weans wouldnae know what it is. (26F)

Three items - two bob, well and poky hat - which the figures in Chapter 3 show to be well known to the younger speakers, nevertheless drew the same kind of comment:

26F11CD: Ye wouldnae say bob tae the wean. Ye'd only confuse them. (67B)

66M7PD: It's metal money they're aw talkin aboot. But same as if ye sayed, 'Give them two bob,' or 'Give them a shillin,' they still wouldnae know what ye were talkin aboot. (47C)

26F6CB: Probably listenin tae the weans, ye - just what the weans call it now - they don't say 'the well' any merr - daen't ye? Ye get intae thair weys i talkin an that.
26F9: Aye, they look at ye when ye say 'the well'. (29B)

26M4PS: Aye, Ah mean if ye say - if Ah say tae ma wee boy, 'Away an turn oaf that well,' he wouldnae know what Ah was talkin aboot.
26M5PS: True! Yeah. Ah agree there. (25D)

46M5PB: Cos the people we're dealin wi wouldnae understand. It's aw young yins. Ah go down tae a van, an Ah say, 'Gie me three cones.' If Ah sayed, 'Gie me three poky hats,' e would look at ye tae say, 'What are ye talkin aboot?' Cos it's aw young people that's runnin these vans. (31D)

66M6PB: If Ah was talkin tae kids now? Naw, Ah'd call it a cone, because, as Ah say -
wife: Wouldnae know what ye were meanin.
66M6PB: A kid wouldnae know what ye were meanin, a poky hat. (60B)

The discrepancy between the stereotype and the findings is encouraging - not because any researcher would want to prove her informants wrong, but because it justifies the intrusion of an outsider's viewpoint, and confirms that no single local informant could, if asked, simply have told us these things.

Another indication of the strength of association between Scots and age is the frequent joking response, when one person in the conversation knows a word that others do not, that that person must be older than the others, or older than he or she was believed to be. The semi-automatic nature of this response is seen when it is misplaced (jeggie is children's slang, see Chapter 3):

46M5PB: [jeggie] Must a been before oor time, Boab, eh?
46M7PS: Either before or efter. (31D)

There is sometimes talk of 'the aulden days' - even the elderly use such phrases:

66F18: In the aulden times, it [hippen] was a torn-up sheet.
66F2PC: An ye haun-sewed them aw roon.
F: Cut them in four an ye sat an hemmed them roon an made nappies wi them.
66F1CC: Used tae sit an hem them roon aboot if ye'd time. (30B)

If the elderly sometimes exaggerate the generation gap, the young do too:

> 16M1PF: [gelt] Ah've heard i that before. Ah don't know what it means, but. [...] Auld dear an aw that says it. [...] Talkin aboot years ago, get in tae the pictures for gelt an aw that garbage. (70B)

> 10F6PB: [knoack] Hey! Ma - ma uncle says that, a knoack! [...] Sayed it yesterday, an Ah didnae know what e was rabblin aboot, so Ah told im tae shut up. (80B)

> 10F4PB: Aye, ma Ma uses that aw the time - 'Turn it up, youse.' We kid oan tae er, we take the mickey oot er, we turn the telly up an aw that! (53B)

4.4.2 Individual speakers' knowledge and use of 'old Scots words'

We have seen that while each word has its own distinctive graph across the age groups (Chapter 3), there are certain recurrent patterns, and it is one of these which will now be, as it were, brought up to a higher magnification. This will allow us to compare informants' perceptions of decline with the general shape of decline in the quantitative data. Within certain limitations, it is possible to give each informant a score aggregating their claimed knowledge and use of a whole group of words, those that show a pattern of decline with decreasing age, the 'old Scots words'. (I take the liberty of calling them 'old' although some are only as old as the distinctive urban dialect itself.)

There are roughly two dozen items in the questionnaire that show the relevant pattern. This of course omits words universally known, such as bampot, midgie and bob, and 'rough' or slang words such as chanty wrassler and brammed up. Words showing marked sex differences in knowledge (sex differences in use are more usual) such as kinderspiel and toller are also unsuitable for this exercise. Unfortunately, the uneven coverage of the questionnaire during the fieldwork means that sufficiently full data are not

available for all informants. The missing data are usually towards the end of the questionnaire, so if we omit the last five of the items (sody-heidit, keelie, bachle, put the hems on and sherrickin), leaving nineteen (tanner, hunch cuddy hunch, barlay, guisers, poky hat, sugarallie, peenie, thibbet, hippen, knoack, waggity-wa, brace, closet, pend, jawboax, well, synd, butts, fernietickles) most of the informants can be included, omitting a few for whom there are large gaps in the middle or at the beginning of the questionnaire. This leaves a reduced pool of 62 informants. There are still occasional gaps in the data where a clear answer to some individual question has not been obtained from a particular informant. The scoring system has been constructed to circumvent this problem. For each of the words known, a score of +1 is assigned; for each word not known, a score of -1; for each blank, a score of 0. This has the effect of spreading the graph vertically, but does not otherwise affect the shape of the curve.

Figs. 4.1 and 4.2 show the results for females and males respectively, while Figure 4.3 shows the combined results. (See Table 4.9 in the Appendix to this chapter for the actual scores.) Apart from two men with unusually low scores,[7] the curve is surprisingly smooth. We do not see here the abrupt 'generation gap' predicted by informants' comments, but rather a gradual decline. The result for 'use' (Figures 4.4-6) is more difficult to interpret, especially as the crucial age group is under-represented, but there are more adult speakers falling below any line of best fit that one might draw. There is more of a scatter, and this probably reflects the greater difficulty of giving reliable answers to questions about usage. It is likely also that reporting biases are having more effect on the figures here than in relation to 'knowledge'.

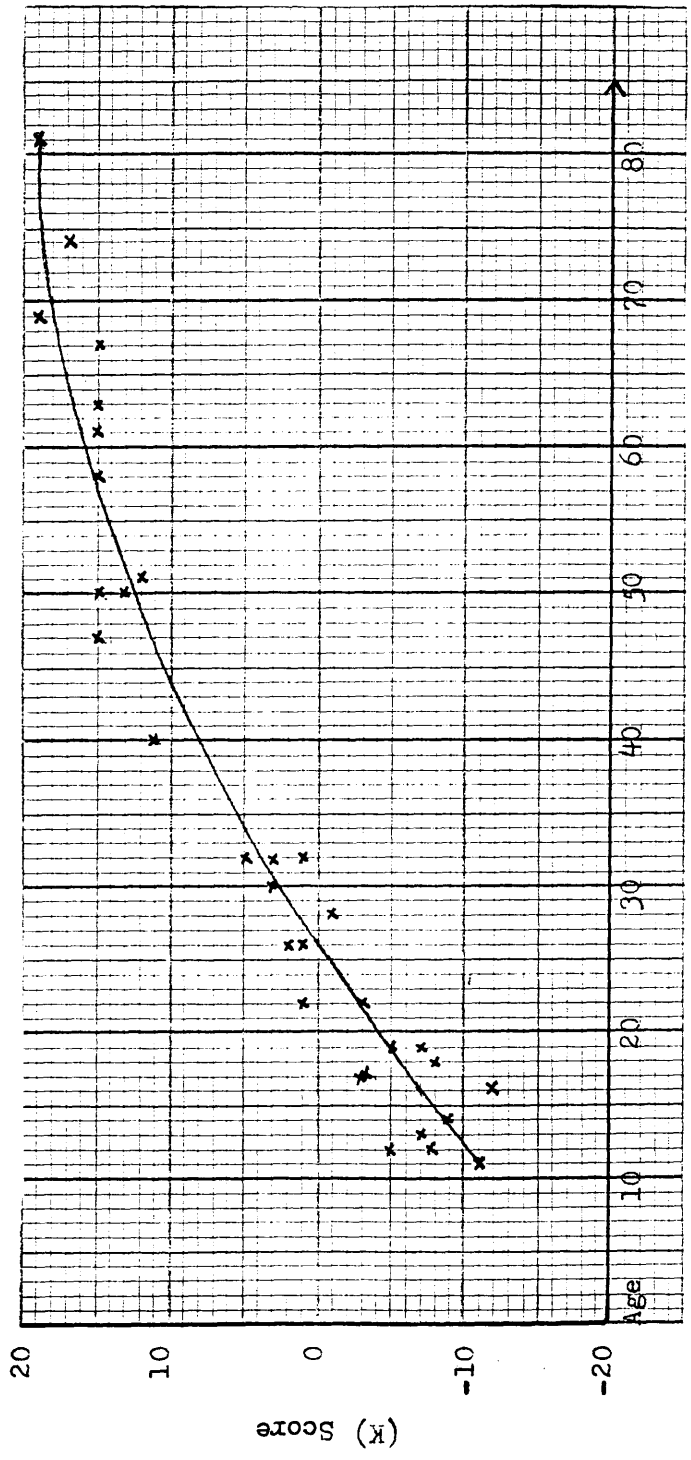


Figure 4.1 Females' claimed knowledge of selected 'old Scots' words, by age.

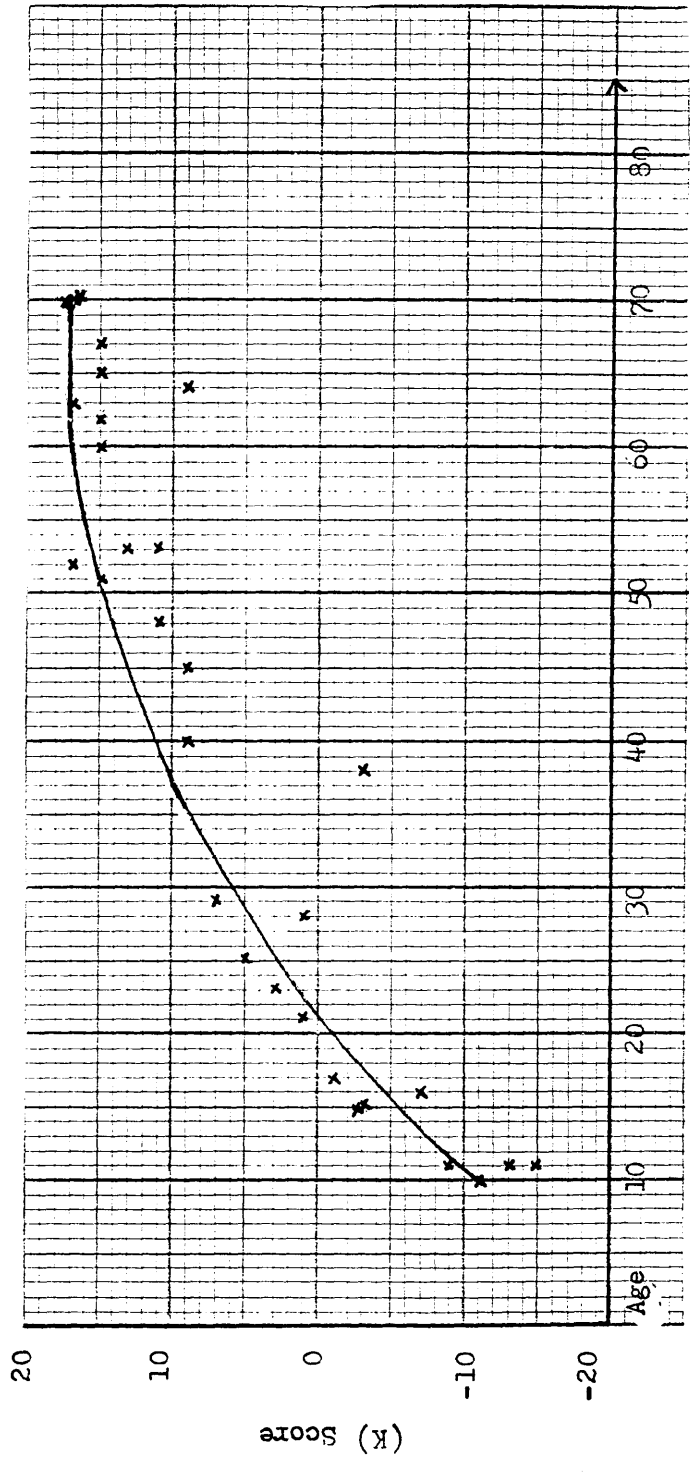


Figure 4.2 Males' claimed knowledge of selected 'old Scots' words, by age.

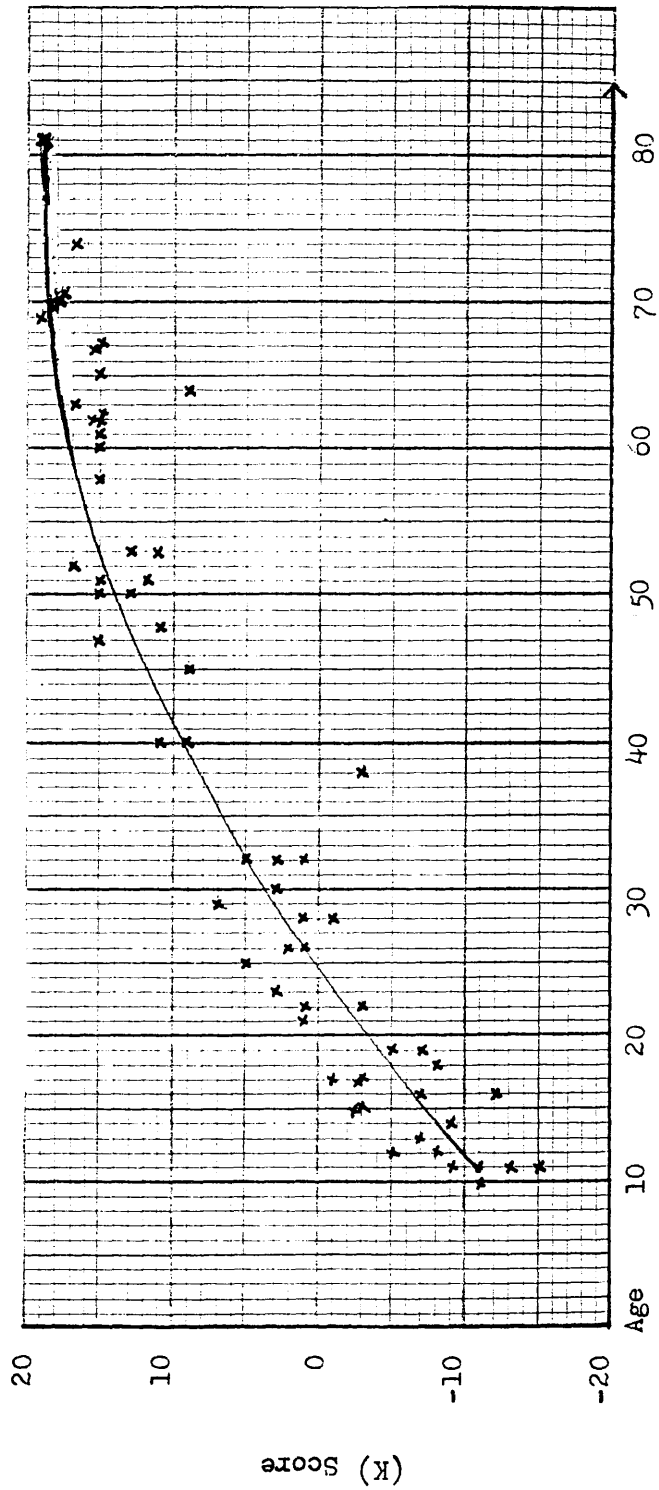


Figure 4.3 Both sexes' claimed knowledge of selected 'old Scots' words, by age.

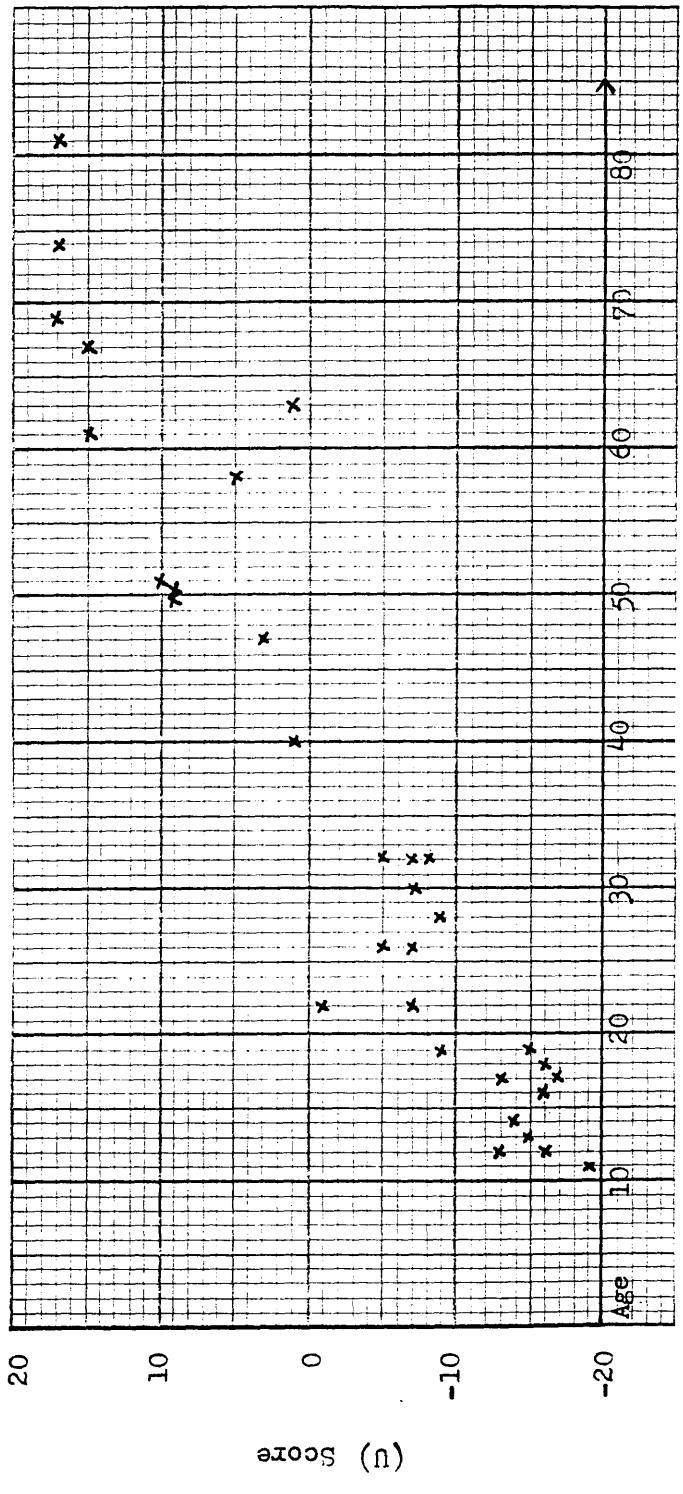


Figure 4.4 Females' claimed use of selected 'old Scots' words, by age.

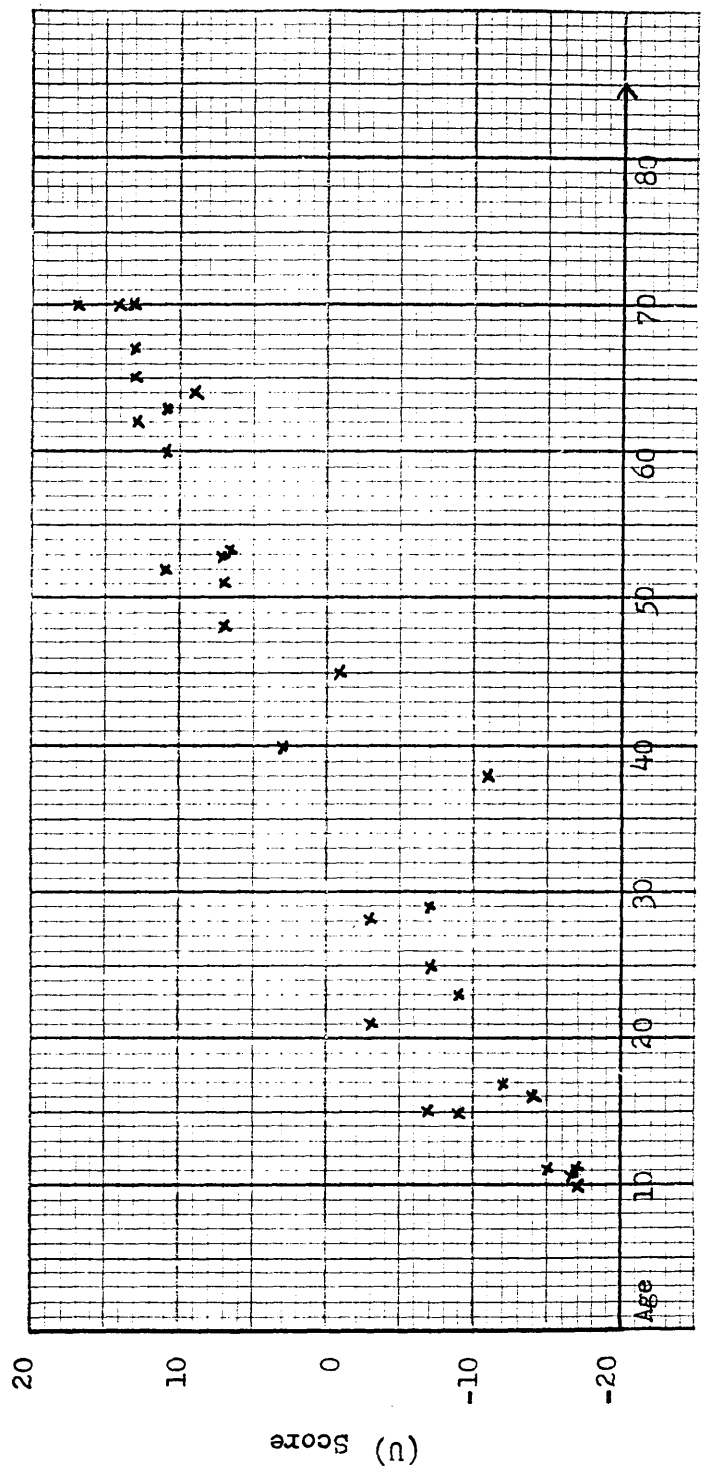


Figure 4.5 Males' claimed use of selected 'old Scots' words, by age.

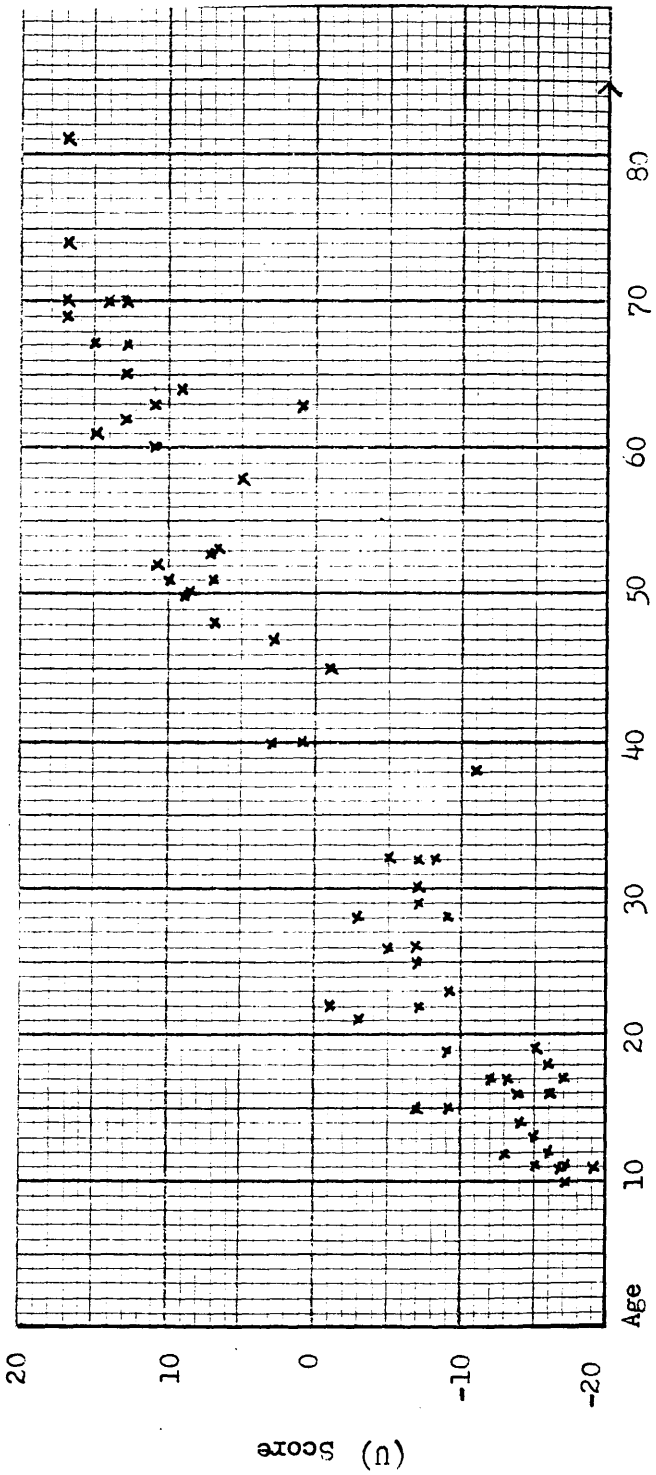


Figure 4.6 Both sexes' claimed use of selected 'old Scots' words, by age.

A number of explanations of the results are possible. Differences between age groups can be interpreted as change in apparent time, i.e. they can be read as suggesting a change between the language acquired by one generation and that acquired by the next. On the other hand, such differences may indicate age-grading, i.e. speakers showing the behaviour appropriate to the stage they have reached in their lives. This would imply that speakers add such words to their vocabulary gradually in the course of their lives, quite possible for obscure words, unlikely for words in everyday parlance.

Alternatively, it would not be surprising if adults in the midst of their working lives were prone to over-report their standard usage (in Trudgill's 1972 terminology). At this stage of their lives people are more subject to the social demands and pressures that favour Standard English. Under-reporting of the vernacular is sometimes taken as indicative of an attitude towards Standard English that one might call 'deferential', but it might be more true to say that people identify more or less strongly at different times with the public personae that they have created. If the vernacular-speaking self is pushed into the background, it becomes difficult to assume it at will, or to recover linguistic details from it (cf. the two speakers out of line in Figure 4.2). As Mather (1983: 56) points out (following Dieth), when the vernacular is temporarily given up, 'the return is not complete'. Or, in Labov's terms, 'learning closely-related dialect rules affects the form of the original ones' (1972b: 291). The hypothetical form of the question (mostly a variation on 'would you use this word?') probably encouraged people to answer from a public image of themselves. A phrasing such as 'do you think you have ever said this word?' might have been more useful.

In general, the graph for 'use' conceals as much as it reveals. We must again turn to the comments of the speakers themselves for clarification. Interviewees frequently made a refinement to my question about the use of words, to the effect that they formerly used a cetain word, but no longer did. Most of these comments came from people over 40, the youngest being 25. Answers like this were treated as positive, so the statistics and

graphs here and in Chapter 3 show the proportions of speakers who would admit to having used the items in question at any time. Their insistent distinction between past and present usage was not anticipated in designing the questionnaire, and there are accordingly only occasional comments to draw upon here, but they are nevertheless very instructive.

Many adults have made changes in their everyday language in the course of their lives, extending even to personal names

> 46F4PB: Well, one i thae - funnily enough, that - that Lizzie Broon came intae work beside me an she - by this time the girl had grown up an was callin erself 'Betty Brown' - well, see the bother Ah had tryin tae remember, ye know. Ah mean, no way did Ah want tae call er 'Lizzie' if she didnae want tae get called 'Lizzie', ye know. An that - Ah used tae have tae bite ma tongue as often, ye know., cos Ah'd a sayed, 'Aw, Lizzie,' ye know! But they turned oot quite a nice - turned oot a nice family, the Browns, ye know. But 'Aw, Mawwww Brooooin!' [...] Like the Sunday Post - Maw Broon, an Paw Broon, an aw the wee Broons. Well, there was just as many i thaim! (9B)

Moreover, they have in general made the same changes as each other (e.g. sugarallie, peenie, thibbet, knoack, waggity-wa, brace, closet, jawboax, syn(d)).[8] My question about 'use' has not been subtle enough to detect the real difference between the older generation of adults and the younger, which lies in the difference between using words as the normal everyday terms, and using them, if at all, as a stylistically marked alternative to Standard English. Words which were once the only terms in people's mouths have lost this monopoly. Many appear to have largely dropped out of active use, with a consequent decline in knowledge of them amongst younger speakers. The older generation, having participated in this change, are particularly conscious of the demise of earlier speech habits:

46F6PS: Ma Da always used that word, an ma Maw, hippen. Nappy now. [use] No - no noo Ah don't, but when Ah was young, it's the only word Ah knew. (39F)

Such words will not necessarily die out completely. It is quite likely that they will join the large proportion of the Scots vocabulary that is passively known from songs, literature and historical contexts (including family lore, as in some of the anecdotes in Chapter 3).

The change that has taken place begins to look like the generation gap as Mead (1978) describes it. Those who grew up before or during the Second World War have lived through changes so profound, rapid and global that they are, as she puts it, 'time migrants' in the modern world.[9] 'Post-figurative' cultures - i.e. cultures in which the life experiences of adults can be taken as a model by the young - are disrupted everywhere in the world. On the contrary, adults look to young people for guidance on how to conduct themselves. The explanation often offered for no longer using a dialect word - that young people would not understand it - is very feeble, but also very telling, as it shows precisely this tendency of the older generation to model their behaviour on the young, rather than the other way round.

Tacit acceptance of the right of the young to dictate fashion is seen in the universal habit of using the terms 'now', 'nowadays', 'these days', 'this generation', and so on (proximal deixis), to refer to the young, and conversely 'in our day', and so on, to refer to the past.

46F4PB: When the family were young, ye know, an Ah'd say, 'Oh ma wee - ma wee bare scuddy,' ye know, 'in er wee bare scuddy.' Ah used tae love tae - an Ah'd talcum them an Ah'd hold them next tae me, Ah'd say, 'Yer wee bare scuddy,' ye know.
46F5PB: Ye used tae - noo they say starkers. (28B)

4.5 The old are an embarrassment

The idea that the old are an embarassment was not expressed as a generalisation, but in specific personal anecdotes. Here I believe I have tapped, sometimes unfairly (as with 46M7PS, who had a drink in him) individual feelings that have not (yet?) really coalesced into a public version, and, indeed, may be concealed by the public version (offered here by 46M5PB):

> 46M7PS: Naw, Ah mean, see - listen, Caroline, see this is the thing, if Ah sayed that tae ma wee grandson, if Ah says, jawboax -
> 46M5PB: Aye, e wouldnae know what you were talkin aboot.
> 46M7PS: Naw, it's is bloody auld man sayin, 'Boabby, don't you say that,' - don't - don't. Jawboax is a - Christ, it's a nice word. It was, aye, it was a jawboax, it was somethin tae dae - in the auld days there used tae be a community, bloody, an then all of a sudden, ye goat yer - Ah don't know, what it is. Jawboax. (31D)

What struck me was the recurrence of accounts of adults - grandparents and even parents - altering their language in deference to their (grand)children's education. This is done, of course, in anticipation of the child's experience at school:

> 26F2CF: [26M3CS claims to say knoack] You're no teachin the wean a very good lesson, are ye? The wean'll go tae school an tell the teacher it's a knoack. An she'll think ye cannae talk right. (63F)

but more than this it shows the adults at a disadvantage, and even accepting correction from the young:

> 46F7PD: Ah still caw it a knoack. An mines always laughs at me. Ma faimly always laugh at me when Ah say, 'Gie me ower the knoack.' (18D)

26F7PB: An Ah used tae call it ginger, but the weans checked me.
26F9: Ah know. They check ye an tell ye it's juice.
26F6CB: The first thingwy Ah heard juice was actually in England. Ye know they called it juice doon there. Then Ah come in here, the weans were callin it juice. [...] His Ma was killin ersel at Desmond, 'Ah want juice!' (29B)

66F3PC: [on using gitter] Well, again, Ah wouldnae use it now. See, ma daughter bein educated, Ah watch what Ah'm sayin, ye know. Well, ye don't want tae say things in front i the kids, ye know.
C1M: Was that a policy that you followed when they were young?
66F3PC: Ah think Ah did. Well, Ah'd talk just the way Ah'm talkin tae you, Ah mean - don't try an put on airs an graces. Ah remember Ah sayed tae ma wee grandaughter, 'Come oan, hen.' 'I'm not a hen.' Ah says, 'Ah better watch what Ah'm sayin here!' (50B)

66F7PB: [on loop the loop] Maybe - when we were young an everybody aw spoke thingwy, maybe it was the wey we heard it, ye know, then, sometimes, ye know - but Ah would never use them - Ah - well, Ah mean, Ah'm no sayin - Ah never have the occasion tae use anythin if - Ah mean, well - Ah mean ma daughter - as ma daughter was growing up - she's therty three tomorra, an when she was growin up, she used tae check me for sayin - what was it Ah used tae say? Used tae have a habit i sayin ( ) coorie, ye know how - ye mean 'coorie in' - like bringin yer - somebody close tae ye, say ma - her wee baby, 'Come oan, coorie in,' ye used tae say. Well, they live doon in London, ye know, an she'll say, 'Oh, Mammy, what an expression!' She - even if Ah say - wee Lorraine's four, next week - an if Ah say it tae er, 'Come oan, coorie in,' know, an she looks at me, know, an Ann'll say, 'Mammy, don't - that - she doesnae know what ye - doesnae know what ye mean,' ye know. Ah sayed, 'Well, she doesnae know that wi word-wise, but sense-wise ...' It's just a word that sorta Ah've - a wee kinna petty talk, ye know, for pettin them, ye know. (77B)

46M7PS: The whole point is, see, Caroline, Ah get - Ah cannae get sayin - see ma wee grankiddies? They're, 'Don't - yer granda, that's no how ye say the thing, that's -' Ah'm gettin knoacked back. Ah'm gettin knoacked back wi sayin Scotch words. Ah'm - Ah'm feart tae - Ah'm feart tae say tae wee Graham, 'Dae -' - 'Get -' Ah try tae sometimes Ah - an then Ah'll say, 'Oh, Christ, Ah better no say that, cos is faither disnae waant me.' He's - he's gottae get broat up wi - is Eng- is diction's goat tae be - (31D)

Particular individuals can become notable for their store of idioms and old words, like 66F4PC:

66F4PC: Ah forget a loat it them noo. Mind Ah used tae come in here an say - youse used tae laugh at aw the sayins.
46F10CS: We used tae be in stitches at er. Ah knew some i them, ye know, that she come away wi, an that.
66F4PC: [...] But see when Mairi asked me, Ah says, 'Mairi,' Ah says, 'Ah forget,' Ah says, 'They just come oot accidentally, so they dae!'
46F10CS: Like that thing, if ye get lucky in some way, 'Oh, you've goat the luck i a black darkie!' Ye know, things like that. Ah forget them aw. (78F)

On the other hand, they may feel eccentric and out of touch:

66F6PB: C'mere an Ah'll tell ye a wee laugh: ma twin - ma brother an me's twins - he's ten i a family, Ah've nane, Mary - an ma other niece's daughter, she was up visitin er mother an oor Andy was in, an we just cawed im Aundra - Scoatch - but it's Andrew - an dae ye know what the - oh, they're great Christians, the three i them, say their grace an everythin - Ah think e'll maybe be aboot ten, Scott - e says, 'Uncle Andrew, are you French?' E says, 'Away, an don't be daft! Ah'm Brigton!' E says, 'Where's that? Is that abroad?' Fae Brigton! Jeannie - that was ma niece's daughter - hulkin brute - she says, 'But Uncle Andra, e disnae really - e talks -'

They're away in Dal- somethin, ootside i Stirlin, Ah cannae mind - Ah've been there, but Ah cannae mind i it - she says, 'What is your name?' She says - e says, 'Andrew.' But why did we never caw im that? That was the Brigton folk. An we'd always say, 'Oor Aundra'. Well, the wean, e's gettin teached - learned French at school, e thoat it was a wee French name ! E's sittin, 'Ah never knew Uncle Andrew was that.' She says, 'It's Brigton.' That was just a Scoatch word for it, Aundra. For Andrew. But it just shows ye how ye can - folk thinks ye're daft. (15B)

It is instructive to examine this in terms of politeness, the rules of which differ from one culture to another. Scottish working-class culture emphasises what Brown and Levinson (1978) call 'positive face' (as in the proverb, 'it's nice tae be nice'). To correct someone is to take away positive face from them, to undercut their sense of being accepted and liked by others. In such a culture, if people feel it necessary to correct someone this is done apologetically or with gestures of 'positive politeness' such as making a joke. There are situations where the would-be correctors must simply bear the embarrassment to themselves of being witnesses to the mistake:

46F4PB: Like this, Caroline, maybe ye'll no ( ) this, but one i the girls was tellin me the other day there, er father's actually dyin, an she's - bit sad about it, but he's gettin a - he's gettin suppositories up im, ye know. An er mother's a bit annoyed, upset aboot this. An A---- - S----- sayed, 'Ma Mum <u>will</u> say tae the nurse, 'Is he still gettin thae depositories up im?' She says, 'An she's so upset Ah don't want tae say tae er, "Mother, it's no depositories,"', she says, 'An every time Ah see a nurse, Ah'll say, "Oh, here she's gaunnae say it again."' She says, 'She says it every time. " Is e still gettin thae depositories up im? Ah think they're upsettin im,"' ye know. (28B)

M: Ah was tellin Betty aboot that gaffer. Ah'll never forget this man as long as Ah live. Everything e sayed, Billy, was slightly wrong. One day e says tae me, 'Ah was away up seein that bloomin' - what dae ye call them - 'the factor,' e says, 'Ah telt im straight Ah was the auldest tenement in the buildin an Ah was waantin a new inferior fireplace!' An Ah says, 'Oh Goad,' ye couldnae - e was a fa- e was a bloomin foreman, ye couldnae correct im either, ye know. E says, 'Ah'd a hellova fight there, Ah was chased wi a big sensation dug!' Ye know. That's the - that's the kinna thing e said, all the time. An at first Ah thought e was kiddin, then Ah realised, naw, e would a hit ye if ye'd pulled im up, ye know, sayin the correct words. (83S)

Further up the social scale in Britain there is transition to a negative politeness culture, where the emphasis is on the individuals's negative face, their privacy and freedom from intrusion by others. The embarrassment caused by someone else's mistakes takes on greater significance and correction is correspondingly prompter.[10] Within the family the long-term strength of relationships allows people to be blunter, but nevertheless the fact of being openly corected must make people feel that they are an embarrassment to their family. This set of priorities, whereby being educated takes precedence over manners, must undermine authority in the family.

4.6 The young are foul-mouthed

It seems to be generally agreed that standards of behaviour with regard to swearing are falling, and that many children in particular swear freely (and often understand what they are saying as well).[11] A distinction must be made here between the worst that one might hear - in anger, frustration or abuse - and what is regarded as normal and tolerable on ordinary occasions. It is the latter which is in question. The reality and the ideal must also be distinguished. It is quite funny to hear people <u>use</u> (moderately) strong language in discussing this issue: 'Some i

it's bloody terrible' (16M2PB), '"My God, Duncan, ye need tae swear like that?"' (66F8PS); but the point is not invalidated. Until recently there was a consensus about the rules governing swearing. Though they might not always be observed, the rules were understood to exist, and to break them was to define oneself as 'rough'. These rules are the same in Glasgow as in Cockney London (see Barltrop and Wolveridge, 1980, ch.4). Humorous vulgarity is acceptable. Barltrop and Wolveridge's example,

> A stock answer to a child's or an adult's excessive questions about food ... is 'shit and sugar' (pp.44,5)

is matched by 46F10CS's 'sheep shite an smiddy ashes'. Some words are milder than others, but 'unnecessary' obscenity is justified only by strong feeling, and never in mixed company. (Women do also swear amongst themselves.)[12] Adults refrain from swearing in front of children and children show respect towards their elders by refraining from rough language even when it is not actually swearing. As Barltrop and Wolveridge put it:

> 'Emancipated' middle-class people probably swear less in total than Cockneys - the fact that they do not, on the whole, do hard physical work is one reason - but they eff and blind more indoors and between the sexes. (p.44)

Interestingly, the same point was made with regard to the classes in England a century ago. Phillips (1984: 88) quotes an HMI who went to school in Swindon in the 1880s:

> Later life has taught me, however, that Eton and Oxford might have infected me with a vocabulary more offensive if less robust, and sanctioned it to a later age. ... We of the skilled working classes become respectable earlier than the products of the public-school system.

On the whole, I have the impression that these rules still apply in working-class Glasgow. However they are broken regularly

enough to be a widespread cause for concern, especially with regard to childrearing. Some parents are willing to enforce their standards:

> 16M2PB: Ah mean, if you listen tae yer ain wean oot in the street when she thinks that she cannae hear ye - Ah mean, Ah 've heard that S----- - Ah was staunin at S-----'s back in a shoap wan day, an she was staunin, her an er wee pal, 'Ah'm gaunnae get a big fuckin bubbly an a packet i fuckin crisps.'
> 26M2CS: Ah mean, that's the wey some i the weans talk.
> 16M2PB: Ah mean that's - they think that they should dae it. But she didnae realise Ah was staunin at er back. So Ah rattled er. (13F)

But others, whose aim is to have a less authoritarian relationship with their children, are reluctant, especially as the trend seems to be a general one in the world outside:

> 26M5PS: Well, Ah think, aye, Ah'll say things like - like bloody or damn but tae me they're not
> actually - Ah mean people say, 'Oh, ye shouldn't say that, ye shouldn't say this,' Ah don't see why not, personally, ye know, because - scuse me - for the simple reason bein, bloody isn't really a sweary-word, a swearing word, only if it's used in a context, Ah should imagine. Well when actually Ah'm - if Ah'm sittin in the house, Ah go, 'Oh, bloody hell, Ah've forgot this.' It doesn't mean Ah've actually - Ah'm actually swearin. Maybe it's a - maybe it is but, ye know, Ah don't - as Ah say - Ah've never classed it as swearin, especially damn. Ah've never classed damn as swearin. Because ye say, 'Aw damn ye, damn this an damn that,' but ye're only - ye're cursing, ye're - Ah suppose ye're - ye're swearin in a wey, or depends on how ye're broat up. Ah mean ma son uses it. But -
> CIM: In front i you?
> 26M5PS: Oh yes, he'll use them in front i me. But Ah'll no check im for it, because for the simple reason is: Ah use them. E's goat - e's comin up nine. But Ah mean, Ah use

them. An if Ah don't think they're sweary-words, well, there's no reason why he should grow up wi the attitude that they're wrong. [And would he have sworn at home?] Oh, certainly not! Naw, no way! Ma Mum widda clipped ma ear. Ah mean, Ah'm still - Ah'm therty-eight, Ah'm therty-eight an Ah'm still scared i ma Mum! An Ah'm no bein funny. She'll still clip ma ear when Ah step oota line. (25D)

The following conversation is quoted at length, as it covers most of the aspects of the topic which came up in the interviews. The bounds within which swearing should be kept are clarified. Note also the emphasis on the bad influence of role models from outside the working-class community,[13] and the general inclination to be indulgent towards the young.

46M4PB: [young people's language] It's gettin worse, Ah'll tell ye that.
46F5PB: No worse than it ever was.
46F4PB: No, well Ah think the bad's gettin worse.
46M4PB: Oh, the lassies nooadays, Isa.
46F4PB: But the good's gettin better. Ye know what Ah mean. Ah think there's a lot a nice speakers, but there's a lot that are really gaun - but there it's their language again that Ah find goes against ma grain, ye know.
46M4PB: Ah find that the females nooadays swerr merr than we swerr.
46F5PB: Oh, Ah think that in every walk i life, no just the Glasgow people.
46M4PB: Isa, come on!
46F5PB: They're gettin away wi -
46M4PB: Okay, Ah'll ask ye a question. If you were staunin wi a crowd i boys, years ago, when you were a wee lassie, an they were swearin, would you walk away?
46F5PB: Ah never stood -
46M4PB: Well, if ye stood wi a crowd i anybody then.
46F5PB: Ah never knew - Ah never had pals that swore.
46F4PB: That's what he's sayin, would you a stood an listened

tae them swearin?

46M4PB: Would you a stood listenin tae them?

46F5PB: Och.

46M4PB: They're staunin listenin noo. That - ( ) Jesus God Almighty!

46F5PB: That's what Ah'm sayin, ye interrupted me, Ah'm sayin in all walks of life now, ye're gettin even Princess Anne comin away wi expressions that we would never've come away with. It's accepted now. Ye're gettin words, four-letter words, now that boays - girls - if a - an when Ah was wee, if Ah'd come away wi it, a boay would a run a mile away fae me. Nooadays, they're - they're talkin, bringin in -

46M4PB: Anyway, they see it oan the telly, but. Aw these words.

46F5PB: Ah mean they're gettin more free now wi their expressions, they're gettin tae feel that, 'Well, it disnae matter a gypsy's curse what Ah say.'

46F4PB: The ones Ah'm talkin are some that live beside us, know roon at thae tenements, an Ah mean we're talkin aboot - they're <u>this</u> height. An Ah mean, they're effin and ceein an Ah mean, they're no even aware i the fact that they're sayin it.

46F5PB: But then, Betty, Ah don't think it's any worse today than it was then, that's what Ah'm sayin.

46F4PB: Oh, Ah think it is, Isa.

46M4PB: Naw.

46M3PB: Well, Ah think it is.

46F5PB: Nowadays, they're accepting it more.

46F4PB: [...] Ah don't blame thaim as much as Ah blame the f- an yet again, that's no fair tae say that, because a loat i them when they're oot playin hear it, ye know. But it starts <u>somewhere</u>.

46M3PB: [...] Oh aye, aye, well, wee Graham come away wi it too.

46F5PB: An he's learnin it outside. [...] But nowadays the parents aren't sorta controllin themself what they say in front a children. An the children are pickin it up. Among big people it's accepted that ye should be able tae say this, that,

or the other. It's only a word. It's in the dictionary, an all the rest of it. Whereas when we were wee, ye just didnae say them.

46F5PB: [...] Ah couldnae live wi it. Ah couldnae live wi anybody that effed an ceed an - at me. Ah really couldnae. It just really gets me down, ye know.

46M3PB: The thing is, Ah mean, one i the chaps Ah worked wi [...]

46F4PB: Aw, [he] was a terrible curser. Soon as e entered the house, e never swore.

46M3PB: E never swore. He could turn it off as soon as e went intae the house, an yet -

46F5PB: Ye always get that. Ye always get men that can talk in the factory.

46M3PB: Ye know, but James, Ah mean, he sayed that imself -

46M4PB: Aye, but every second word was -

46M3PB: E sayed it was amazin how whenever e went intae the house, e stoapt. E just stoapt.

46F5PB: Naw, that's what Ah'm sayin, in front - in our day, they controlled themself in front a children, an nowadays they don't. The children are just repeatin everything they hear.

46F4PB: Naw, but Ah think there was always that did curse an sweer like that.

46M3PB: [...] This is the chap Ah worked wi, is sister, an she was gaun out this night wi er girlfriend, ye know, an the two kids come runnin after them. An she turned roon an she sayed, 'You get home, ya black-enamelled bastard!' Ah mean, Ah stood there an Ah - 'Aw,' Ah sayed, ye know, 'how can they,' ye know, 'say these things,' like, ye know?

46F5PB: Tae kids. Well, this is what Ah'm sayin.

46M3PB: Ye know what Ah mean? An it was so vile.

46F5PB: Can ye blame the kids for sayin it?

46M3PB: So this is how the kids pick it up, ye know.

46F5PB: [...] We've never swore in front - we've never sworn wi our children. Well, if Ah hit masel or somethin, Ah'll give a hefty <u>damn</u>, ye know.

46F4PB: [...] Well, Ah've been married tae him for thirty-six

years, an he's a bloody man! But he's - never in his thirty-six years has he cursed, know, like - an he disnae even know e's sayin that, by the way. E says e disnae say it, but he dis. But never - cos Ah just - Ah wasnae rared wi it, an just couldnae live wi it, Ah mean Ah really -

46M4PB: Ah don't even snore, James!

46F4PB: [...] See, Ah take the likes i our Elizabeth's two. Noo, they're twelve an thirteen, Ah think they're nice speakers, because they've been - know, she's always watched how she's spoke tae them, ye know. They're twelve an thirteen an Ah' e never ever heard - [...] An even Ah've never heard Joahn an Ah know John can probably swear. Ah mean, e's worked aw is life -

46M4PB: Aw aye, well, Ah can swear in the right time, know, ye don't swear in the house where there's kiddies an that.

46F4PB: E's worked aw is life ootside, an John's often sayed tae me, 'Ah'm always frightened in case Ah swear in front i ye.' E's never did it, ye know. But Ah don't ( ) him, but Ah mean, he's never - an you know, the hardest Ah've heard John sayin was hell wan time. E was a bit fed up, an he says, 'Aw, tae hell wi this,' or somethin, ye know. But eh.

46F5PB: [...] But as Ah say, tae me there's still a good percentage i the young people today that ye never hear about, that are doin -

46F4PB: A lot a good.

46F5PB: A lot a good. But ye only hear the bad ones, ye only hear aboot the bad ones, an Ah don't think - Ah think the present-day kids are just as good as any other kids, the kids that have been given the example. Ye'll only get worse behaviour among - wi their parents were - i the same stamp.

46M4PB: Ah'm talkin aboot the language, Isa. Ah think the language is more atrocious than it ever was when Ah was a kid.

46F5PB: Well, as Ah'm sayin, they're gettin away wi it. When you hear it on that television that's what's the cause of it. [...] Don't you think that's influencin the kids tae think, 'Well, if they can
say it, Ah can't [sic].' We didn't have that. We'd just our

own parents' example. If our parents didn't swear, we didnt, But now they're hearin it on the air an they're comin away wi it.

46M3PB: Aye, they think it's all right.

46F5PB: Cos they think, 'Oh, great actress, a famous actress came away wi this word.' An as Ah say, even the royalty are comin away wi it.

46F4PB: [...] Ah think in a lot i cases it is the parents tae blame for swearin tae them an - like noo, as far as Ah know, Betty sayed the F------'s swear like that.

46M4PB: Aw the time in the hoose.

46F4PB: The whole time in the house. Mother, father, two sons, they just aw swear like that. But Ah think a lot a kids that are oot playin pick it up from <u>other</u> children. They probably <u>don't</u> do it in the house. An their parents probably check them if they ( ) ye know.

46M4PB: [...] Ah worked wi is brother, an every second word was this curse. An e didnae realise e was sayin it. Ah says, 'T----, ye're swearin.' 'No me.' ( ) it wasnae just <u>bloody</u>, it was -

46F4PB: An there also, some people ye can take it from, ye know. Ah hate it. Ah mean, Ah really don't like it. But there's some people can say it an ye're - it's no offensive, ye don't really - like that man he didnae even know e was - e was daein it, ye know. But here are other people that - look, aw see what Ah hate is tae hear young girls swearin. Ah think it's - it really gets - it really gets me goin.

46M4PB: That's what Ah'm sayin, that's more young lassies swearin - ever swore in ma life, in ma life anyway.

46F5PB: Well, as far as Ah'm concerned, as far as Ah'm concerned, swearin's not such a bad crime as bad behaviour. Ah think there's an awfa loat more bad behaviour, vandalism. If they swear, they can swear if they like. Ah don't think it's a crime against - Ah mean Ah don't think it's anythin - if there's an afterlife, that the swearin would keep them out of it, but as Ah say, there's a lot, Ah think, mugging. There's a lot more sort a viciousness among a certain brand i young ones

now. Swearing tae me, is no the worst crime.

46F4PB: Some i the toughest people are the kindest hearted. It's really irrelevant, Ah suppose, but Ah just hate tae hear young people usin it as much, ye know. [...] Ah'll tell you wan thing, Bill. You're talkin aboot that - see when Ah worked in Martin's Leatherwork, Ah would say eighty per cent i the women, girls, swore [...] They effed an ceed.

46M4PB: But no ootside, but!

46F4PB: Ah don't know whether they did it ootside or no. They did it when they were workin. [...] Ah'll tell ye another thing, there's a whole lot more of them. Mean, as ma mother used tae say, 'When there's too many people, they have a war.' This is the longest time there's ever been peace. [...] People are livin longer, there's more of everybody. Suppose ye msut get more crime, more everything. Know what Ah mean, there are more people, people are livin longer, there's no so much infant mortality, ye know, so there's more kids. There's more i everybody.

46F5PB: Well, Ah think - put it this way, when we were young, when we were wee, we were more or less broat up wi the - 'Oh, if ye do that, ye'll no go tae heaven.' Now wi all this space-age travel, an men landin oan the moon, Ah mean, who ever thoat anybody would ever - Ah mean, the moon was just - Ah mean, it was away - ye never thoat about it. [...] Now that the space age is on us, the people are beginnin tae doubt that there <u>is</u> any afterlife. We were given that the - the fear a hell. Now wi the - as Ah say, the present day, ye cannae bl- the kids are sayin, 'Well, what is there after? Let's enjoy it while we're here.' Where we'd be afraid tae do it.

46F4PB: They've also got the fear i the Bomb as well, Ah mean, they've that as well tae think aboot.

46F5PB: [...] When the young ones are gettin it hit intae them through the newspapers, through the media, through the television, through everything, that there's only just this - press - this button tae press, can ye blame them for wantin tae enjoy their life when tomorrow the Bomb might fall on them? Ah don't. If Ah was a young yin too, Ah'd be livin it up, if Ah

was a young one today, Ah'd be livin it up like the rest i them.
46M4PB: [...] Aw, so would Ah. Cos when Ah was young Ah hadnae the money. We couldnae afford tae live it up.
46F5PB: [...] Ah mean, Ah think they're a lot more independent, of their parents, ye know, the - the - they go out on their own, a lot more than we did, Ah mean, we went out tae play, an came back in, went out tae play an come back in. Now they're off, ye know, or - think they're gaunnae enjoy themself. But, Ah mean, Ah repeat it, Ah don't blame them. Ah don't think they're any worse than we were, Really. (9B)

I can confirm from children's own speech and from their anecdotes that strong language is not uncommon. To some extent there probably is confusion about what the rules are, with more liberal approaches to childrearing, and greater equality and levelling of behaviour between the sexes, and between children and adults:

16M2PB: A thing that goes oan noo, an Ah don't - it's no just in Barrafield, but it's the whole i Scotland, ma wee lassie'll walk in there an say tae him, 'Wullie' whereas when Ah was her age, An Ah walked in an he was sittin there, it was, 'Mr. M-----.' It's aw first names noo. Insteed i 'Mr. M-----, Mr. McD----, Mr. ( ).' A wean disnae know what the word 'mister' or 'missus' is noo. It's aw 'Billy, Willy,' an 'Jean, Jimmy.' (13F)

However, amongst the children recorded, bad language is not regarded as simply part of ordinary language, but is seen as outrageous. One girl, aged about 12 (John Street Secondary School), was shocked and angered by my inclusion of bun and boot in the questionnaire. Some retailed the outrages of others, with varying mixtures of disapproval and awe. These excesses are committed against the general public, so an important factor here would seem to be immunity from punishment. This is turn depends on the anonymity of the modern city (cf. Jacobs, 1961; Coleman, 1985).

4.7 Language labels

The terms preferred by the fieldworker were Glasgow words and Glaswegian (dialect), but older people used the term Scotch /skotʃ/ to refer to the Glasgow dialect. This was in such contrast to the self-deprecating tendency, especially amongst younger people, to refer to their language as slang, that it seemed worthwhile to examine language labels in more detail. Implicit in the range of terms each age-sex group used and how they applied them, is a categorisation of language varieties.

Below, an attempt is made to sort the terminology occurring in general conversation according first to the referent, and then to the evaluative connotations of the word or phrase, in order to perceive the structure of the semantic field 'the English/Scots language'. In context, the referent (a register of language) is usually clear, and sometimes an example is mentioned or two terms are contrasted as opposites or linked as near-synonyms.[14] Nevertheless, the classification offered here does involve interpretation, and is not self-evident. Some words are inherently positive, e.g. nice, or negative, e.g. posh, but others are more responsive to context, e.g. proper has usually been treated as neutral, but is clearly negative in proper little madam.

In order to effect a division into age-sex groups, material from unidentified speakers is omitted. The two younger groups, who produced less material, are combined. Words used ironically are placed in quotation marks. Round brackets indicate variants on a phrase, square brackets give contexts. The words and phrases given refer to language or label a person (e.g. lady) according to their use of language.

Table 4.1 Language labels, females aged 66+

Ordinary language

very nice tae speak tae
respect (v.)

Scots	Standard English
(+) Scoatch	(+) lovely
Scotch	educated
Scoats	improved
nice wee daft word	polite(r)
	a wee bit better
	nice
	a lady
(=) broad	(=) proper
very Glasgow speakers	the right name
just the wey we talk in Glasgow	modernised
real Glasgow	
plain Glasgow	
ma accent	
sayins	
auld words	
auld-fashiont words	
(-) [folk thinks ye're] daft	(-) toffy
daft	puttin on the accent
a funny word	forgettin er accent
[oxter] maist horriblest	put on airs and graces
bloomers	oversteppin ersel
	swanky

Colourful language

(+)sayins

(=)slang
a fancy name

(-)swerrin/sweerin	big, bad, sweery word
(really) (bad) language	no (very) nice
vulgar word	terrible
a disgrace	'nice' names
big mouthful	'big' things
they can say plenty	shouting and bawling
rough(er)	a herry/hairies
ignorant/ignoramuses	

Table 4.2 Language labels, females aged 46-65

Ordinary language	
	have respect/respectable nice
Scots	Standard English
(+) Scoatch	(+) educated
Scotch people	polite
an older Scotch word	better
	a wee bit further up in the world
	a wee bit better than everybody else
	nice
	a lady
(=) oor pronunciation	(=) proper
auld/old words	the right word
	English (adv.)
(-) no polite	(-) proper little madams
(Glasgow) slang	snob(bish)
the 'Glasgow rap'	snottery-nosed git
a muck-up i the proper word	
[closet] horrible	

Colourful language	
(+)	
(=)(oor) slang	slangs/slangy
a sayin	the jargon
shoart words for big words	
[invented] their own words/language	
crude [but not swearing]	
[swearing but] no offensive	
(-)swearin/swerrin	effin an ceein
sweary word	four-letter words
language	bad/worse
no nice	not so nice
a hefty damn	whoppers
expressions that we would never've come away with	
free wi their expressions	
the hardest Ah've heard John sayin was hell	
rough	
some i the toughest people	
a terrible curser	
men that can 'talk'	

Table 4.3 Language labels, females aged 26-45

Ordinary language

the usual words
nice words

Scots	Standard English
(+)	(+) polite big word modern
(=)auld words right auld-fashiont word	(=) the proper name
(-)[she'll think ye] cannae talk right dead funny	(-) toffy

Colourful language

(+)a great expression
some crackers
funny words

(=)slang words
a new slang
sayins
their ain sayin
never says an ordinary thing
extra words
a loat i funny words

(-)swerry/sweary word
curse an swear
language
bad
dirty
terrible
the things
some things
it's everythin they come away wi
French
'choice' wans
vulgarity/merr vulgar
cruder
wasnae an angel, but ...

Table 4.4 Language labels, females aged 10–25

Ordinary language	
[women] inhibited	
Scots	Standard English
(+)	(+)
(=) auld words	(=) wee bit more proper proper
(–)slang rabblin (v.)	(–) posh

Colourful language
(+)
(=)
(–)swerr language a bad word worser not nice cheeky degrading terrible disgustin vulgar sounds stupit [not] one little thing wouldnae say they had any respect wee herries wee tarts

Table 4.5 Language labels, males aged 66+

Ordinary language	
Scots	**Standard English**
(+)Scotch old Scotch words	(+) how tae pronounce words [look lovely/lady-like, but...]
(=)auld Glasgow broad dialect broad dialects that type a language auld words	(=) Englified updatit
(-)slang ye can cut it wi a knife	(-) toffs/toffy (area) posh puttin on the airs 'big shot'

Colourful language
(+)a joke
(=)slang words
(-)swearin the foul language unprintable not very tactful not very polite out of this world

Table 4.6 Language labels, males aged 46-65

Ordinary language	
respect ordinary conversation	
Scots	Standard English
(+)Scots words auld Scots an aul Scotch wumman a nice word a loat a good words [fernietickles] a lovin patter	(+) polite a wee bit better
(=)East End local dialect the idiom i the day sayins [clabber] the English language auld word	(=) proper English (adv.)
(-)	(-) toffs snob/snobby [midding] 'polite'

Colourful language
(+)that's good bein funny [albeit obscene]
(=)slang(s) patter
(-)swerr curse bad/worse a wrang word dirty slang [Ah've learnt] some words vile atrocious indescribeable leaves a lot tae be desired they think it's all right everyday word noo rough crowd

Table 4.7 Language labels, males aged 26-45

Ordinary language

[insteed i a] straight [naw]

Scots		Standard English
(+)Scots	(+)	a loat merr politer
the Scots tongue		polite
the right Glaswegian		lovely
		nice an neat
		the wey the thing should be pronounced
(=)the (brode) Glaswegian	(=)	proper
		proper [but not polite]
(-)slang-spoken	(-)	posh
sounds terrible		different fae everybody else
some stupit wee sayin		

Colourful language

(+)

(=)slang words
- patter
- sayins
- a language within a language
- cursin [but not swearing]

(-)bad language
- really bad words
- worse
- unnecessary
- heavy
- brash
- common
- flash
- 'big an manly'

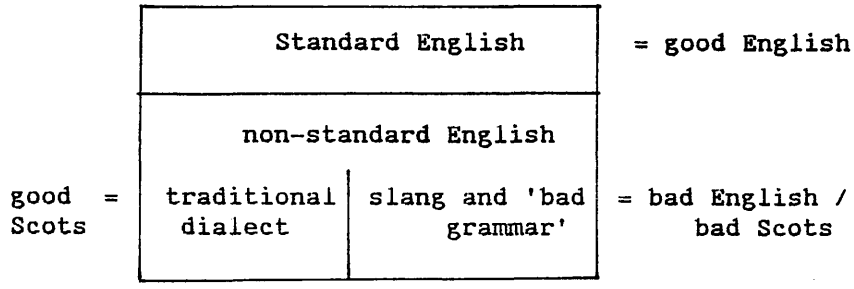
Table 4.8 Language labels, males aged 10-25

Ordinary language	
normal conversation respect	
Scots	Standard English
(+)	(+) polite
(=)	(=)
(-)slang words slangy	(-) posh

Colourful language
(+)
(=)(the) slang (language) patter the modern language TV language
(-)sweerin/swerring (bad) language shout an bawl an curse an swear cursin filthier bloody terrible some 'fancy' words less i that!

In the fullest structure that emerges, Standard English is the norm - but so is Scots. And both together are opposed to forms and uses of language that are unusual in some way - high-flown, comic, or abusive (what I have labelled 'colourful language'). This structure is basically tripartite - Scots, Standard English and 'colourful language'. In the past, linguists, including myself (1983), have tended to take Standard English as the norm. From that point of view, non-standard English is then composed of traditional dialect on the one hand, and on the other, more recent additions (slang and non-standard grammatical usages only recently penetrating traditional dialect). See Figure 4.7.

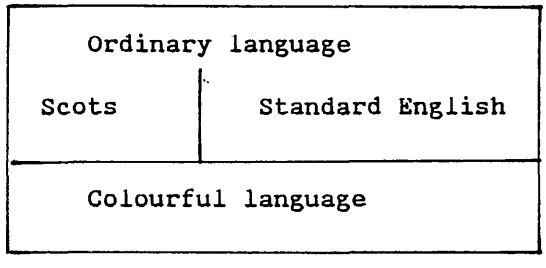
Figure 4.7



The creativity of urban language in particular has been seen (for instance by Agutter and Cowan, 1981) as a counter-balance to any erosion of traditional lexis, so that non-standard language is alive and well, and demands respect, whether in more traditional or more innovative forms. Unfortunately, this does not fit with the implicit categorisation of older non-standard speakers themselves, as interpreted here.

The basic dichotomy is between a register of decent language, acceptable in mixed company and in front of children, and a register of colourful, occasional language, much of it risqué, used mainly within single sex peer groups. This includes what is usually termed 'slang'. It could be regarded as 'rough' to use some of this material inappropriately. See Figure 4.8. The age stratification of slang lexis is clearly demonstrated by Agutter (1979), and is amply illustrated also in the present research.

Figure 4.8



The ordinary (or respectful, see below) versus colourful are probably the most important registers of the vernacular to have survived. As one man put it, 'There's two languages here: Scottish an bad language' (12F). Similarly, Hanley writes:

> Kids have an astonishing ability to cope with linguistic variations ... I grew up trilingual, with a decent Doric for home use, gutter Glasgow for the streets, and the King's English for the school, and never got them transposed. The scruff did. One of them in my Penny Buff actually said cludgie to the teacher's face, an astonishing gaffe. (1984: 166)

Roberts paints a similar picture of Edwardian Salford:

> Men had one language for the mine, mill or factory, another for home and a third for social occasions. Courtship was a time when one assumed the airs of a class superior to one's own ... (1973: 57)

Standard English is historically grafted onto the existing registers within the vernacular. This brings with it, first of all, a need for neutral terms to refer to the two varieties; but the confrontation of two cultures also creates a need for positive and negative terms, not only for the intruder, Standard English, but also for the indigenous Scots. The two norms as it were slice through each other.

4.7.1 Ordinary language

Scots and Standard English, insofar as they are kept free of colourful language, are alternative forms of what I have labelled 'ordinary language'. The most frequent keywords referring to this are nice and (to have) respect. Since nice is polyvalent here, the appropriate term should perhaps be 'respectful' or 'respectable language'.

The neutral terms used for Standard English I take to be mainly right and proper. English, often used by Scottish writers to mean specifically Standard English, was not much used, but on one occasion it clearly referred to Scots. Discussing the polyvalence

of clabber ('mud', 'back court dance'), 46M2PC remarks, 'Course, the English language is aw like that, ye know, it's aw different words and meanin different things.' Englified, despite the derogatory suffix, seemed to be neutral to the speaker who used it, or at least, he also applied it to the English themselves.

Although Standard English words are the right words, Scots is not thereby wrong. To 'say a wrang word' is to show a lack of respect, possibly by swearing in the wrong company, possibly by showing insensitivity to another's feelings in some other way. There are few indications in the corpus of the value attached to right. It certainly implies a deference to Standard English, but not, perhaps, any particular praise of it.

One might think that proper, like polite, would have (+) value, but there are indications to the contrary: firstly the phrase proper little madams (from 46F3CB, who was accused of being one as a child), secondly the distinction made by 26M4PS, 'Ah can speak proper, but no polite.' That is, he wanted to give me an accurate account, without appearing to have pretensions. The use of the apologetic diminutive wee is interesting in phrases like a wee bit better, a wee bit further up in the world - this could too easily be labelled oversteppin oneself, or trying to be different from everybody else. The most frequent terms for the latter are snob(bish) and toff(y).

For Scots, the most frequent terms are Scoatch (Scotch, sometimes Scoats, Scots) and auld (aul, old). Scoatch/Scotch is used by the over 45s. This form of the word has been subject to correction by middle-class Scots, who recognise it as an anglicised form, and prefer Scots (Aitken, 1972). Whether or not the stigmatisation of Scotch has been influential, neither form of the word is much used amongst younger age-groups, on the evidence of these recordings. Scotch is treated as (+), since it makes a larger, national, claim for what could equally well be labelled Glasgow.

Auld is problematic. For older people, it has clear (+) connotations, and sometimes collocates with Scotch, but to treat it throughout as (+) would be to privilege one point of view - it would hardly be true for the girl who described using old works

like knoack as rabblin. There is a parallel problem in the labelling of Standard English as modern(ised) or updatit. There is ambivalence here, and conflict within the community over the respective value of the old and the new.

If a negative term is appplied to Scots, it is usually slang(y). I will return to this after considering the basic meaning of slang. Daft ('frivolous') and stupit are also used in a self-deprecating way, sometimes with the addition of wee. (Because of the collocation with nice, I have treated nice wee daft word as (+).)

4.7.2 Colourful language

Colourful language includes distinctive lexis - slang and bad language (which in itself is colloquial rather than dialectal English) - but also comes about through witty, cheeky or abusive use of what would be ordinary language in another context.[15] Slang (which can be a count noun) and patter are apparently neutral terms. A sayin is a traditional idiom in some way foregrounded.

Swearing is inherently bad language, and sometimes, ironically, big. (Big words are literally polysyllabic Standard English words, whereas swearies are four-letter words.) Real swearing is effin an ceein,[16] but a distinction is sometimes made between real swearing and merely cursing, so the pair cursin an swearin is not tautologous. Cursin is accordingly treated as neutral, though a terrible curser is presumably a (-) term. If a man is known to be a habitual curser, it may be accepted that he intends no offence, but he will nevertheless by seen as rough (and likewise if he is given to shouting and bawling). A woman who curses inappropriately falls into the degradation of being a herry.

Slang is a straightforward descriptive label when applied to the fashionable, transient idiom of a generation, but (probably because so much of this tends to be abusive) it easily takes on a negative connotation when applied to a language variety at large. Some men professed never to have been great users of slang; some were inclined to take offence at some of the words included in the questionnaire (see below). Some took offence without even hearing

the questions, on the assumption that if I was interested in Glasgow language, I would be seeking out scurrility and purveying a bad image of the dialect.

What is at stake is the distinction within the working-class between the rough and the respectable. The respectable working-class resent being 'all classed the same', with those of less strict upbringing, whose observation of the rules of (linguistic) decorum is slack.

> 46M6PB: [cludgie] Oh ye never use it at home, oh naw. See an awfa loat i these words you're askin aboot, Carolyn, are slang, ye know, they're no the actual words that were used - how could ye express it? They werenae the words used between a man an a wumman, a boy an a girl, in ordinary conversation, ye know. Like if Ah - if Ah was talkin tae you, or in your company, in a house, or outside or whatever, an Ah'd tae go tae the toilet, Ah would a had - in thae days, Ah woulda'd tae say, 'Ah'll need tae go tae the lavvy,' ye know. That was, tae me, usin the local dialect. Possibly call it slang if you will, but it wasnae a dirty slang, where the other wan, cludgie, that's a dirty slang, ye know. That's the only wey Ah can describe it, ye know, that we werenae brought up tae be proper speakers as ye obviously gather be the voice now, but we were broat up tae have a good thought for other people's refinements, if ye waant, ye know, ye didnae offend - no matter what ye did, ye didnae offend either by word or action. An that was the - that was the idea i the - the way we were brought up, ye know, ye just were not allowed tae offend, especially an adult. Offend another child if ye wanted, ye know, within reason, but an adult you did not offend, either be word or be action. So that's how Ah can only describe most i these words that you're askin are a - a dirty slang. [...] Cludgie is a dirty slang. Bog is a dirty slang. Where we spoke in the - the idiom i the day, if ye waant. [...] That's what Ah'm sayin tae Caroline: we hadnae tae offend anybody's sensibilities. An adult had always tae be treated wi respect an if ah went tae Mrs. L---, for instance, Ah would need tae a sayed, 'Can Ah use yer

lavvy?' - like toilet wasnae a word we used then very much. But Ah could never a went tae a wumman an sayed, 'Can Ah use yer cludgie?' Oh, no way. Ye'd a been battert doon the stair fae her, an before ye hit the boattom, yer Maw'd a kicked ye back up again! (82B)

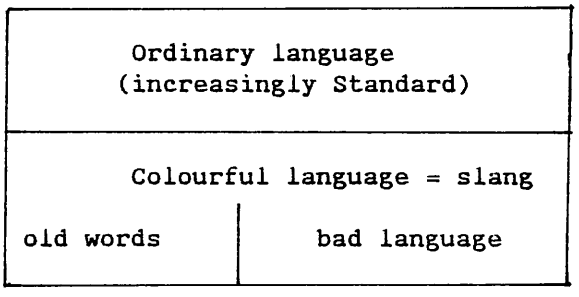
The use of the term slang so frequently for Scots especially from the younger age-groups where it is less often balanced by the term Scotch/Scots, could be seen as indicating a loss of pride, a willingness to be perceived as rough, or a pre-emptive self-identification as rough. Consider the following conversation:

F: Aw there's Irene. Here, Irene. Irene! We're lookin for right Scotch words.
Irene: Ah don't know auld Scotch words.
F: No sweery words, Irene!
F: No sweery words. Right Glesca words.
F: Ah'm bein polite this morning as well.
F: Naw, auld Glesca words.
-: Aw. slang words? Slang words?
Irene: Aye, slang Glesca words.
M: [...] 'It's a braw bricht moonlicht nicht the nicht!'
F: [...] 'Mind yer heid' an aw that.
M: 'Come oan get aff' an 'hoosfura'.
F: 'Auld Reekie', that's the only wans Ah can think i, Auld Reekie.
M: The jawboax, now, there's wan. Have ye goat that wan?
M: [...] 'Come oan get aff'. (12F)

(The usage was by no means confined to informants from Barrowfield, whose tenants tend to be classed as rough simply because of the address. And some of them are rough.) The elision of the categories of Scots and slang simplifies the structure of the semantic field of language (see Figure 4.9), leaving Standard English separate as the norm (in the fashion of the middle class ideology), but whether this is how the informants see the linguistic situation, or whether they think it is how middle-class

people (like the fieldworker) see it, is hard to tell. On this evidence alone, then, the apparent absence of the term Scotch (or even Scots) from the terminology used is perhaps more significant than the extended (gratuitous?) use of slang.

Figure 4.9



The distinction between slang and traditional dialect vocabulary is not always a clear-cut one in particular cases - some originally slang words do persist over time to augment everyday vernacular lexis - but the principle is that of antiquity, or as it is sometimes called (following Stewart, 1968) historicity:

> 66F2PC: They must have a language i their ain up there, eh? [the youth club]. Ah mean, we're actually - these are words that oor mothers used. That we listened tae aw the time, but Ah don't know who they're listenin tae. (37B)

If the older way of talking and thinking about the vernacular is dying out, then there is a danger that many traditional Scots words - those that have passed from active everyday use into passive knowledge and occasional use - will come to be seen as simply the colourful language of an older generation, subject to changes in fashion:[17]

> 10M8PB: some older generations just talk the same wey as we dae, because they just pick it up. [...] So maybe aw the patter'll cheynge when we get aulder. We'll still be usin this, other people - other younger people'll be usin different ... (75B)

The usual reaction to Scots as colourful language is to find unfamiliar sayings interesting and amusing and perhaps to make a mental note of them for later mention:

> 26F6CB: Aye - what was it noo - Ah heard this wuman sayin, an Ah was laughin. What did she say for rinsin? Naw, it wasnae for a cup - it was - she had this soapy waater aw left. An she went, 'Aw that's a shame tae waste that ...' - an what did she say? It was a right auld-fashiont word. Aw, Ah cannae remember. An ah mean - sapple. 'That's a shame tae waste that sapple.' It was aw this lovely soapy waater, an she'd only waashed wan wee thing in it, an she went, 'Anythin else tae get waashed? That's a shame tae waste that sapple.' Ah thoat that was dead funny.
> 26F7PB: ( ) Ah'm gaunnae waash somethin oot, 'Ah'll sapple -'
> 26F9: Sapple it oot. Aye. Ah've yaised that.
> 26F6CB: That was the first time Ah'd heard it. (29B)

There is no sense that such words and forms are the correct ones (the 'right' word) to be imitated by the hearer or re-adopted into everyday use. It takes a remarkable personality to insist on the validity of Scots in the face of education and the mass media - 'speak Scotch or whustle' in the old proverb.[18]

4.8 Conclusion

The material presented in this chapter, inconclusive though it is, seems to suggest that important pragmatic rules have broken down within the working-class speech community, namely rules governing the appropriate use of everyday Scots, colourful language and swearing. The change that older members of the community perceive, then, is considerably more subtle than anything we could hope to observe directly, or even by taking an inventory of the dialect. This breakdown of the internal coherence of a culture - if such is the case - is what we would expect under the influence of powerful

and attractive external cultural models. In the area of swearing and other linguistic bad manners, external models are explicitly blamed.

Notes

1 Young people, as we will see below, are also perceived as less Scots, and the age difference may also have inclined the eldest informants to assume that I would not be familiar with much Scots.

2 This may seem ludicrous when I say that my accent is described by a sociolinguist who has worked on Edinburgh speech, Dr. Paul Johnston, as lower middle-class Edinburgh, and that it modulates into West Lothian vernacular in the right environment. Nevertheless, I can vouch for the authenticity of this error from my own experience. Without consciously listening for phonetic cues, I would not myself, up to a few years ago, have noticed whether a newsreader on television, for instance, was English or Scottish (unless the accent was quite marked).

3 This applies particularly to non-Glaswegians. Paul Johnston (personal communication) judges that there is a general downward shift of one sociolinguistic class in Glasgow, thus e.g. a lower middle-class Glaswegian sounds rather like an upper working-class Edinburgh speaker (over those variables that are shared between the two accents).

4 This is a dimension of linguistic variation which was not taken into account in this research and it is possible that something valuable has thereby been missed. The issue of the persistence of Hibernian English traits in particular may hinge on family history.

5 The word pingle is local to the south-west of Scotland, and was found in Riach's (1984) study of schools there to be known to schoolchildren at present.

6 Glauser (1972) found that een and other -n plurals were recessive in the Borders. Speakers on the English side tended to label them as 'Scottish' and avoid them accordingly.

In discussing other Scots dialects, well-known stereotypes such as the good English spoken in Inverness were aired, as well as a number of observations on 'east coast' or Edinburgh as opposed to Glasgow usage, and incidental comments that given words must be 'Highland' (this would include the North-east) or 'country' (e.g. Ayrshire or Dumfriesshire). Two items came up frequently enough (three times each) to suggest that they might be stereotypes. These were half-loaf and ken, but as the anecdotes were in the first person or linked to named persons, they are perhaps rather to be seen as selections from private experience under the influence of some public version of Glasgow and non-Glasgow language.

> 26M5PS: As Ah was sayin earlier on, like, you go tae Dundee an ask for - ask for a loaf, ye get two. Right? Ye get two loafs a bread. Pan, plain, cottage, disnae matter: two. If ye ask for a half-a-loaf, ye get one. [...] Noo, Ah was only aboot - ma Mum sent me in - aboot nineteen fifty-nine tae this baker's for a loaf a bread, so Ah went up an Ah says tae the guy, 'Have ye goat a loaf i bread, please.' An e hands me these two loafs, he hands me there two loafs. Ah says, 'Ah only waant wan.' E says, 'Naw, naw,' e says, 'That's a loaf a bread.' So Ah peyed for the loaf a bread, back again, an ma mother gave me a hellova tankin. 'You stupit clown,' she says, an she startit beltin me aw ower the place. An Ah says, 'Maw, that's what the man gave me. That's what the man gave me.' So she took me back tae the shoap, she says, 'Ah only waantit wan loaf.' E says, 'Well, that's a loaf.' An then e explained tae ma Mum. An Ah was totally mystified by this expression. Ye know. A loaf was equal tae two. Ye know, Ah was so used tae wan loaf. (11D)

> 46F5PB: Ah like tae hear James's friend from Penicuik talkin, cos he always sayed, 'Ye ken? Ye ken?'
> 46M4PB: Ah like tae listen tae it, mind ye, but right away, ye say tae yerself, 'It's no Glasgow.' (28B)

Pollner (1985a: 344) has an informant who cites ken as a non-Glasgow word picked up by her son after their move to Livingston.

7 I would suggest that these speakers (26M5PS and 46M5PB) probably did know much the same words as others of their age, but that as a result of travel they have forgotten some of their childhood language (see Appendix D for details of informants). Cf. the discussion of over-reporting below.

8 Items felt to be children's words (e.g. poky hat) and much of the slang used as a teenager (including butts in the view of some speakers) are, of course, given up. This is an example of age-grading (in the opposite direction from any tendency to acquire vocabulary at a late stage).

9 Mead writes of her own generation that:

> no generation has ever known, experienced, and incorporated such rapid changes, watched the sources of power, the means of comunication, the definition of humanity, the limits of the explorable universe, the certainties of a known and limited world, the fundamental imperatives of life and death - all change before our eyes. (1978: 75)

She insists that the global scale of the phenomenon makes it a unique event in human history. Indeed it represents the once-and-for-all twining of all the strands of human history into a single cord in the post-war world.

10 The potential for cultural clashes is remarkable. For example, coolness is not regarded as neutral, civil behaviour in a positive politeness culture:

> 16M2PB: cocktail lounge, or somethin like that noo. Ye cannae order a pint i beer in it. It's aw hauf pints i beer an half pints i lager an ... [...] Went in wi ma auld man a coupla months ago an ma auld man goat - we'd been in Walker's afore it, an he says, 'Och, come oan we'll go up tae Anderston.' Ah says, 'Aye, okay.' Went intae ( ). Ma Da says, 'A pint i lager -' Naw, 'Gie's a pint i heavy an a whisky an a hauf pint a beer an a whisky.' 'You can't - can't order a pint,' an this wee guy behind the bar. Ma auld man says, 'Fuckin who're you talkin tae? "Ye can't do this an ye can't do that."' (13F)

Crow and Gunn (1986) discuss the experience of outsiders in Belfast, a city very similar to Glasgow in being predominantly working-class with an orientation towards positive face.

11 But not always:

> 66F17PX: Ah ( ) out tae check a wee boy, an Ah'm sure if e was eight, e wasnae any more, e was at the woman's door next door, well, we've like two houses together, an then the railins, we've only one gate, for the two. So e's standin outside the door, an Ah knew she was workin, an Ah sayed tae im, 'Ah don't think she's in, son.' E says, 'Ach away ye go or Ah'll kick ye in the balls!' An Ah says, 'Son, son, it's a case i mistaken indentity [sic]: "away ye go or Ah'll kick ye in the arse,"' that's what Ah says tae im! Well, Ah went intae the house, Ah sat doon an Ah <u>laughed</u>. 'Kick me in the balls'! (84C)

12 Off tape I heard anecdotes of the redoubtable 66F6PB's swearing. Since this was all women together, the actual words were repeated several times over with great amusement by 66F2PC and 66F1CC. Thus 66F6PB telling 66F2PC with rough affection, 'You're the only cunt that chaps ma door.' Or the time 66F6PB had her new minister round: 'I gave him his tea. The cunt ate five i ma chocolate biscuits.'

13 Postman sees in television a drive towards total disclosure of all society's secrets (which he explains as simply a voracious need for new and stimulating material). This he describes as an assault on both the authority of adulthood and the curiosity of childhood, and its effect as the loss of any sense of shame. It applies, obviously, to sexual secrets, but also to violence, giving children a precocious knowledge of life's dreadfulness. In this environment, deference to the elderly has become 'ridiculous' (1985: 133) and there has been a corresponding decline in linguistic and other manners.

14 The following examples will illustrate labels used in context.

> 66F3PC: well, funny enough, ma husband ( ) an he talks on the phone, very polite. Ye know what Ah mean. So - an then when he's talkin tae me, e shouts an bawls at me! ( ). But e says it's is work that caused it - e was a weaver. 'Ah cannae help it. We used tae shout ower the looms.' Ah says, 'Ah'm no a loom.' (3/B)

> 66F3PC: Ah don't think working class men would change. Naw. But it's funny - when he's on the phone, e speaks so proper. (50B)

66F6PB: An e says, 'Bella, Ah'll need tae tell ye something,' - he was different tae me, wint e, Mary? E spoke nice - Ah was a herry, so Ah was! So Ah was, Ah was rough. Ah says, 'Tell me the noo, then, before Ah'm merrit.' (15B)

66F6PB: a wee bool, ye know, a jorrie, or whatever else ye caw it. What dae ye caw them? What's the right name? (27B)

15 M: You'll mind i the groat, Boab?
46M7PS: Pardon?
M: You'll mind i the groat?
46M5PB: The groat?
46M7PS: [...] Oh heh, aw heh, Louie, you're at it, here. You cannae mind i it. Somebody's told you aboot that.
M: It was you that told me last time ye were buyin me a drink!
46M7PS: [...] Aw, now Ah get it. Last time Ah boat you a drink it was a groat. Ah, Louie, thanks. That's good. (31D)

16 Effin is of course a mangled oath, used to avoid saying the actual swear-word, for instance when quoting someone else. The following is a typical example of its use:

M: But there was a loat i wee stories. One Ah liked tae hear was this one aboot the wee boys at Princes Dock. There were a peanut boat in at the time. There used tae be thousands, maybe ten thousand ton i peanuts would come in that. As the lorries come in, the wee boays were runnin after them wi a pencil an stabbin the bag, ye know an peanuts would come out. Anyway, the police - this policeman got two i them. One i them gave is name an address - a bum name an address - he let him away. The other wee guy, he wouldn't talk at all. So e says,

'Right, there's a police box along at the dock gates.' E put im in the police box, locked im in, went for a walk, come back in aboot twenty minutes, 'Ye gaunnae tell me yer name now?' 'Aye.' Goat is name an address. 'Right, away ye go then.' So the wee guy goat acroass the road there, that's just outside i Princes Dock, an e shouts across tae im, 'Ah gave ye ma wrang name an address, an Ah've ett yer effin piece!' E'd ett the policeman's piece when e was loackt in the boax! Away up the road like a bomb! (83S)

17 In contrast, people do pick up and use the everyday parlance of a new environment:

16F7CD: Aw see there, talkin aboot food, ye ever hear one called chits? Naw, Ah never usually say it, Ah didnae know what it meant either, but see how Ah work wi mostly guys in ma joinery work [Kelvinbridge], they - they bring their pieces in, they bring their pieces in tae lunch an aw that, they call it their chits. Ah never - never heard that afore tae Ah went tae therr. Noo Ah started callin it - 'Wherr's ma chits?' (38D)

18 It is probably no coincidence that the people I met who were most positive about the transmission of Scots within the family were parents and grandparents from Barrowfield. The possibility of old-fashioned family life, with a real role for the grandparents, is one of the few attractive things about this scheme.

Appendix to Chapter 4

Table 4.9 Individual scores for claimed knowledge (K) and use (U) of 19 old Scots words

Female	Age	Score(K)	Score(U)	Male	Age	Score(K)	Score(U)
10F2PB	11	4 -15	-19	10M4CB	10	4 -15	1 -18
10F1-F	12	5 -13	1 -17	10M3CB	11	2 -17	1 -18
10F4PB	12	7 -12	3 -16	10M6CB	11	3 -16	1 -18
10F6PB	13	6 -13	2 -17	10M7PB	11	5 -14	2 -17
10F5PB	14	5 -14	2 -16	10M1CC	15	8 -11	5 -14
16F4PS	16	3 -15	1 -17	10M8PB	15	8 -11	6 -13
16F2CB	17	8 -11	1 -18	16M1PF	16	6 -13	2 -16
16F3PS	17	8 -11	3 -16	16M4CS	17	9 -10	3 -15
16F7CD	18	5 -13	1 -17	16M5CS	21	10 -9	8 -11
16F6CD	19	6 -13	2 -17	16M6CS	23	11 -8	5 -14
16F8CD	19	7 -12	5 -14	16M2PB	25	12 -7	6 -13
16F1PC	22	10 -9	9 -10	26M3CS	28	10 -9	8 -11
16F5PS	22	8 -11	6 -13	26M2CS	29	13 -6	6 -13
26F5CB	26	10 -8	7 -12	26M5PS	38	8 -11	4 -15
26F2CF	26	9 -8	5 -12	26M6-D	40	14 -5	11 -8
26F8PB	28	9 -10	5 -14	26M4PS	45	14 -5	9 -10
26F6CC	30	11 -8	6 -13	46M9PS	48	15 -4	13 -6
26F11CD	32	11 -8	5 -13	46M6PB	51	17 -2	12 -5
26F7PB	32	10 -9	6 -13	46M1CC	52	18 -1	15 -4
26F3CF	32	12 -7	7 -12	46M10CD	53	16 -3	13 -6
26F4CC	40	15 -4	10 -9	46M2PC	53	14 -3	12 -5
46F3PB	47	17 -2	11 -8	46M4PB	60	17 -2	15 -4
46F2CB	50	17 -2	14 -5	46M8PS	62	17 -2	16 -3
46F7PD	50	16 -3	14 -5	46M3PB	63	18 -1	15 -4
46F6PS	51	15 -3	14 -4	46M5PB	64	14 -5	14 -5
46F4PB	58	17 -2	12 -7	46M7PS	65	17 -2	16 -3
46F8PD	61	17 -2	17 -2	66M6PB	67	17 -2	16 -3
46F5PB	63	17 -2	10 -9	66M1CC	70	18 -1	15 -2
66F3PC	67	17 -2	17 -2	66M3CC	70	18 -1	18 -1
66F2PC	69	19	18 -1	66M5PB	70	18 -1	16 -2
66F1CC	74	18 -1	18 -1				
66F8PS	81	19	18 -1				

5. Findings: Morphology and lexical incidence

5.1 The distribution of Scots forms by age

So far the emphasis has largely been on the decline of Scots. In historical perspective this decline is undeniable. In late medieval Scotland, Scots was the speech of all classes in Lowland society, from cottar to king; by the close of the eighteenth century only the most socially conservative of the gentry spoke it habitually; by the mid-nineteenth century Scots-speaking schoolteachers were under pressure from an anglicised inspectorate (Williamson, 1982, 1983). The affluent society of the 1950s brought the promise of advancement through (English-medium) education for gifted children regardless of class background. Developments such as these have eroded the social basis of Scots.

Its cultural basis has likewise dwindled. Each shift away from traditional means of production shifts the vocabulary of everyday life towards Standard English. Such change is not new, but the form it takes is specific to each period of time, this century being characterised by the growth of mass production and mass markets. It is impossible to say what proportion of the average speaker's vocabulary such disappearing words represent. The vocabulary of Scots is potentially so large (the SND has about 30 000 headwords) and loosely structured, that its decline is not readily measurable. But even if not large numerically, the loss would be significant, because many of these words are very salient: they were formerly everyday words. Their disappearance is a perceptible indication of change in the consciousness of speakers, the subjective reflection of material change. A whole structure of feeling goes with them. Or rather, vice versa.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the decline of Scots in toto, as this chapter will demonstrate. While lexis is relatively vulnerable to change, syntax, morphology and lexical incidence are less so. (Phonetics and phonology also change only gradually, but we are not concerned here with these features of accent, only with features of dialect.) It was clear from the tape-recordings that, while individuals varied greatly in how

broad-spoken they were in the interview, on the whole children could be just as broad as adults in the speech actually recorded.

To substantiate this observation, I examined samples of speech from each of the 62 informants whose responses were graphed in the previous chapter. In all, c.52,000 words of text were analysed, averaging c.900 words for each speaker. In practice, some samples were much shorter.[1] Where there was plenty of text to choose from, the more conversational sections were chosen (often the section on games was the only one where children talked at length on a topic). The original transcripts were checked against the tape-recordings, and short responses to questions (originally marked onto checksheets and not transcribed in full) were filled in. Where possible, sections were chosen which provided a reasonable quantity of text from more than one informant.

In the Labovian tradition of sociolinguistics, variables are selected for their high frequency in the sample. This secures a quantity of data sufficient for statistical comparisons between (groups of) speakers. Of necessity, such variables are phonetic, or less often, morphological. It is held that speakers are often unconscious of these variables, or at least cannot readily suppress their own habitual usages; these variables may have an 'immunity from conscious distortion' (Labov, 1972a: 8). The social significance of such variables is that they indicate influence at an interpersonal level from one group on the speech of another, and the lines of influence can be minutely charted through the speech community under observation. In this study, however, we are concerned less with the nature and mechanisms of external linguistic influence on the vernacular than with the survival of elements of the vernacular itself. Here an emphasis on phonetics would be inappropriate. Firstly, the low level of consciousness which makes such variables so suitable for analysis also means that they are of little cultural importance. Secondly, though linguists might attempt to reconstruct the history of, for instance, the glottal stop, such a feature has no trace in the cultural heritage. It operates as a marker of social class membership, without reflecting any of the content of a historical class

consciousness. If only phonetic peculiarities survived, it would be generally felt that Scots was extinct.

The variation we are concerned with in this chapter is at the level of lexical incidence, which we have defined (Chapter 2) as dialect rather than accent. These differences are usually susceptible to orthographic representation, so that they are visibly part of the language. Critics of Scottish literature often condemn attempts at Scots writing that have only 'a spray of apostrophes' to show as Scots, rather than a distinctive vocabulary (Gibbon, 1932, introductory note). Nevertheless, this level is clearly more salient than the other levels of phonology, and as such warrants our attention.

Whereas sociolinguistics usually works with a small number of high-frequency variables, we are concerned with a large number of low-frequency variables. One way to measure the overall proportion of dialect forms in a sample, following the method of MacQueen (1957), is to use as variables (metavariables in Hewitt's 1986 terminology) such broad categories as lexis, lexical incidence, syntax, morphology and idiom. Scots forms in each category can be expressed over the number of words in the sample, to give a crude, but broad-based, measure, the percentage of Scots forms. This method conflates as non-Scots the two other alternatives - common core items (shared by Scots and Standard English) and Standard English importations (substituting for existing Scots alternatives). (These stylistic options are described in detail in Aitken, 1979 and 1984b.) Over large enough samples of text, it can be assumed that the proportion of common core items will be relatively stable from one sample to another, so that the varying proportion of Standard English importations will be roughly the inverse of the Scots. Applied to literary texts, the assumption can also be made that the overall level of Scots-ness is under authorial control. Neither of these conditions applies in the present case, where it has been felt necessary to measure the Standard English importations separately in addition to the Scots forms. The problem then arises, especially in the present eroded state of Scots, that the Standard English forms may be the only ones genuinely available to the speaker - although a Scots

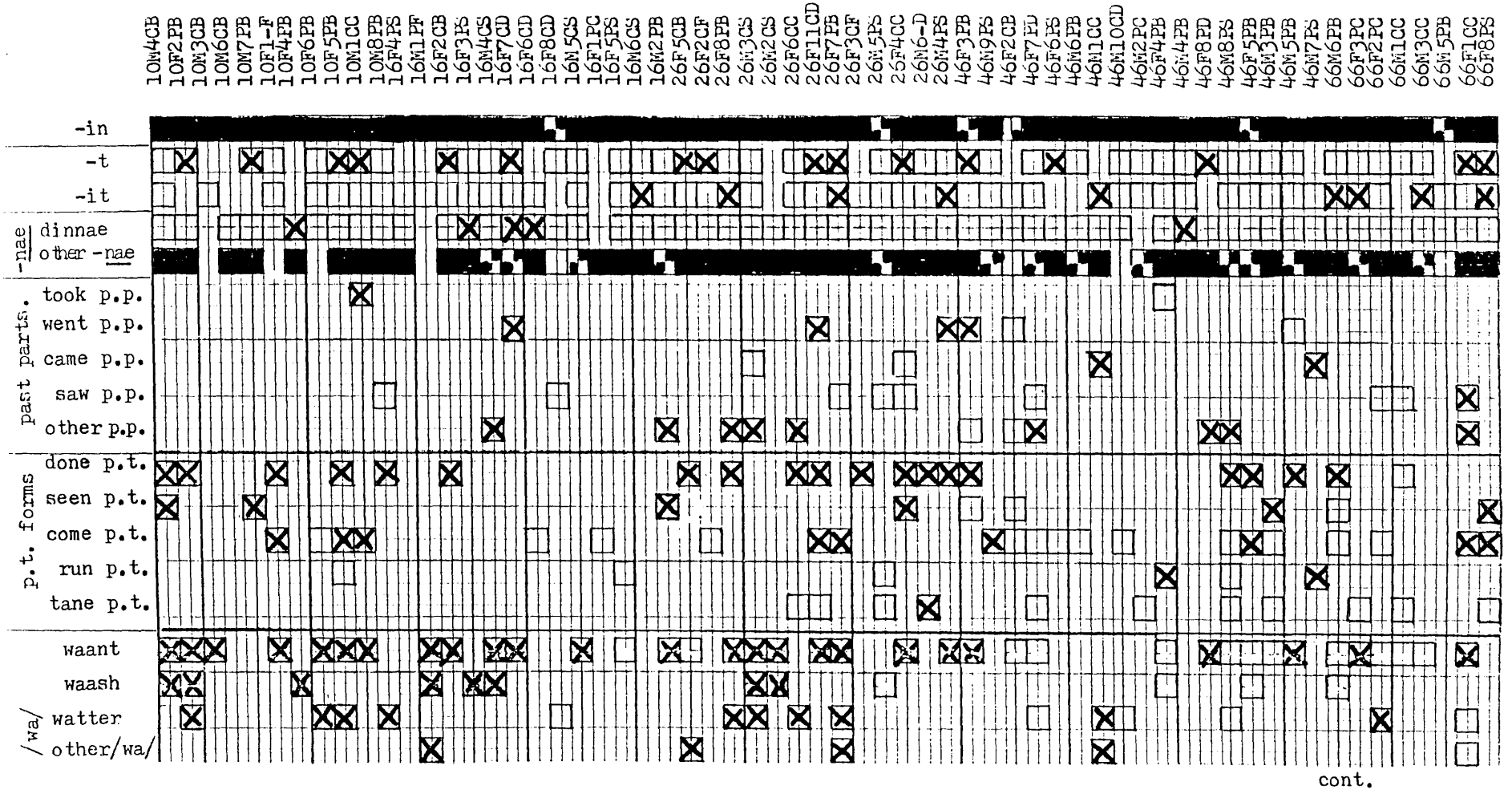
alternative may be known to (have) exist(ed). (That is, the common core is being continually swollen as Standard English importations replace Scots originals.) Accordingly, the corpus itself must provide the evidence for the repertoire of Scots, and having thus established the space of variation overall, the speech of individuals can be compared. For instance the form hae occurs (just once) in the corpus analysed and this allows hae ~ have to be included, whereas lea' does not happen to occur[2] and speakers producing leave cannot therefore be 'penalised' for this Standard English form.

At first, it was intended that items should be quantified in broad philological categories such as 'non-standard past participles' and 'l-vocalisation'. However, it became apparent that there was a great deal of lexical conditioning, i.e. some words within a philological category were much more likely to occur in vernacular form than others. Figures were therefore recorded for c.190 words individually, plus four bound morphemes. This is a large part, but not the whole, of the Scots forms occurring in the sample. Since many words are used only once or twice in the whole sample, it was still necessary to aggregate the results to some extent to arrive at useful figures. In Figure 5.1, the more frequent items in each category are treated separately, and the residue are counted together (the detailed figures are given in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 in an Appendix to this chapter). With the very small numbers of tokens involved, it would be meaningless to give percentages, so it was necessary to simplify the figures in some other way in order to make comparisons between speakers. Two codes are used in Figure 5.1, depending on the frequency of the item. For more frequent items, the symbol shows whether the Scots form was used 100% of the time, 50-99%, 1-49% or 0%. Blanks indicate 'no data' - the item did not occur in either form. For less frequent items, there is either a cross, indicating that the Scots form occurred (either solely or alongside the Standard English), or an empty square, again indicating 0%, or a blank. It will be noticed that this latter code shows the distribution of the Scots forms amongst the speakers without showing the distribution of the Standard English ones (since some of the crosses conceal the

additional occurrence of Standard English forms). It is assumed that the Standard English alternative is always available to the speaker, and that given the necessity to simplify the data, this is less interesting than the occurrence of vernacular forms. (Some impression of the distribution of Standard English forms can, however, be gained by scanning the second part of Table 5.2 in the Appendix to this chapter. As one might expect, the youngest speakers tend to produce fewer Standard English forms.)

Figure 5.1 extends over several pages. It is suggested that the reader scan it one line at a time, using a ruler or the edge of a sheet of paper.[3] The speakers are arranged in ascending order of age. The most important point, which emerges again and again, is the lack of any differentiation by age. In other words, the Scots forms that occur in the sample are, in general, as likely to be heard from the young as from the old.

Figure 5.1 Distribution of selected Scots forms (morphology and phonology) across speakers by age. Key below.

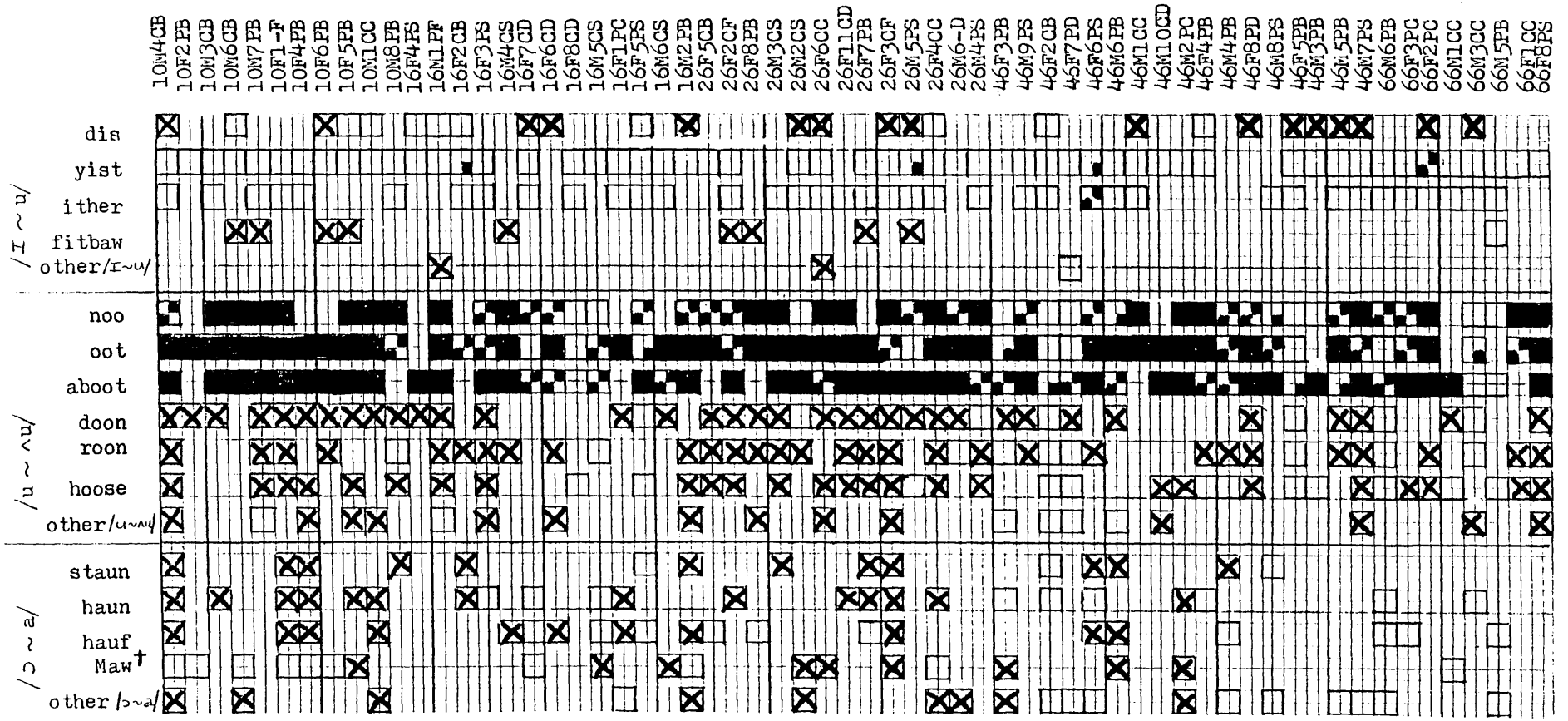


cont.

Figure 5.1 cont.

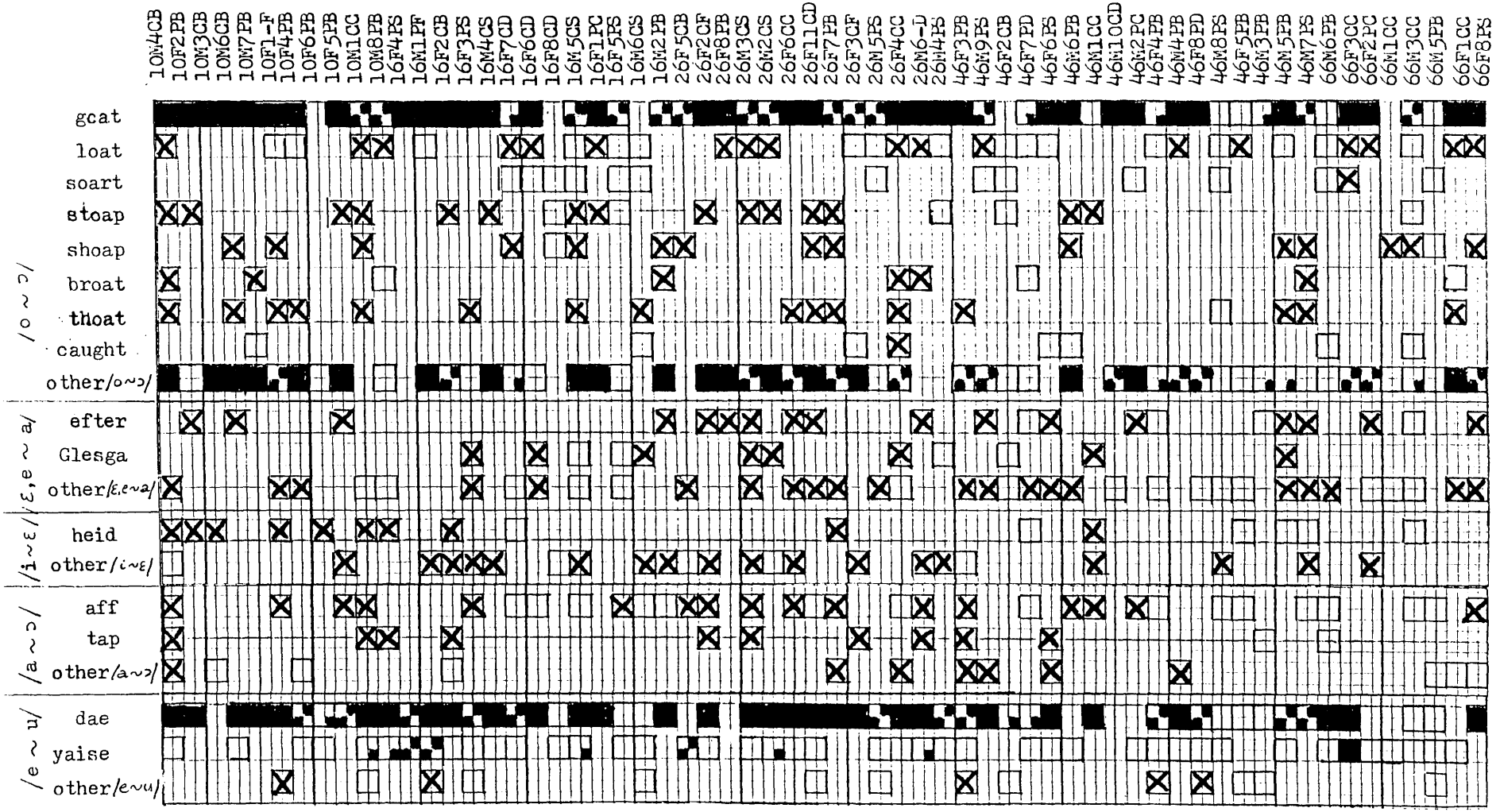
cont.

Figure 5.1 cont.



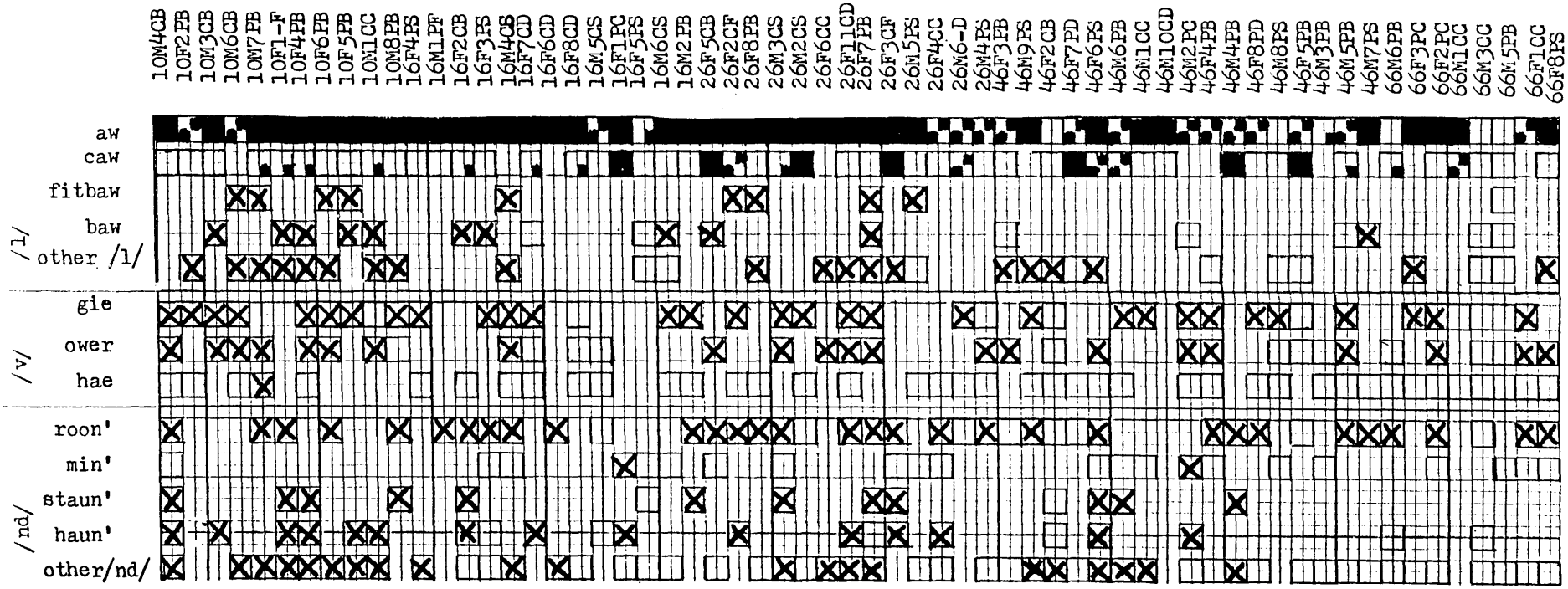
cont.

Figure 5.1 cont.



cont.

Figure 5.1 cont.



KEY. There are two keys. Blanks indicate no data.

A. More frequent items

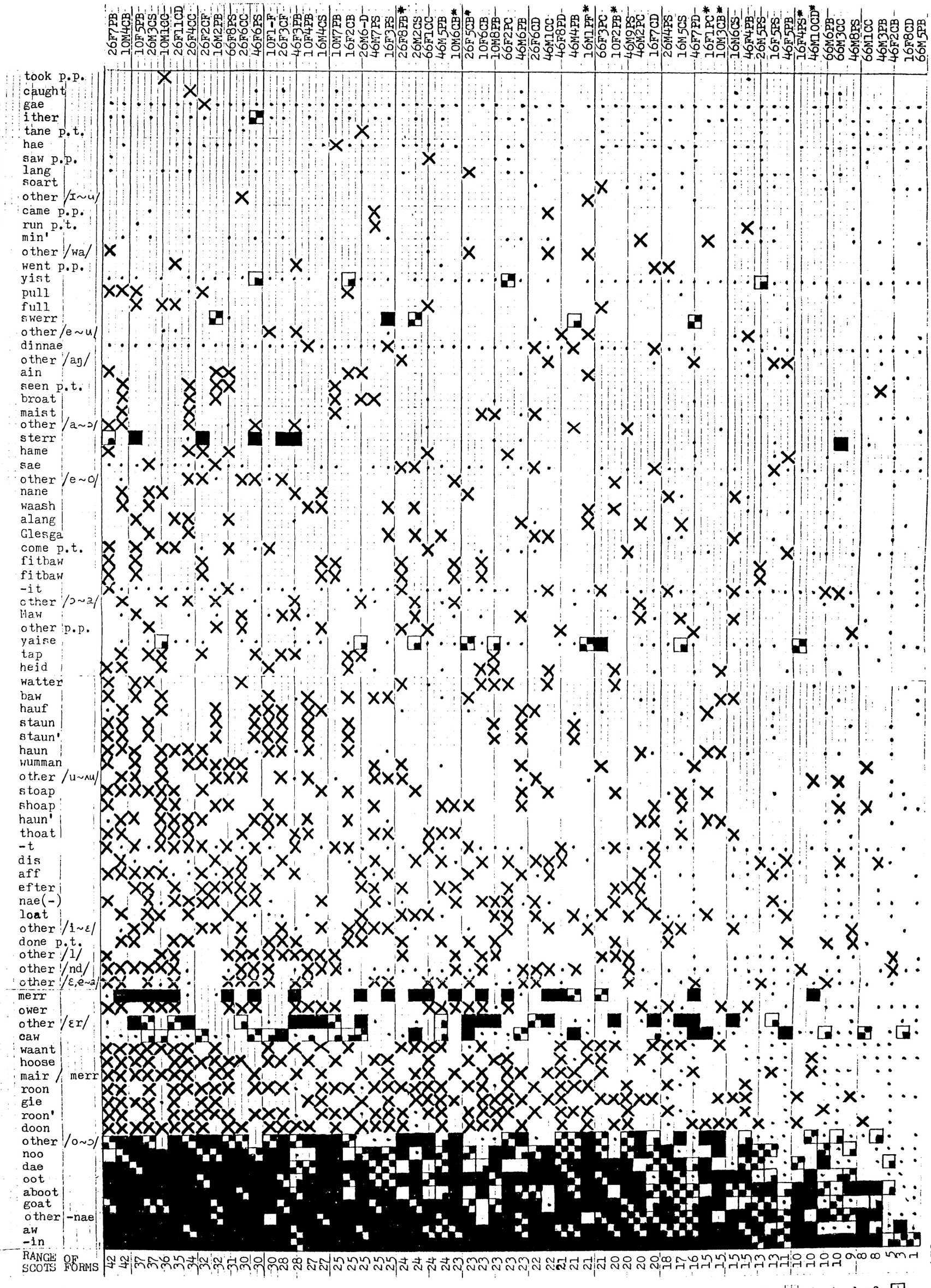
- 100% Scots forms
- 50-99% Scots forms
- 1-49% Scots forms
- 100% Standard English forms* (and mair not merr)

B. Less frequent items

- Scots forms occur
- Only Standard English forms occur† (and Ma not Maw)

For details of variables, see 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Distribution of Scots forms (morphology and phonology) by range of Scots forms exhibited



* indicates sample of 600 words or less.

KEY As Figure 5.1, except ▮ instead of □.

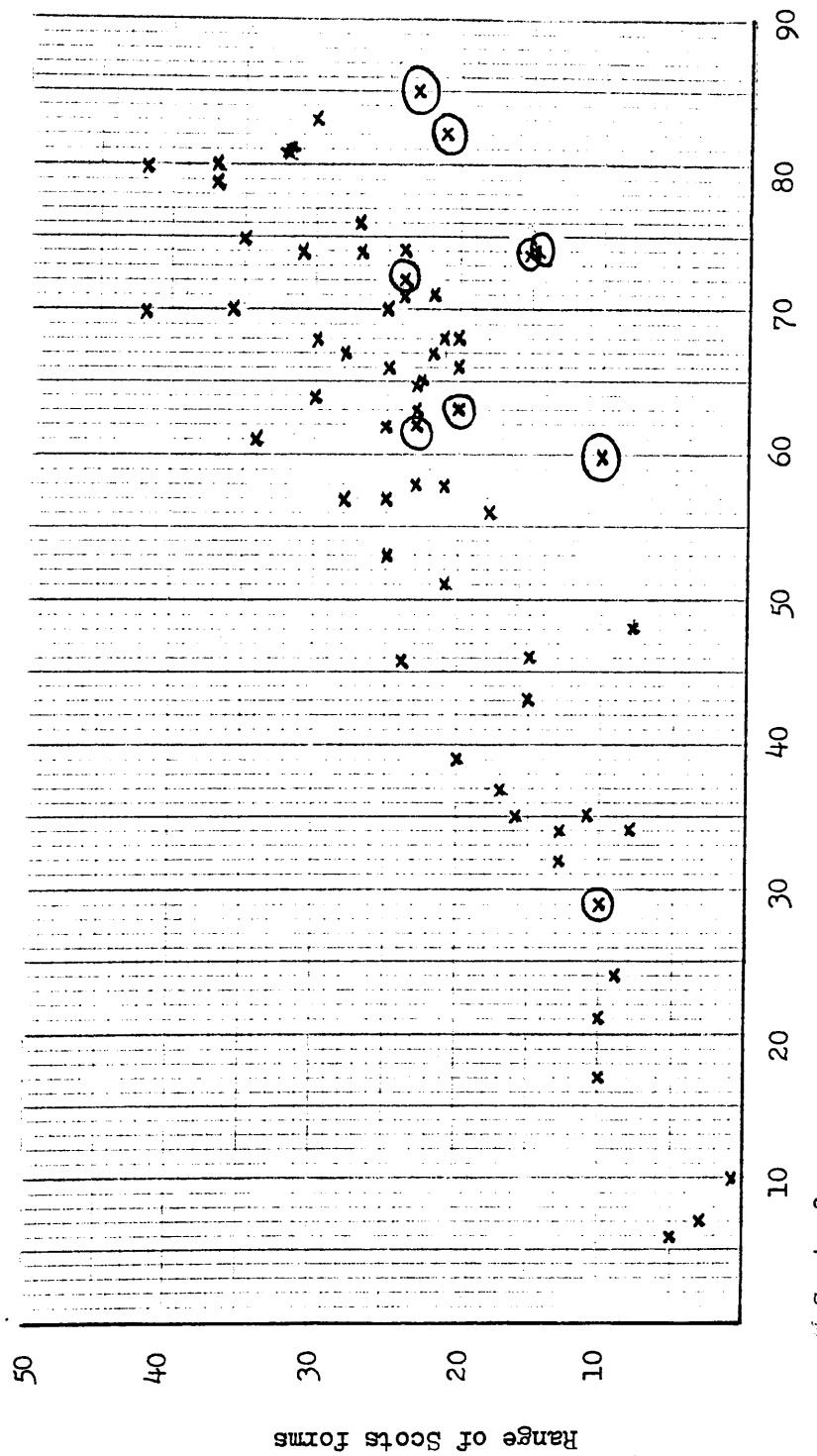


Figure 5.3 Lexical incidence: range of Scots forms (see Figure 5.2) by percentage Scots forms (see Table 5.2)

Points circled are based on 600 words or less.

$r = 0.785$ $p < 0.01$

This lack of patterning by age is seen in a complementary fashion if we rearrange Figure 5.1 (see Figure 5.2) to show a hierarchy of speakers according to how many of the 88 (simplified) variables they exhibit Scots forms of, and a hierarchy of variables according to how many speakers exhibit them. (It must be borne in mind that some speakers produced very little speech on tape, and therefore probably a narrower range of Scots forms than they might have done. Samples of 600 words or less are indicated by an asterisk against the speaker's code in Figure 5.2).

What we see in the first few lines is a very limited tendency for the rarest items of lexical incidence (in this corpus) to be produced by the broadest speakers.' (The morphological variables near the top of the figure are not frequent in any case. For consistency with the phonological variables, they should have been aggregated into two lines only - one for past tense forms and one for past participle forms. It would then have been more clearly seen that non-standard past tense and past participle forms extend to all but the most correct speakers.) On the right of Figure 5.2, we see that there is again a limited tendency for the most correct speakers to use only the most ordinary Scots forms. Overall, there is very little sign of the diagonal structure that would have indicated an implicational scale (i.e. a relationship amongst the variables such that the rarer the Scots form, the broader a speaker would have to be to say it).

There is a clear correlation between range and percentage of Scots forms (Figure 5.3) (although the figures for range can be seen to be biased for small samples).[4] This indicates that as speakers become less 'correct' or standard in their style, their Scots increases not only in quantity but in variety, and there are numerous categories of lexical incidence and several items of morphology that can all be expected to occur. Each individual word or morpheme has its own level of frequency, and the occurrence of one does not, on the whole, depend on the occurrence of others.

5.2 The variables in detail

The following conventions have been adopted in quantifying Scots and Standard English forms:

a) inflected and derived forms are generally counted together (but see /nd/ below). Compounds are generally counted together where Scots forms occur for all of them, e.g. 'wash/oot/piss-hoose', but separated where Scots forms occur for some and not for others. The latter include cultural loan words like baseball and brand names like 'Golden Wonder': these are not counted;

b) since words and usage were a major topic in the taped conversations, speakers often mentioned (as opposed to used) forms, and it has been necessary to employ a degree of subjective judgement to eliminate Scots forms that might not be sufficiently evidenced on this basis alone. Accordingly, the proportion of Scots forms will probably have been under-estimated. (This will perhaps balance the under-estimation of Standard English importations, see above.)

c) weakly stressed words have not been counted in some categories because of the difficulty of reliably distinguishing close phonetic variants in the absence of stress (e.g. oan ~ on).

d) words are sometimes repeated after another person (including the fieldworker). It would seem that there is then a danger of the second speaker simply following the first in the choice of word form. However, in practice speakers often chose the alternative forms in these circumstances, which suggests that they felt free to do so, and accordingly no attempt has been made to eliminate such examples. Similar problems arise with quoted speech, mostly quotations of other vernacular speakers, for instance the informant's mother or father. The point of interest is usually a specific word or pronunciation, and this

has been omitted from consideration here, while the rest of the context has been included.

-in

The inflection of the present participle and the verbal noun is -in /ɪn/ rather than -ing /ɪŋ/ in most varieties of non-standard English. This is a high-frequency variable that has been used in many sociolinguistic studies, and found to stratify by class and to show corresponding patterns of age, sex and style variation. In this sample, there are only six speakers who fail to use -in 100% of the time, an indication of the depth of the vernacular recorded. In Older Scots the present participle inflection was -an(d) and only the verbal noun inflection was -in(g). Some modern dialects retain a distinction in the unstressed vowel between -an and -in (Aitken, 1984a), but this is not the case in Glasgow dialect. Petyt (1985: 174ff.) found that monomorphemic words such as thing and shilling had -in at a much lower frequency than inflectional -in(g). Such forms have been excluded here.

-it, -t

The inflection of the past tense and past participle of regular (weak) verbs is /ɪt, t, d/ in Scots, depending on the preceding sound. /ɪt/ has been losing ground historically to /t,d/ and Older Scots metrical practice (van Buuren, 1982) shows that already in the sixteenth century, -it could be reduced after fricatives as well as liquids. In Modern Scots, /ɪt/ occurs most commonly after plosives, and all the examples in this corpus are after plosives, mostly /t,d/ (cf. /ɪd/ after /t,d/ in Standard English), but also bumpit and bachly-leggit.

After vowels, the inflection is /d/ as in Standard English. After fricatives, this corpus has /t,d/ according to whether the preceding fricative is voiceless or voiced, as in Standard English. After liquids (which are all voiced) Southern Scots has /d/ regularly, but most Scots dialects have /t/ (Murray, 1872: 199). Examples in this corpus include callt, blamt, feart and phont.

-nae

The negative particle when it is attached to (enclitic to) the verb is /ne/ in this dialect. This is originally the East Mid Scots form, and appears to have replaced West Mid /nʌ/ in this century. Dinnae is quantified separately, because this was quite rare, don't being usual. (A frequent context was 'Ah don't know'. Nobody said 'Ah dinnae know', but one girl did - unself-consciously - say 'Ah dinnae ken'.)[5] In tag questions, the traditional Scots form is the free (isolative) form no (e.g. 'is it no', not *'isnae it') (Millar and Brown, 1978). In this dialect, -n't is usual in tags, often in reduced forms such as int it, wint it, as in Yorkshire (Petyt, 1978 and 1985). Tag questions have not been counted here.

past participles

Non-standard past participles can differ from the standard in a number of ways, for instance in the lexical incidence of the -en inflection (here gotten and wroten), and in the use of regular (weak) endings with verbs that are irregular (strong) in the standard (here gied), or vice versa (here tug rather than tigged). The forms quantified in this exercise, however, are those where the past participle is the Standard English past tense form: broke, gave, fell, knew and spoke as well as the more frequent ones quantified individually.

past tense forms

Non-standard forms differ from standard ones in similar ways to past participles, e.g. seed, buyed are weak forms. The items quantified here are past participles in Standard English, plus tane.

Non-standard strong verb forms attract specific comment as slovenly (see Macaulay, 1977: 96 for several comments from his informants). Such features are a focus of educational attention, and perhaps enter into the stereotype of 'rough' speakers:

> My mother left school at twelve, but I never heard her make a grammatical mistake, and anybody who did was decidedly down-market, and probably scruff even if they couldn't help it. ... We did use a lot of Scots vocabulary, preferred oxters to armpits ... But the cases and tenses were always correct, and we never seen things or done them ... (Hanley, 1984: 166).

/wa/

Old English wă remains /wa/ in Scots, whereas in Standard English the vowel has been rounded to /ɒ/ (Scottish Standard English /ɔ/) under the influence of the /w/. The combination /wa/ is no longer a possible phonological structure in Standard English, and the Scots forms are accordingly highly stigmatised. This may explain why the traditional Scots form wall ('well') was felt to be vulgar (see Chapter 3).

/ʌ ~ u/

The short ŭ of Old English gives /ʌ/ in Scots. (The word woman has also joined the ŭ class). In the north and midlands of England it remained /ʊ/ in traditional dialect, while in the south, the vowel splits, giving /ʌ/ in some words, e.g. cup, retaining /ʊ/ in others, e.g. pull. In order to appreciate the outcome in Scottish Standard English, it is necessary to recognise that this is a compromise between traditional Scots and eighteenth century London English. The Scottish Standard English forms with /u/, e.g. pull, are not an organic development from earlier stages but are the result of this dialect contact. Having no /ʊ/ in the system, Scots speakers wishing to anglicise substituted the nearest vowel - the /u/ of hoose etc. - for the /ʌ/ of pull, etc.[6] The alternative Scots forms pu' and fu' (see /l/ below) also have /u/. Similar cases are described by Trudgill (1986) who terms them interdialect forms.

/e ~ o/

North of the Humber, Old English ā was a front vowel, raising in the Great Vowel Shift to give Scots /e/. In the Midlands and South of England, the vowel was backed and rounded to Middle English ǭ, giving /o:/ when raised. This is the form borrowed by anglising Scots in the eighteenth century, while RP has gone on to give the vowel a diphthongal realisation.

Scots forms include gae (not common, as it has to compete with the more usual gaun as well as Standard English go) and nae (together with naebody, naethin, etc.). Only Standard English forms occurred for such items as rope, toe, ghost, bone, and home in the collocations home help, home truth and in the sense of an institution.

Before /r/, a recent sound-change, probably imported from Hibernian English into Glasgow dialect, gives /ɛ/ from /e/, whatever the source of /e/, thus stair, poor and more are all eligible. Under this variable, mair and merr have both been counted in contrast to more, and the separate merr variable contrasts mair and merr.

/ɛr/

These are local Glasgow forms of Standard English or traditional Scots /er/. That the sound-change is productive is shown by /ɛr/ forms of local place-names, e.g. Ayrshire.

/ɛr/ forms are thought to be associated with Catholic speakers (Macaulay, 1977: 54). Macaulay did not record enough examples of /ɛr/ to draw any conclusions.[7] In the present study, there is a quantitative difference in the data (Table 5.1) with Catholics producing 70% local forms, Protestants 45%. But we have to notice that the Catholic speakers in the corpus were broader overall than the Protestants. The percentages of Scots forms used (calculated from the individual speaker totals in Table 5.2) are 57% for Catholics (females 57%, males 58%) and 54% for Protestants (females 59%, males 48%). Bearing in mind this sex difference in the Protestant totals, the large contribution of /er/ forms from two

male Protestants (see swerr and dare in Part II of Table 5.2) has perhaps exaggerated the gap in the totals to Table 5.1.

What we see here, then, is probably a small residual difference between Catholic and Protestant speakers. It may be that the ethnic difference is only manifest - as tends to be the case with many sociolinguistic variables - in conjunction with other social factors. Indeed it is sometimes suggested that middle-class Catholics, unlike middle-class Protestants, tend to use the /ɛr/ pronunciation. This is beyond the scope of the present study, which is concerned only with the working-class. In general, there do not appear to be distinctive Catholic and Protestant varieties of language in the East End of Glasgow, though this may not apply in every part of the old inner city. One does come across individuals (of Ulster Protestant as well as Catholic descent) who show particularly strong Hibernian English traits, just as one sees individuals whose facial features are strikingly Irish, but this variation from the general working-class norm could by now be on the idiolectal level, reflecting family history and continuing links with Ireland.[8] Up to about 1960 (Slavin, 1983), a high proportion of Catholic priests in Scotland were born in Ireland, and their speech might also be influential. Otherwise, community links with Ireland have weakened since the independence of Eire, and it is now the Ulster Protestant element who tend to emphasise Irish links.

I have treated /ɛr/ here as variation between two distinct phonemes. In practice, there is a degree of overlap in phonetic realisation, but the sound quality did not permit fine phonetic analysis, and each instance has been assigned to either /ɛ/ or /e/, bearing in mind the speaker's usual realisations of the two phonemes.

A number of words with Standard English /ar/ occur with both /ɛr, er/ variants in General Scots (see /ɛ ,e ~ a/ below). Since the /ɛr/ forms are not necessarily Glasgow forms, these items (e.g. marry) have not been counted under this head.

/ɛr/ is a variant with a large lexical base, despite half-a-dozen words which occurred only in Standard English forms.

Table 5.1 /ɛr/ and /er/ forms in a sample of 60 speakers

	Catholics							Protestants							All *		
	Female		Male		All			Female		Male		All					
	ɛ	e	ɛ	e	ɛ	e	%ɛ	ɛ	e	ɛ	e	ɛ	e	%ɛ	ɛ	e	%ɛ
merr	2	1	10	0	12	1	92	13	3	7	5	20	8	71	32	9	78
sterr	3	5	3	1	6	6	50	4	4	0	2	4	6	40	10	12	45
swerr	0	2	1	1	1	3	25	2	4	4	13	6	17	26	7	20	26
scare	0	0	0	0	0	0		2	0	0	0	2	0		2	0	
fair	4	1	0	0	4	1		3	0	1	2	4	2		8	3	
care	1	0	0	2	1	2		1	0	0	0	1	0		2	2	
compare	2	0	0	0	2	0		0	0	0	1	0	1		2	1	
hair	2	1	0	0	2	1		0	5	0	0	0	5		2	6	
hairy n.	0	0	1	0	1	0		1	0	0	0	1	0		2	0	
rare(ly)	1	1	0	0	1	1		2	0	0	0	2	0		3	1	
area	1	4	1	0	2	4		4	0	0	1	4	1		6	5	
dare	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	2	1	14	1	16		1	16	
pair	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	1	0	1	1		1	1	
square	1	0	1	0	2	0		0	1	0	2	0	3		2	3	
aware	0	0	1	0	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	
chair	3	0	0	0	3	0		1	1	0	0	1	1		4	1	
repair	5	0	0	0	5	0		0	0	0	0	0	0		5	0	
care	0	0	1	0	1	0		0	1	0	0	0	1		1	1	
Ayr	0	0	1	0	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	
fairy	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	4	0	4	0		4	0	
TOTALS	25	15	20	4	45	19	70	33	22	18	40	51	62	45	96	81	54

* Totals do not always agree with Figure 5.2 as there are two speakers whose religious background was not ascertained.

/aŋ/

Old English ăng /aŋg/ gives Modern Scots /aŋ/ as in lang. South of the Humber, ă apparently lengthened in this environment, the resulting ā moving to the back and rounding, like other ā in this region (see /e ~ o/ above), but then shortening to ŏ - now RP /ɒ/, Scottish Standard English /ɔ/ - before it could be raised in the Great Vowel Shift. This category of Scots forms is subject to erosion and transfer to /o/ (stroang below) on analogy with other Scots-Standard English variants in /o ~ ɔ/ (cf. also /a ~ ɔ/ below).[9] Such ahistorical forms are characteristic of dialect mixture, as we have seen.

/ɪ ~ u/

Old English ō /o:/ moves to the front north of the Humber, without unrounding, giving /ø:/.[10] This takes place late enough for a few Anglo-Norman loan-words like povre (poor) to join the native sound-change. French ü as in use also gives Older Scots /ø:/ (ü is the traditional philological symbol for this sound.) This Older Scots /ø:/ remains in some modern dialects, but in Central Scots it has unrounded to merge with /ɪ/ in one set of phonetic environments, /e/ in the other.[11] As an auxiliary verb, used is yist /jɪst/, but yaised /jezd/ as a main verb.

The corresponding vowel in Standard English would regularly be /u/ but there are other possibilities (RP /ʊ/ in foot, etc., /ʌ/ in other, etc.) because of developments peculiar to Standard English.

A rather large number of words in this category occurred with Standard English forms only, e.g. another, brother, mother, school, good, foolhardy, stood, soon, moon, truth and soot, boot (in the footwear sense, and of course in the slang sense). (Pit)bits was noted by 46F5PB and 66M6PB as a non-Glasgow item. On the other hand a girl in interview 1B produced the Scots fude /fɪd/ for food. Also recorded was /ɪm'pɪdns/ impudence (66F6PB). Such Scots forms of polysyllabic Romance loan-words are a refutation, as Speitel (1969) notes, of the notion that dialect speakers have a limited and purely concrete vocabulary. But book-learning has

probably driven them out to some extent amongst all but the oldest speakers, whose formal education was less extensive. On the other hand, the /ɪ/ forms were not uncommon in weakly stressed syllables, e.g. /stɪ'pɛndʌs/ (26M4PS), /'sɪrkɪlɪr/ (66M6PB) and /'pɛndɪlʌm/ (several men - the word occurred in connection with waggity-wa).

/u ~ ʌu/

Old English ū /u:/ remains /u/ north of the Humber, while in Standard English it has diphthongised in the Great Vowel Shift, giving RP [aʊ] in house, etc. The Scottish Standard English realisation was probably arrived at by giving these words the /ʌu/ of Scots loup, four, etc. Standard English only forms occurred in many words including such loans as cowboy, cow (in the slang sense), knockout and rounders. Foon for found (26F/PB) is apparently a hyperdialectism (in the terminology of Trudgill, 1986 - Ellis, 1964, calls these 'hypercorrect dialectal pronunciations').

/ɔ ~ a/

West Central Scots has /ɔ/ in a number of original /a/ words, especially before /n/ and /r/, e.g. stand, car, where Standard English and some other Scots dialects retain /a/. (An area of East Central Scots south of the Forth has a back and rounded realisation of /a/, but does not split the word class in this way. See Chapter 2, Maps 3 and 4.) Both /ɔ/ and /a/ variants are heard from Glasgow speakers, and the former are felt to be less correct:

> 66M3CC: But some i the - we used tae sorta say - instead i sayin bachle - that soundit toffy - they'd say bauchle. Just the same as - a pal i mine that died, Lachie McK--, but he got Lauchy, see, so it's the same thing. (56C)

> 46F11CC: an then see, ma Ma used tae say Ah was - Ah was really born tae be a lady, but never had the finance tae carry it out! Ah thoat Ah was a wee bit better than everybody else! (...) Never really used slang. An mine ye, Ah don't know how,

because Ah was broat up, ye know how among it aw, but Ah just never used it, ye know how an everybody sayed their 'Maw' an their 'Da', an Ah yaised tae say ma 'Daddy' and ma 'Ma'.
66F19CD: Ah used tae say ma 'faither'. Ma 'faither' an ma 'Maw', ye know.
46F11CC: Aye, everybody sayed 'their Maw' an Ah always sayed ma - Ah still say 'ma Ma'. An yet aw ma younger brothers an sisters sayed 'ma Maw'. An, know how, some i the granweans, ma younger sister's kids, they call ma Maw, 'their aul Maw'. They're 'gaun tae see ma aul Maw'. But Ah've always sayed 'Ma' an Ah always sayed 'Daddy'. (85C)

Ulster Scots has /a/ in such words, in agreement with Standard English (LAS, vol.3), and this may be relevant to the Glasgow dialect.

/o ~ ɔ/

Old English ŏ /o/ remains /o/ in most Scots dialects (south of the Moray Firth), while in Standard English it is lowered (RP /ɒ/). The Scottish Standard English realisation is written /ɔ/ by Aitken (1977 and CSD) and by Abercrombie (1979), and indeed it is the earlier long vowel of words like law (/ɔ:/ in Older Scots as in Standard English) which Scottish Standard English has substituted in the Scots /o/ category (this substitution being another example of dialect mixture). However, the phonetic realisation is considerably lower than RP /ɔ:/ and might equally well be written /ɒ/. I write /ɔ/ for the sake of consistency - the only word in which Glasgow speakers actually use an RP-like [ɔ:], in more or less conscious imitation of English accents, is the interjection Gawd.

The lexical base of /o/ is very large, although many words also occurred here in Standard English form only, inclusing slang items such as pop, bob, cop, mob, nut-job, john and bog. The common pronunciation of bloke as block (used here by 46M5PB) would seem to be hypercorrect (or hyper-slangy?). Corrt for court n. (16M6CS) is likewise hypercorrect.

As we saw, Scots items are being transferred into the /o/ class from /aɲ/. Similarly, forms like droap, toap, oaf, oaften occur. These might conceivably be original, but the unrounded forms drap, tap, aff, aften, are usual (see /a ~ ɔ / below, and Chapter 2, Map 3) so this probably represents a further transfer of /a/ forms in a process of dialect mixture. The loss of historical /x/ in brocht, thocht, caucht, bocht likewise leaves the vowel /o/ as the only distinctive feature of such words,[12] again reinforcing the /o ~ ɔ/ contrast. I have generally used the spelling <oa> to distinguish this vowel in the transcripts, although some regard this recent innovation as a barbarism, particularly in words like strang, drap, brocht.

/ɛ ,e ~ a/

The variation of Scots /ɛ/ and Standard English /a/, e.g. gless, has arisen from several developments (some disputed). Especially before /r/ there is also variation between /e/ and /ɛ/ in Scots (e.g. 46M9PS produced all three forms of marry in the space of twenty words).[13] In Glasgow dialect, /ɛr/ is reinforced by the local /er > ɛ r/ sound-change (see above).

26M3CS says razzered ('razored'), apparently a spontaneous, comic hypercorrection (to judge from the reaction of other people present).

/i ~ɛ/

The usual outcome of Older Scots and Middle English ē /ɛ:/ is /i/ in West Central Scots and this agrees with Standard English in most words (such as teach), but before /d/ Standard English has shortened the vowel to /ɛ/, whereas Scots has its regular outcome, e.g. heid.[14]

The place-names Greenheid, Parkheid and Toonheid all occurred. Deid occurred but not for the intensifier (e.g. 'dead lucky') which was always in the Standard English form.

/a ~ ɔ/

In the environment of labials, many words with Older Scots ŏ unrounded to /a/. Aitken (1977) dates this change to the fifteenth century. As well as the /a/ forms dealt with under this head, /o/ forms occurred for some items (see /o ~ ɔ/ above). These interdialect forms are counted as Standard English at this point, but Scots (in contrast to /ɔ/) above. (Cf. the treatment of forms like mair, merr v. more above.)

/e ~ u/

These are the outcomes of Older Scots /ø:/ unrounded in one set of environments (cf. /ɪ~ u/ above). Tae occurs for too, but too has not been counted in the enumeration of Standard English forms when it is a modifier (e.g. 'too far'). Here the Scots is not *tae but ower.

When this /e/ occurs before /r/ (e.g. poor, floor), the local /ɛr/ forms are available, though none happened to occur here.

/l/

Older Scots vocalised /l/ after the short vowels ă, ŏ, ŭ /a, o, u/ by the mid-fifteenth century. The largest lexical set is the ăl set, where the outcome in Central Scots is /ɔ/. The outcome of ŭl is /u/ as in shoulder (although unvocalised variants are found, cf. pull, full above). None of the /ʌu/ reflexes of ŏl (e.g. golf) occurred.

/v/

Older Scots vocalised /v/ in a range of environments, again by the mid-fifteenth century. (This is in addition to late Old English loss of /v/ in hawk, laird, etc.). Hae is rare, unstressed forms usually being further reduced to a /ʌ,I/, while 've also occurs. Siller and doo were mentioned.

/nd/

The consonant cluster /nd/ is generally reduced to /n/ in this dialect.[15] Some of the lexical items are also of interest for their vowel, so the convention has been adopted here of using an apostrophe to focus attention on a lost /d/, thus staun or staun'. And has not been counted, since reduced forms are universal in colloquial English. Although reduction does occur word-internally, it never occurred in this sample before the inflections -it / -ed or -in, and these environments have accordingly been left out of the calculations.

There are here signs of erosion of traditional Scots lexical incidence, particularly the appearance of interdialect forms like stroang and droap. Occasional hyperdialectisms are also a symptom of erosion: Trudgill (1986: 68) goes so far as to interpret these as a sign of 'dialect death' - younger speakers do not acquire the relevant dialect forms correctly and arrive at spurious forms by misanalysis of observed variation between the dialect and the standard. (Such forms may then become established in the dialect.) Slang lexis is borrowed in its English or American form, and is seldom adapted to Scots lexical incidence.

The existence of lexical conditioning, such that some words occurred in their Scots form with much higher frequency than others, should lead us to expect that for some words, the Standard English (or interdialect) form might replace the Scots entirely. It is unsafe to argue from negative evidence, but there is a cumulative impression of many words failing to occur in their Scots forms, in some categories more than others (especially /e ~ o/, /aŋ ~ ɔŋ/,/ɪ~ u/, /a ~ ɔ/). The loss of /x/ in words like broat is very striking as this consonant is a shibboleth of Scots and Scottish Standard English. Not even elderly speakers recorded in this study produced the Scots forms of nicht, brocht, etc. While these are not part of Scottish Standard English, the latter does have /x/ in many place and personal names as well as a few Gaelic loans such as loch. Glaswegians can be heard to produce /k/ variably even in these classes of lexis.

The situation would, however, seem to have stabilised, insofar as older and younger speakers have the same usages in this data.

5.3 The uneven survival of Scots

We have now seen that knowledge and use of some Scots words that we could describe as being on the weakening periphery of the vernacular, relates in a smooth curve to age (Chapter 4). On the other hand, there is little relationship (in fact a slight inverse one) between the age of speakers and the breadth of Scots produced in the samples analysed in this chapter. It now remains to examine the latter relationship more systematically.

Figure 5.4 shows in detail the scatter of Scots-ness across age already visible in the hierarchy of speakers in Figure 5.2. The lack of correlation does not mean that the diagram is uninformative. If we divide the quantity of Scots forms into 25% bands, we see that the broadest speakers (on this criterion) are under 30; between 75% and 50% the points are thoroughly scattered; under 50% are a few teenagers, especially girls; under 25% are a number of older men.

This reflects the self-consciousness of the older men being interviewed by a young woman, and the general self-consciousness of teenage girls, as well as the (related) difficulty of arranging group interviews with these categories of speakers (cf. Thomas, 1982, quoted in 2.2.4 above).[16]

Figure 5.4 Lexical incidence: % Scots forms (see Table 5.2) by age and sex

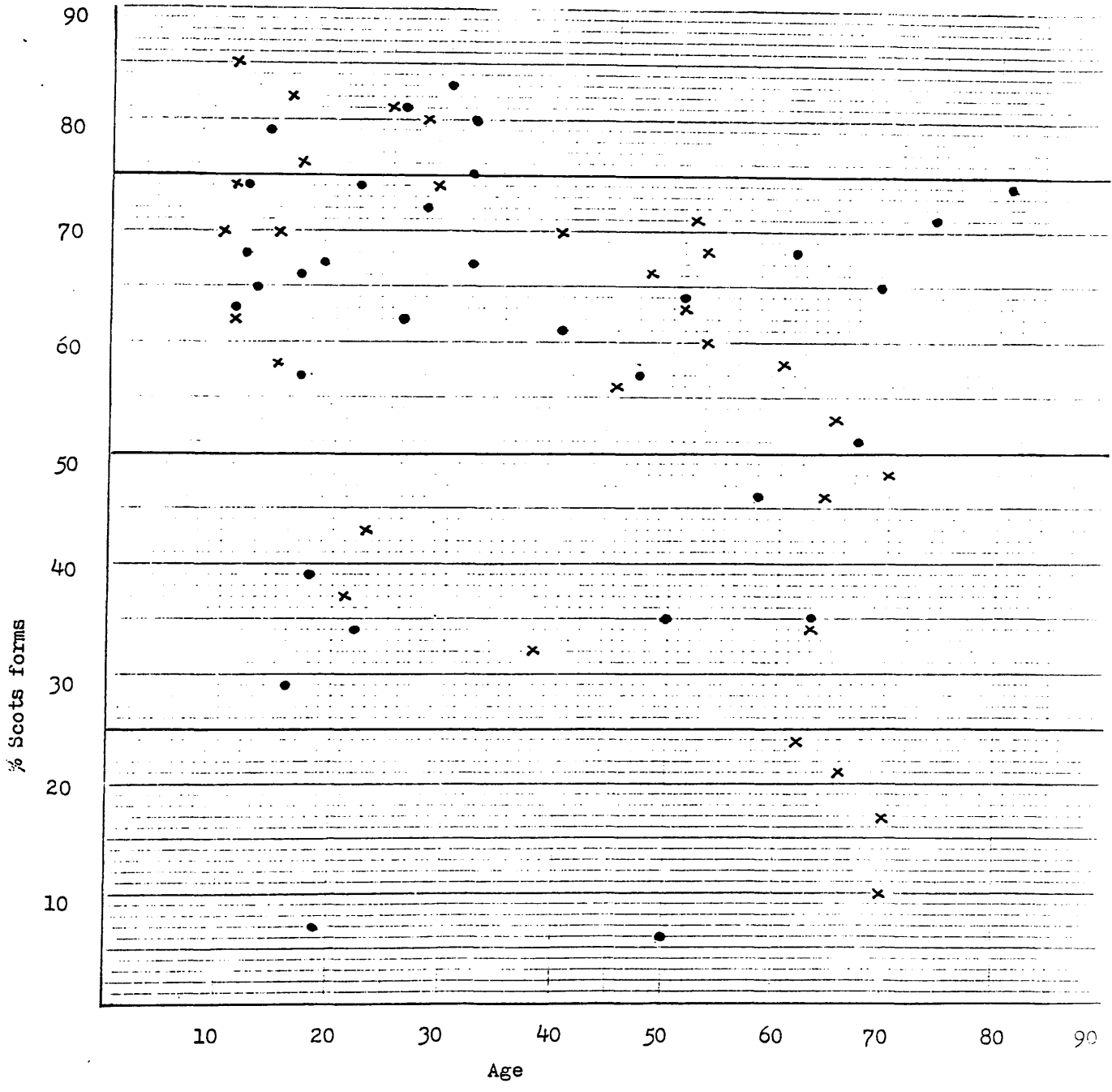
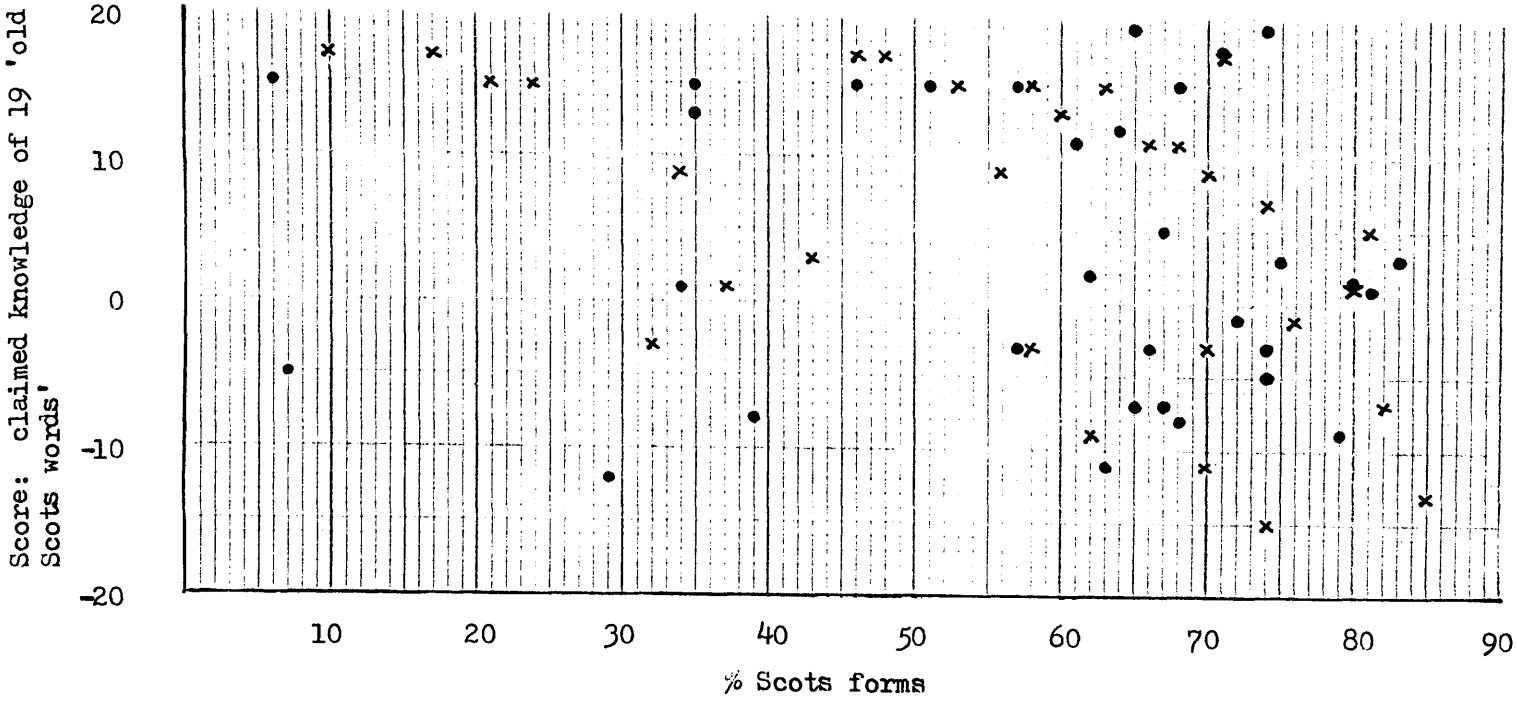


Figure 5.5 (K) Score (see Chapter 4) by % Scots lexical incidence



I would certainly concur with criticisms of the treatment of gender as a variable in sociolinguistics (see e.g. Cameron, 1985). Females are generally found to be more standard in their speech than males of the same age and class group. However, until recently, most of the fieldworkers have been male, and the requirement of good quality voice reproduction for phonetic analysis has furthermore created a preference for one-to-one interviews. The assumption of comparability between interviews conducted by the same fieldworker, with informants of both sexes, is simply not justified. We are left with the Observer's Paradox: we do not know how speakers behave when unobserved, and can only compare the samples of speech we obtain, and restrain our conclusions according to our awareness of factors influencing the data.

Figure 5.5 maps the scores for claimed knowledge of selected 'old Scots words' (Chapter 4) against the percentage of Scots forms (morphology and lexical incidence) in the material examined in this chapter. The high degree of scatter indicates the poor correlation between the two aspects of the dialect. Because of the good correlation of age with (K) (Figure 4.3), Figure 5.5 resembles Figure 5.4. (as its mirror image revolved through 90^{o}) and it is again in terms of age that we can best interpret it.

It would seem that recorded speech, if sufficiently broad, can give a good indication of speakers' range of dialect at the levels of lexical incidence and morphology (cf. Figure 5.3). Though not of such high frequency as other phonological variables, those of lexical incidence affect so much of the phoneme system in traditional dialects, particularly the vowels, that they are very much in evidence even in quite modest samples of vernacular speech.[17] Lexis, however, is an open system, and there is no inherent reason for a particular lexical item to occur even in an infinitely large sample. This chapter has confirmed that the decline of Scots is very uneven. It affects some linguistic levels more than others; some categories of lexical incidence more than others; some individual words more than others.[18] We see from Figure 5.5. that the other levels of dialect give no clue at all to the extent of the speaker's dialect vocabulary, which must

therefore be investigated by other means (as is done in this work). This implies too, that no extrapolations of the strength of local dialect can be made from existing sociolinguistic findings.

5.4 The future of Scots

There are frequent calls for Scots and Scottish Literature to be given a larger and more secure position in Scottish education, and indeed each generation will require more explicit instruction in the language before it can appreciate the Lowland cultural heritage. However, we must be realistic about what can be achieved (even leaving aside the question of the relative power of education and other influences). Educational interventions, and exposure to the folk tradition and the literary heritage, have their impact only on passive knowledge. This can keep words alive in a shadowy sort of way, but if this knowledge is not being transmitted through everyday practice, it will become dependent on formal education. The distinction is already becoming blurred between the remaining tradition-bearers and those who acquire the language in a less personal fashion, to the extent that Macaulay found with his small list of Scots words (1977: 55) that his middle-class informants knew more of them than his working-class ones. (Pollner, 1985c, also found this with the more 'classical' of his Scots words, for instance those taken from the LAS.)

As Scots lexis is eroded, it could be that the situation in Scotland will become more like that in the rest of the United Kingdom, where low prestige varieties are viewed mainly in negative terms as an educational problem (or paid a patronising and empty lip-service as 'equal' varieties). On the positive side, the distinctive vocabulary of Scots was profuse enough at the high point of the language's history to stand considerable depletion and still remain an important component; while Scots lexical incidence continues to be extensive and varied, giving dialect speakers a point of identification with, and entry to, potentially the whole historical corpus of the language. In this perspective, Glaswegians' own perception that they are speaking pretty plain (4.2 above) - even while outsiders think they are hearing broad dialect - is not without foundation.

1 In most group interviews there is a single person who does a disproportionately large amount of the talking, and in a group of three or more, this often meant that some individuals said very little (less than 500 words for the entire interview). Also, where there was a lot of discussion, this could mean that the fieldworker did not get far through the questionnaire. Some very interesting speakers have therefore been omitted from this exercise, which concentrates on the 62 who largely completed the questionnaire.

2 Although it might well have. Cf. Tom Leonard's:

> iz/ god said ti adam:// a doant kerr/ fyi caw it/ an apple/ ur/ an aippl -/ jist leeit/ alane!
>
> (from 'Unrelated Incidents 2', 1984: 87)

But one must have a consistent principle to apply.

3 The sequence is morphology, vowels, and consonants; but within these broad groups the arrangement is more or less arbitrary (the criterion being to keep each philological category on one page if possible).

4 The correlation is calculated using the product moment coefficient (r). The equation is:

$$r = \frac{n\Sigma xy - x\Sigma y}{\sqrt{[[n\Sigma x^2 - (\Sigma x)^2]\ [n\Sigma y^2 - (\Sigma y)^2]]}}$$

(Yeomans, 1968: 188). The significance of the result (expressed as the probability (p) of its occurring by chance) is calculated using the rough method of Rowntree (1981: 168): (r) is significant at the 5% level ($p < 0.05$) if it exceeds

$$2 \times \sqrt{\frac{1}{\text{sample size}}}$$

and at the 1% level ($p < 0.01$) if it exceeds

$$2.5 \times \sqrt{\frac{1}{\text{sample size}}}.$$

As a check for sampling bias, the correlation between range of lexical incidence and text length is $r = 0.228$, $p > 0.5$, i.e. a slight (not significant) positive correlation, which can be seen on a scatter diagram (not given here) to relate primarily to text samples of 600 words or less. The correlation betweeen % Scots lexical incidence and text length is $r = -0.272$, $p < 0.5$, i.e. a slight negative correlation, reflecting a sampling bias towards extracts of moderate length when satisfactorily broad.

5 Contrast the stereotyping of ken as a non-Glasgow word (Chapter 4). Miller (1982) also found that don't was more frequent than other -n't forms. His explanation is that dinnae, combining as it does a stem and a bound morpheme both in Scots forms, is particularly susceptible to correction. Pollner (1985a: 344) has an informant who cites dinnae as a non-Glasgow form picked up by her son after their move to Livingston.

The tendency is for don't know and dinnae ken to be tight collocations - excluding don't ken and dinnae know, although these may not be impossible in Glasgow dialect (I am told that don't ken is much heard in Orkney). This is unusual, however. Most of the features of morphology and lexical incidence investigated appear to collocate freely, implying that the social dialect continuum is not clearly stratified into individually focussed sociolects.

6 Wells (1982: 402) is misleading about this, writing of a merger between the /ʊ/ and /u/ classes in Scottish accents.

The geographical distribution of /ʌ/, /ʊ/ and /ʊ,ʌ/ as reflexes of ŭ is unusual. The relic form /ʊ/, which one would expect to occur in peripheral or isolated areas, occurs instead in most of England. The /ʊ,ʌ/ split in southern England is also rather irregular, with no clear phonetic conditioning. The timing of the split, the early part of the seventeeth century, coincides with the move of the Scottish court to London following the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and I would venture that it reflects a Scottish influence.

7 /ɛr/ is a stereotype of Glasgow speech in general. It was already noticed in 1892 (the MacDonald letter - see Chapter 1, note 30). In oral tradition, clippies (bus conductresses) were supposed to be told:

> Up them sterrs, catch them ferrs [i.e. passengers], and don't you stop for honey perrs.

There was no consistent pattern of variation by religion in Macaulay's five main variables (/ɪ, u, a, ʌu/ and the glottal realisation of /t/) (1977: 49). In Liverpool, another city with a large Irish element in the population, dental or alveolar plosives /t,d/ for the fricatives /θ,ð/ are virtually restricted to working-class Catholics (Wells, 1982: 371, citing Knowles). This latter variable did not occur frequently enough in the present sample to allow of investigation.

8 Cf. Newbrook (1982) who describes a Merseyside individual with Scottish traits in his speech, picked up from his mother, in the context of a very family-centred existence.

9 However, loang, wroang, doag and noat, which puzzle readers of George Douglas Brown's The House with the Green Shutters (1901, set in Ayrshire) did not occur. McClure (1971-72:

160) finds these 'remarkably suggestive of working-class Glasgow speech.' Trotter (1901) gives awoe (vowel as in go) = awa as an example of 'Glasgow-Irish'. This would seem to be a persistent tendency, although the forms so created do not automatically become established.

10 Some writers (e.g. Murison, 1977) distinguish [ø] and [y], but this is a matter of phonetic realisation, not of phoneme system.

11 Specifically /I/ in the 'short' environments of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, /e/ in the 'long' environments. The 'long' environments are a following /r/, voiced fricative or morpheme boundary. The 'short' environments are the remainder. Vowel length varies according to phonetic environment in Scots and Scottish Standard English, and is not an attribute of particular phonemes as in RP (Aitken, 1981).

One second year boy at Albert Secondary School wrote <hiary foot>, i.e '(to take a) hairy fit'.

12 Hence local amusement at the expense of people living in boat-hooses.

13 /ɛ/ is the regular outcome in words like after = Anglian efter (Zai, 1942: 57). In e.g. glass, Glasgow, Older Scots /a/ has raised to /ɛ/ in the Modern Scots period.

Where /e/ is an additional possibility, it could result from Older Scots lengthening of ă, the resulting ā being raised by the Great Vowel shift to /e/. Also, the Great Vowel Shift takes the ā through an intermediate /ɛ:/ stage, and re-shortening at this stage would give /ɛ/. On the other hand, /ɛ/ could arise from straightforward raising of /a/ as in words like glass, which show no /e/ forms (see Dieth, 1932; Zai, 1942).

14 M: You fae Glesca tae? [negative response] Another foreigner.
F: Born an bred.
F: That's no 'born an bread', that's born an breid! Ye goat breeded! (12F)

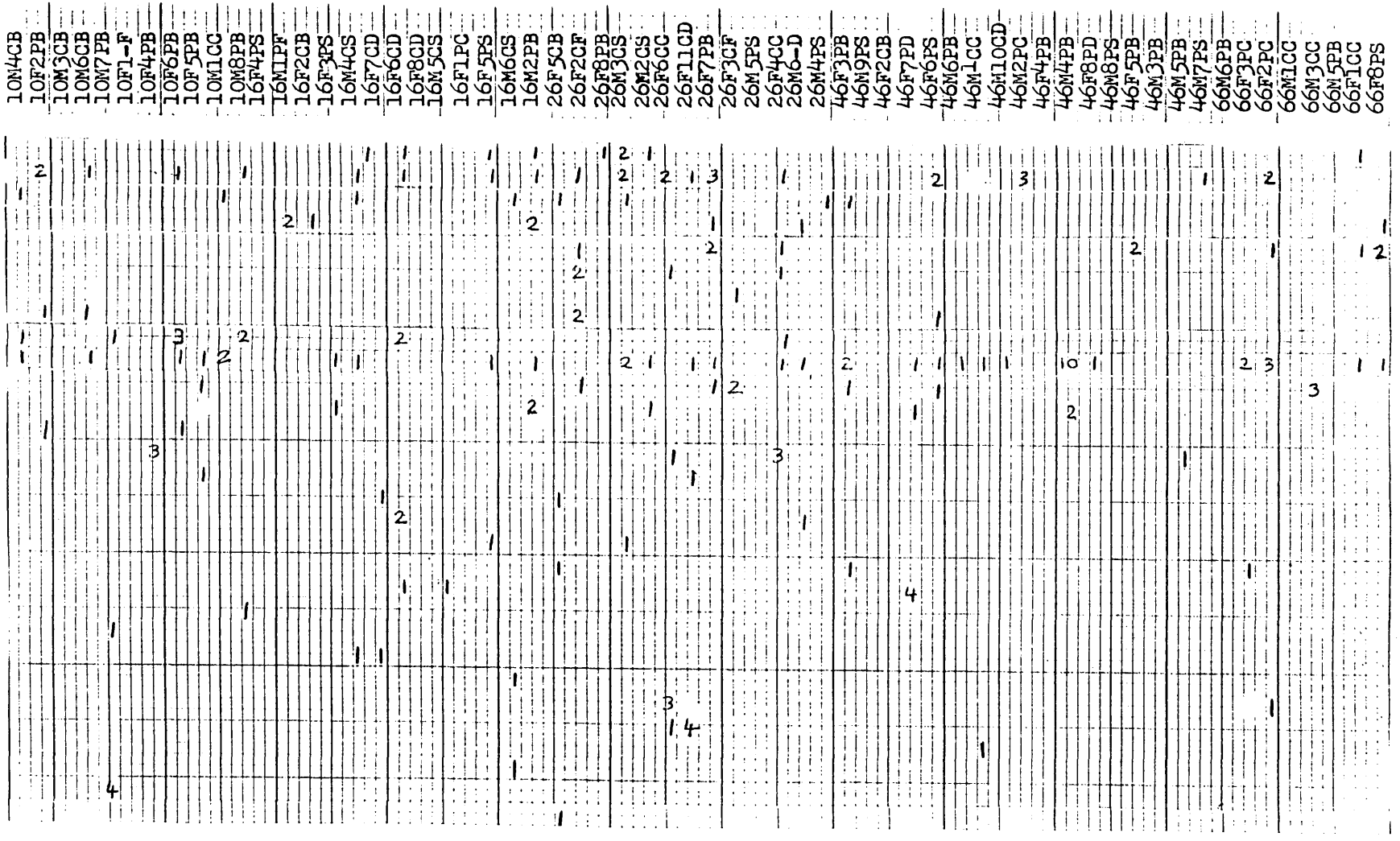
15 In LAS vol.3, /n/ forms are recorded in the footnotes to the lists. The lack of localities in West Lothian, Peebles and Selkirk means that the area where /d/ is generally retained coincides neatly with the counties of Midlothian, East Lothian, Berwick and Roxburgh.

16 Interviewing in pairs or in the presence of others was no substitute for the successful group interview. On the other hand, one-to-one and pair interviews were sometimes resorted to with women, young girls and boys, without this effect (for details of the interviews see Appendix E).

17 Phoneticians (e.g. Abercrombie, 1979) and even the dialectologist Francis (1983) dismiss differences of lexical incidence as trivial. Nothing could be further from the truth when considering traditional dialect.

18 J. Milroy (1980) found a similar unevenness in the loss of dialect word-forms in Belfast.

Table 5.2 **Scots forms cont.**



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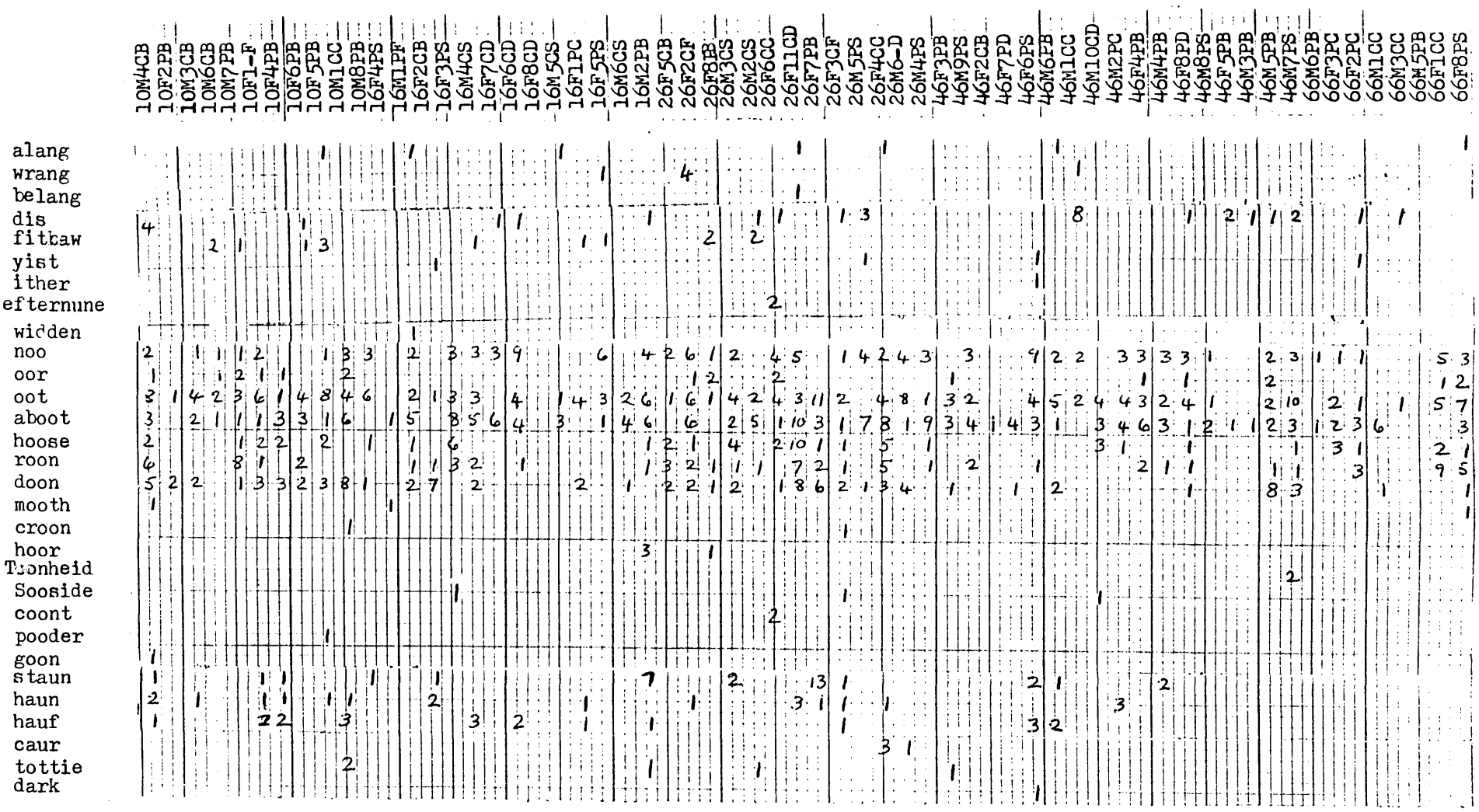

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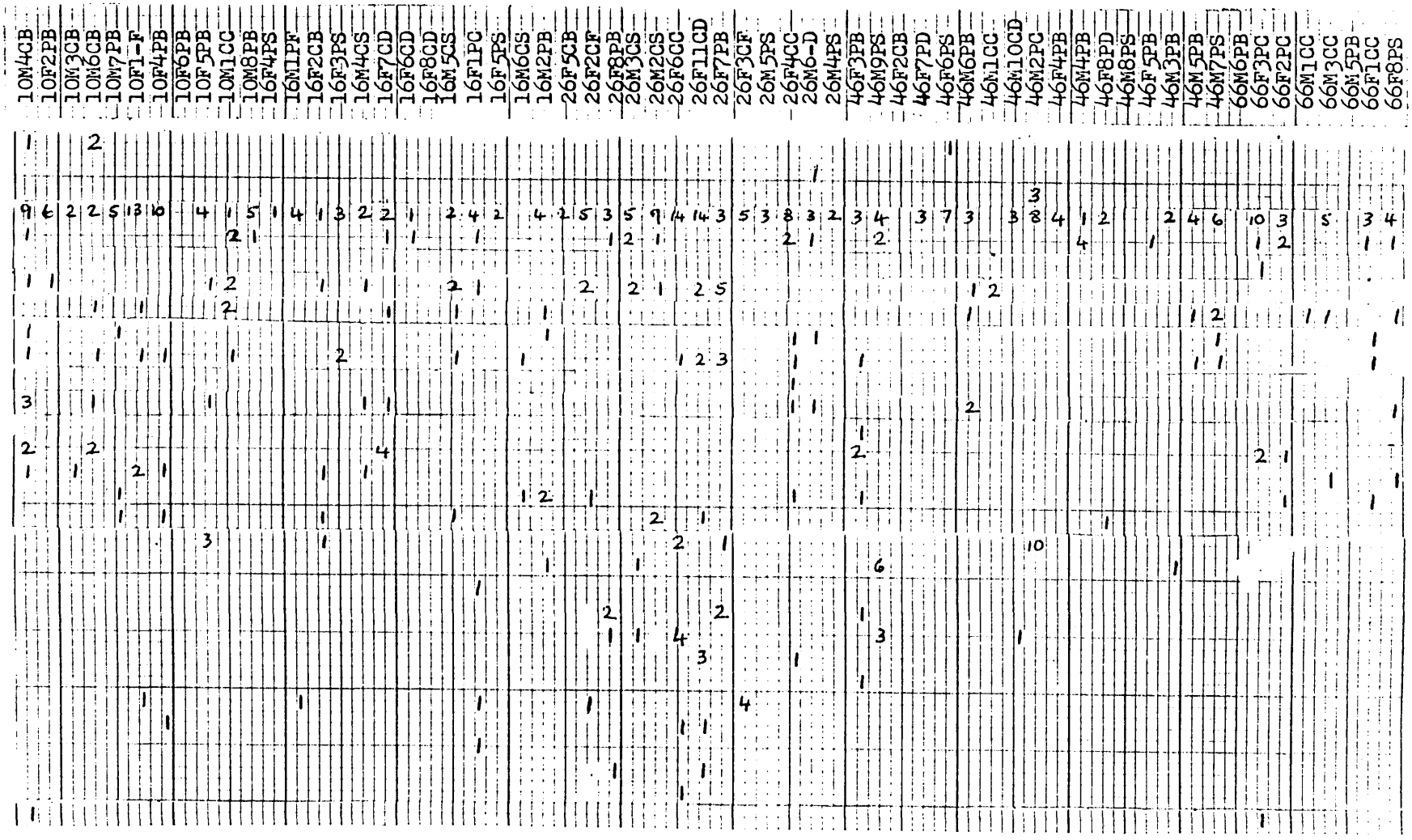

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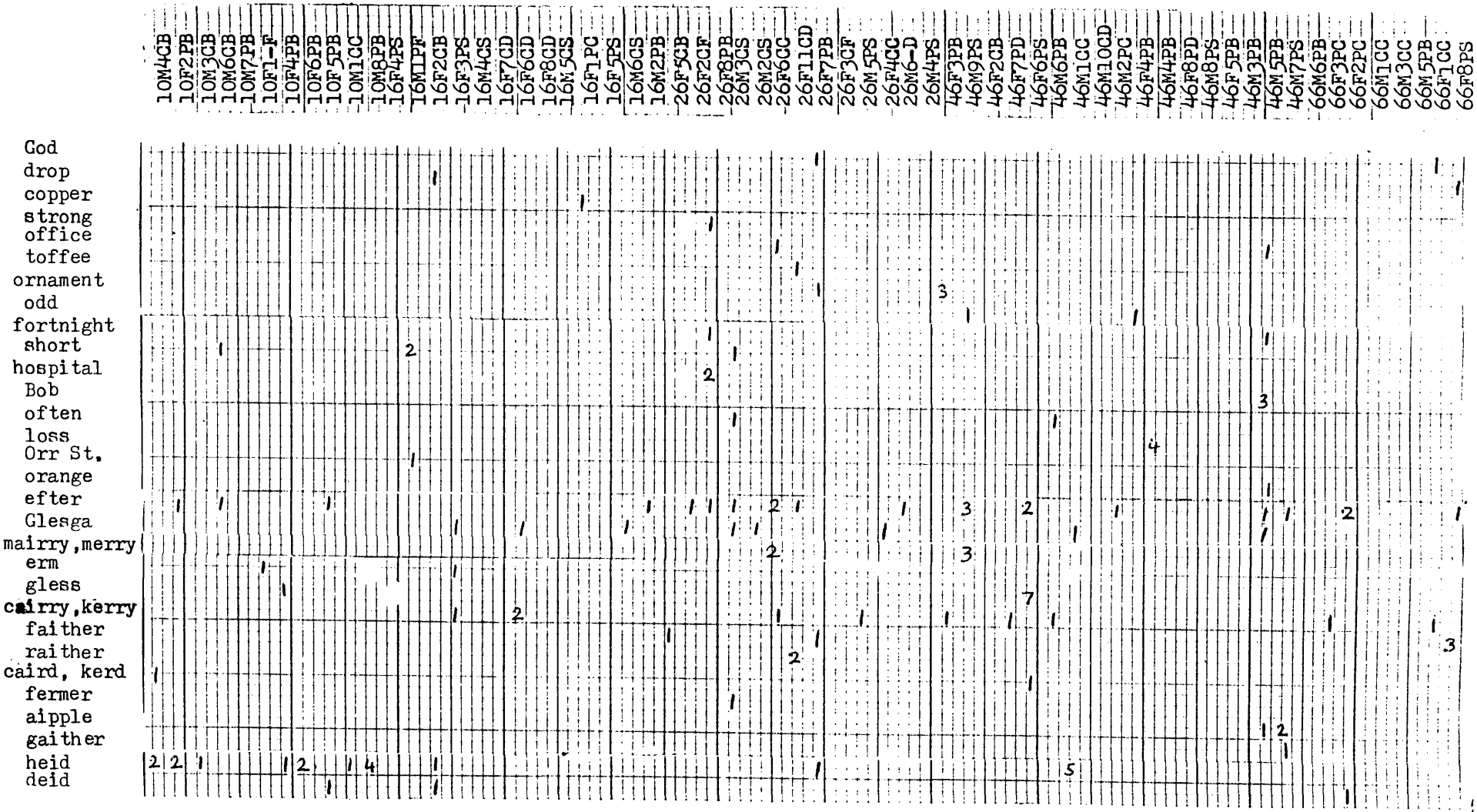
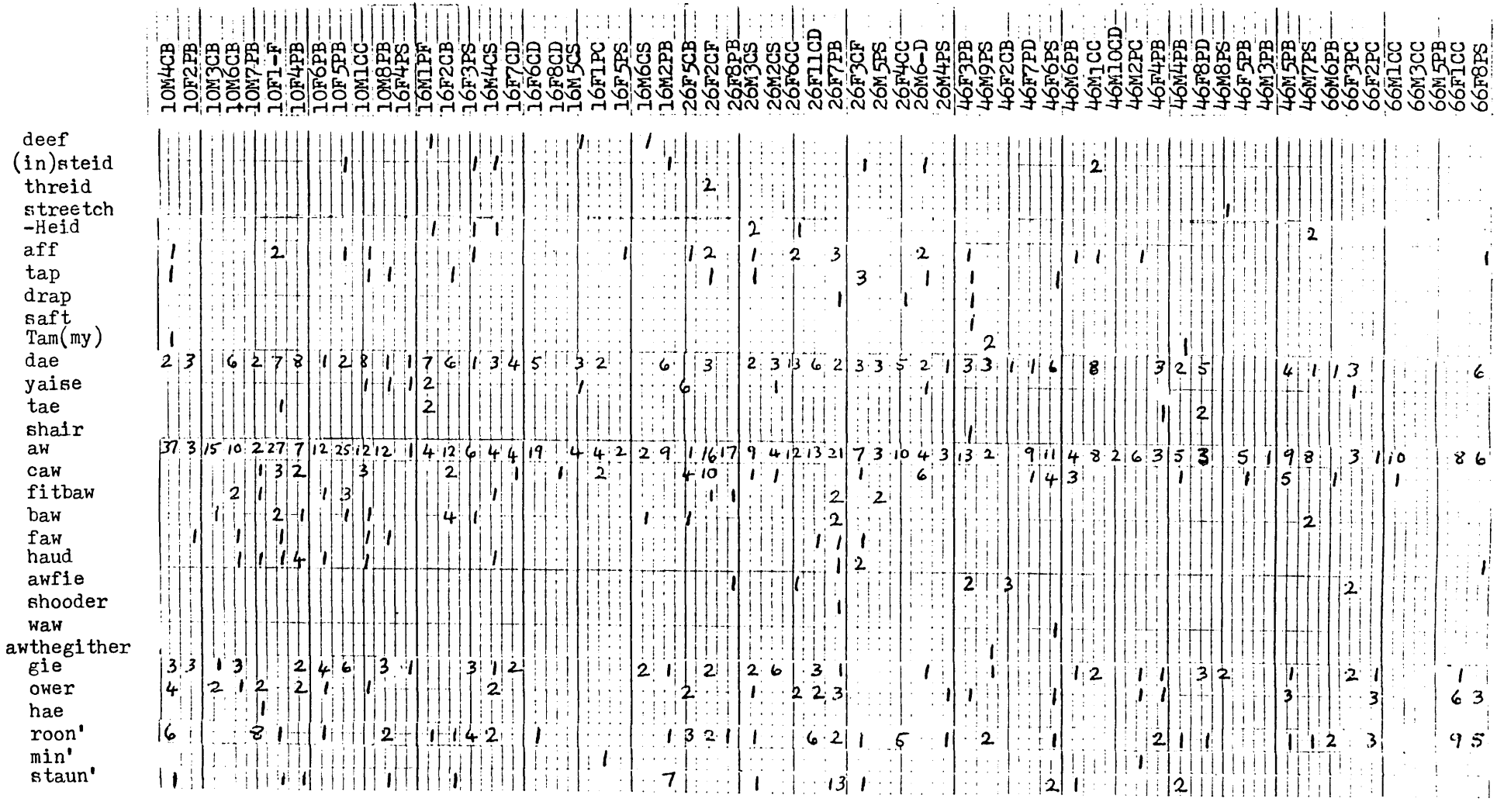


Scots forms cont.

Table 5.2 Scots forms cont.



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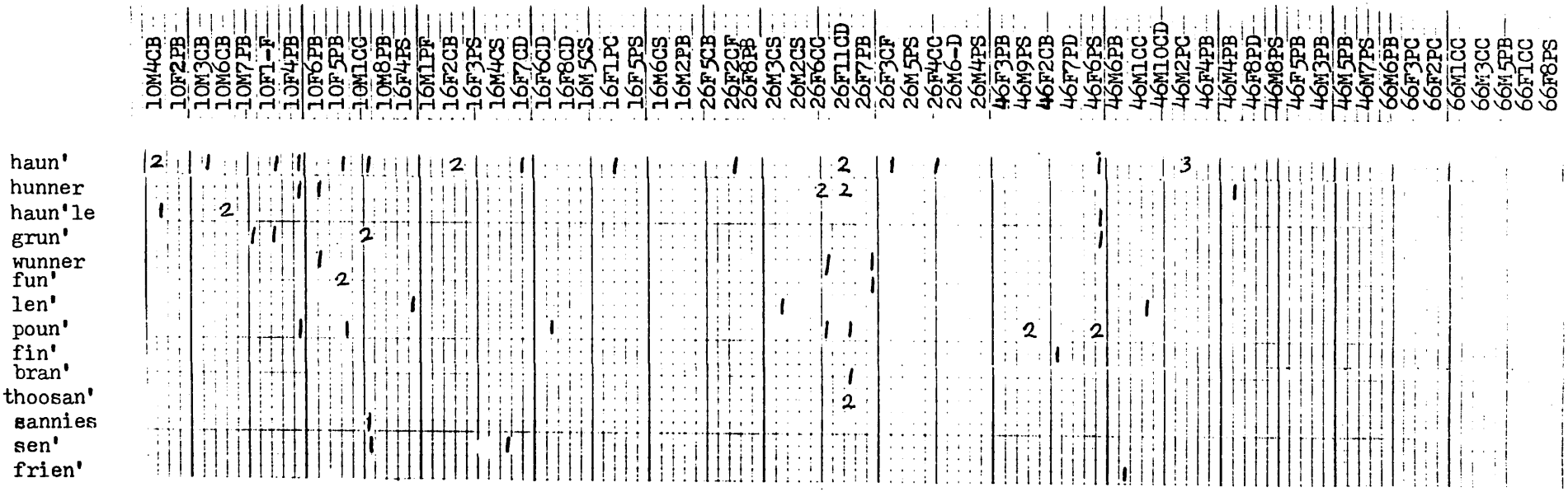


cont.

Table 5.2 cont. Part II: Standard English forms.

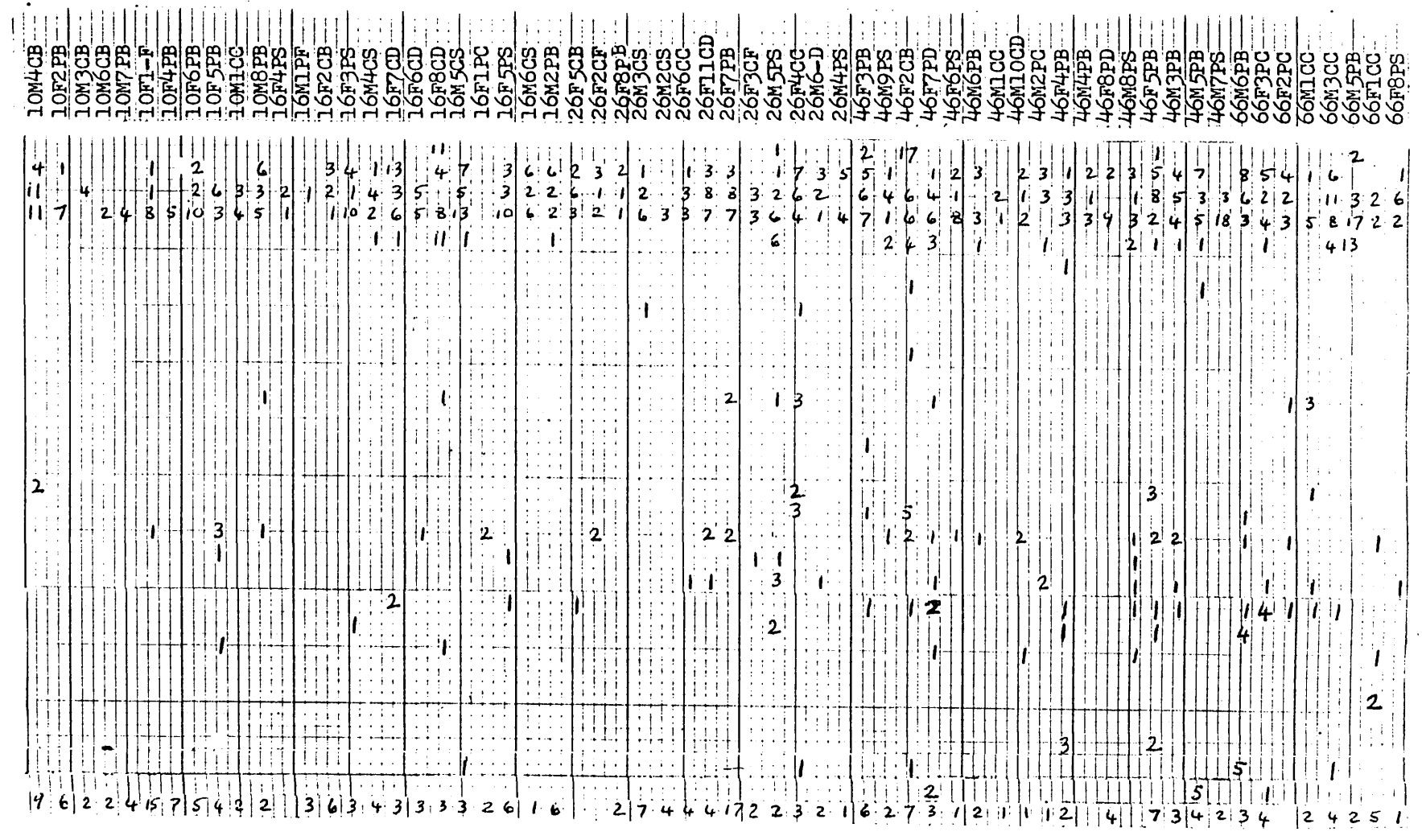


Table 5.2 Standard English forms cont.

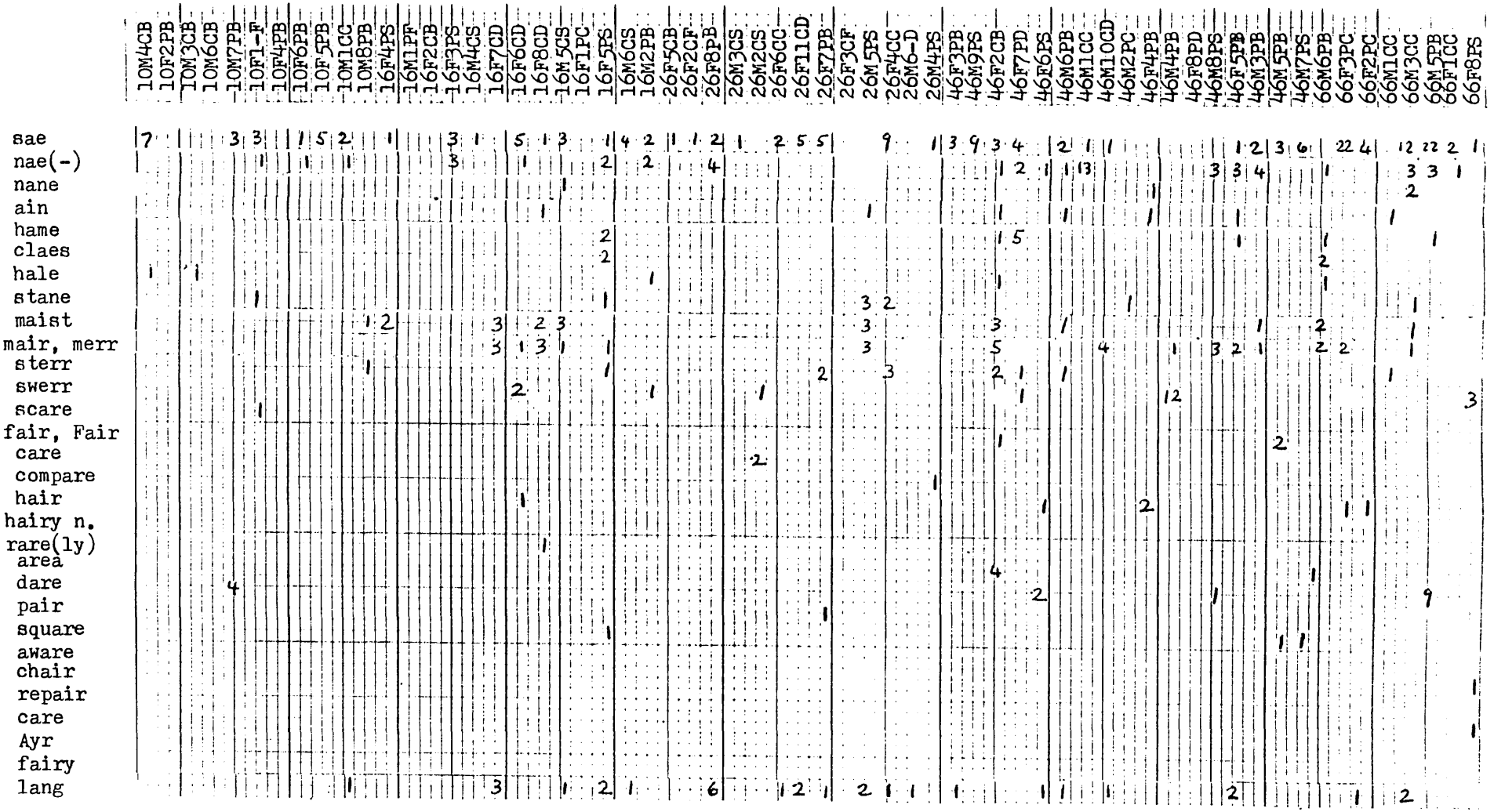


Table 5.2 Standard English forms cont.

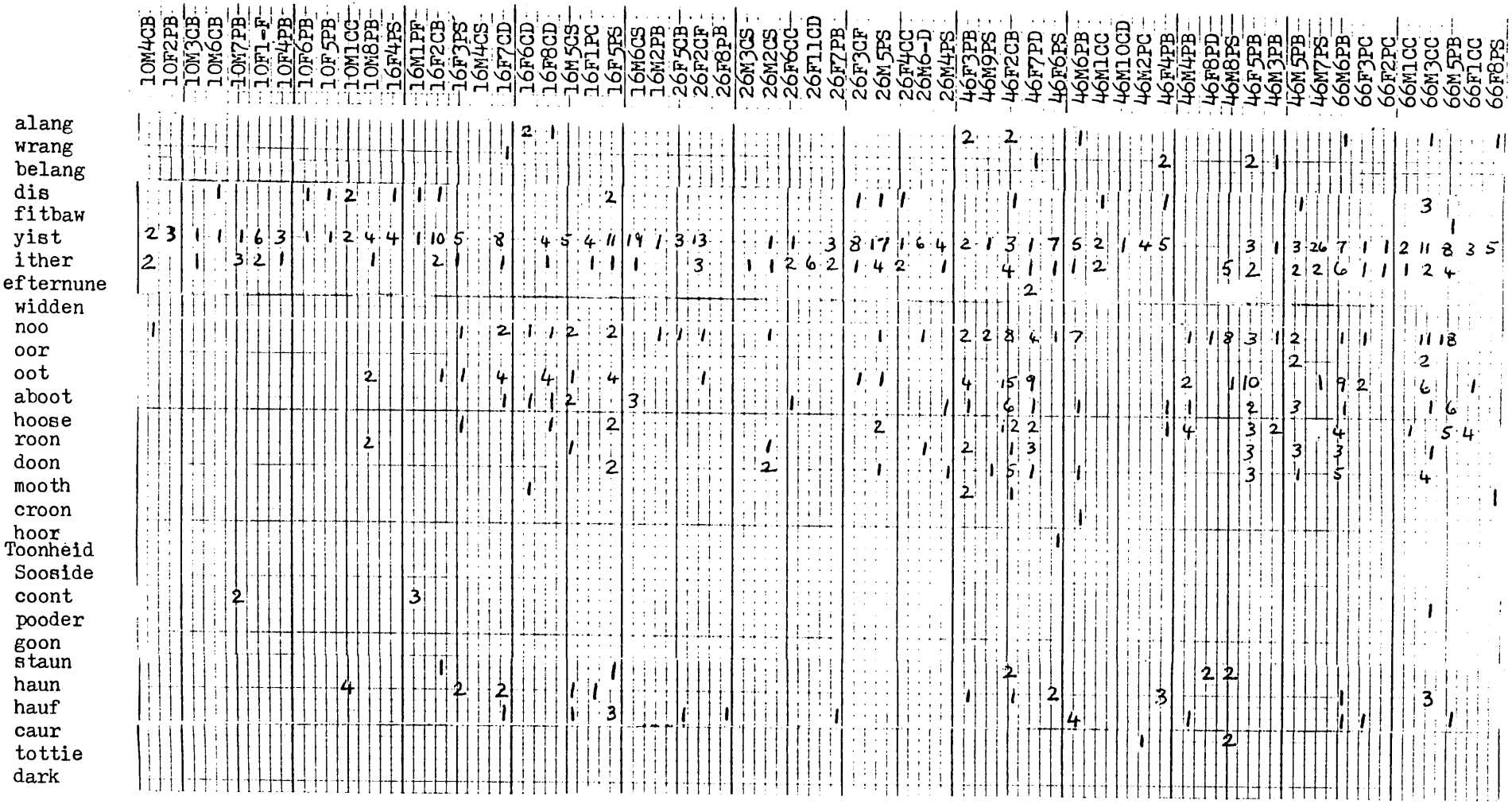


Table 5.2 Standard English forms cont.

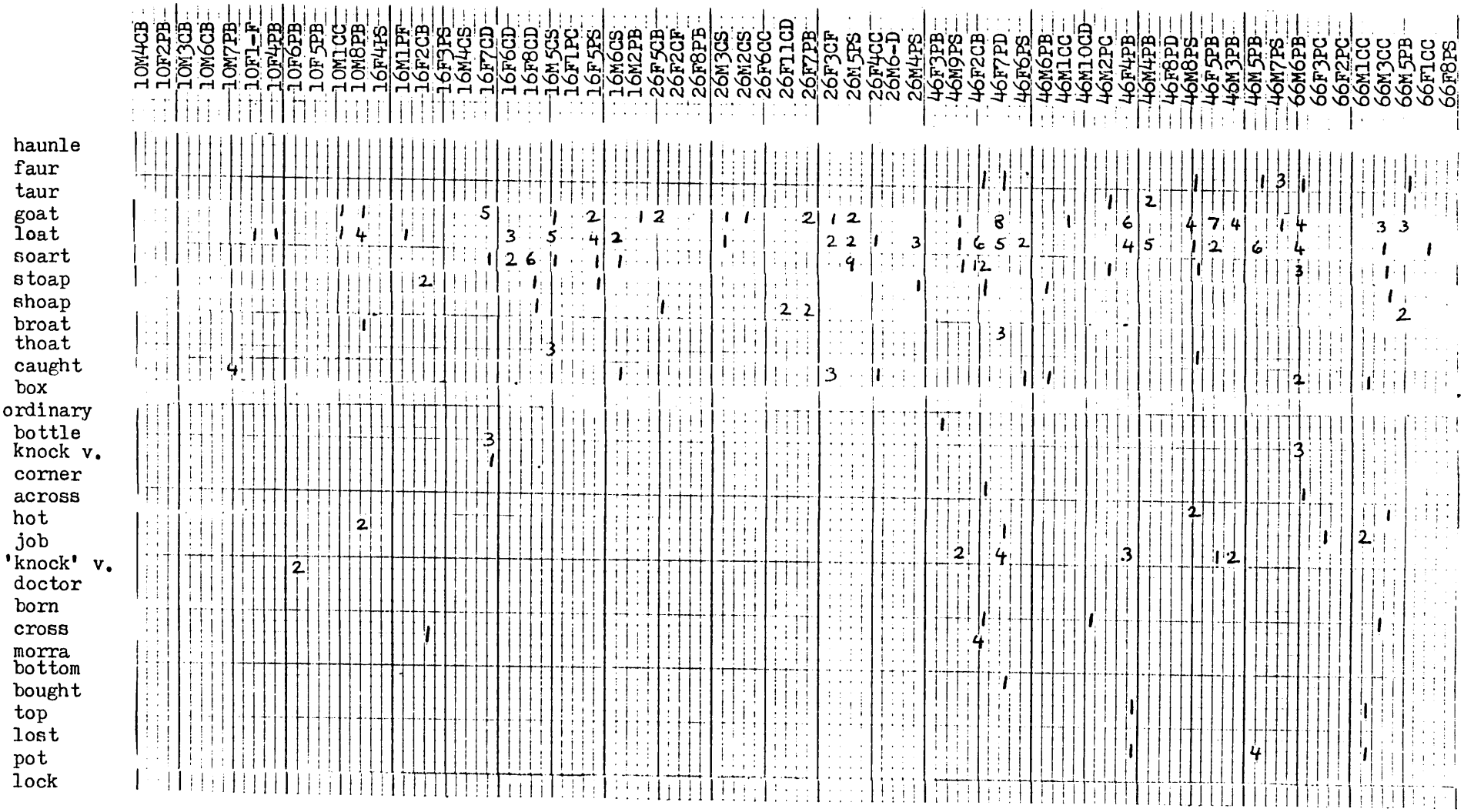


Table 5.2 **Standard English forms cont.**

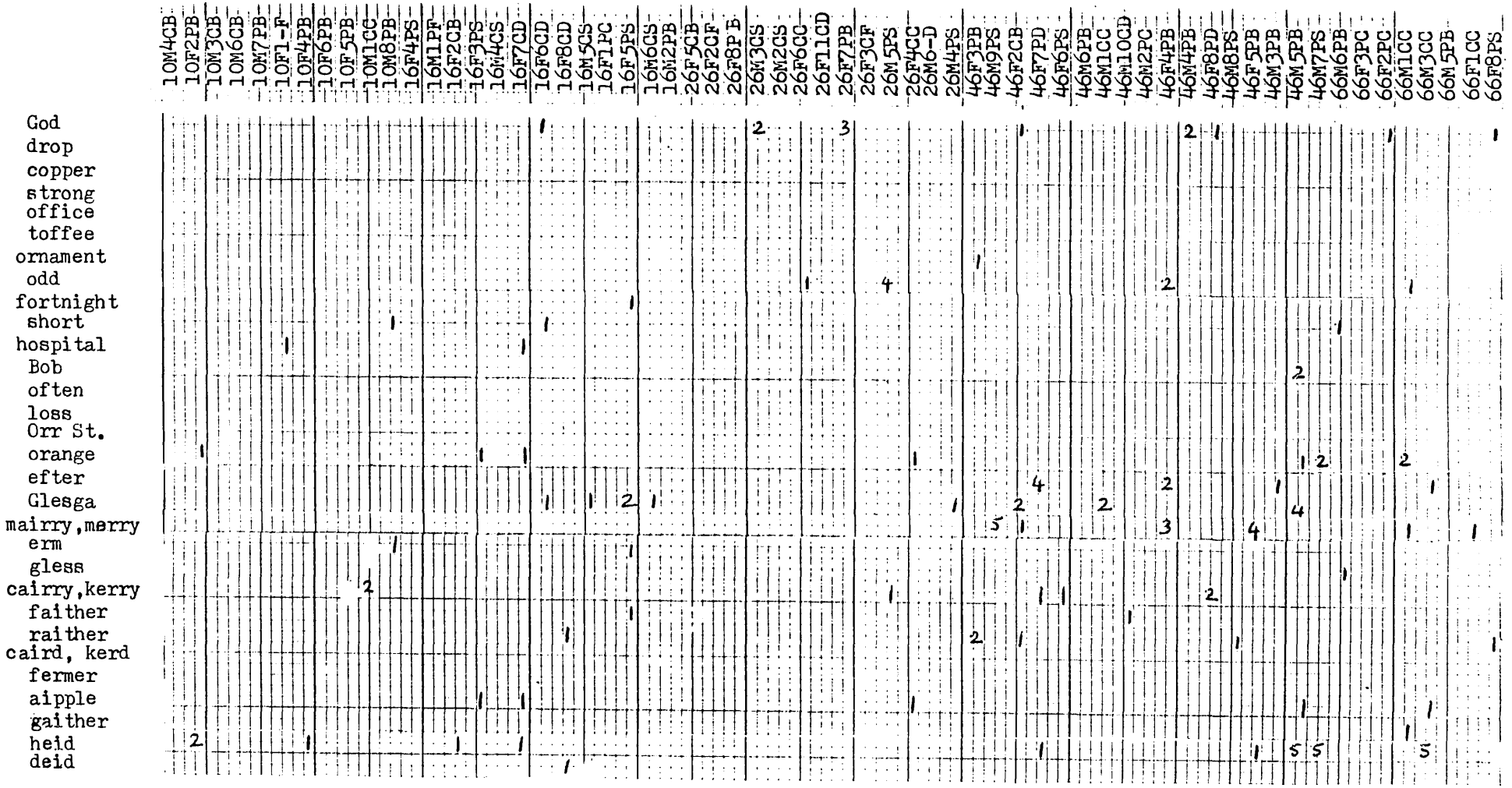


Table 5.2 Standard English forms cont.

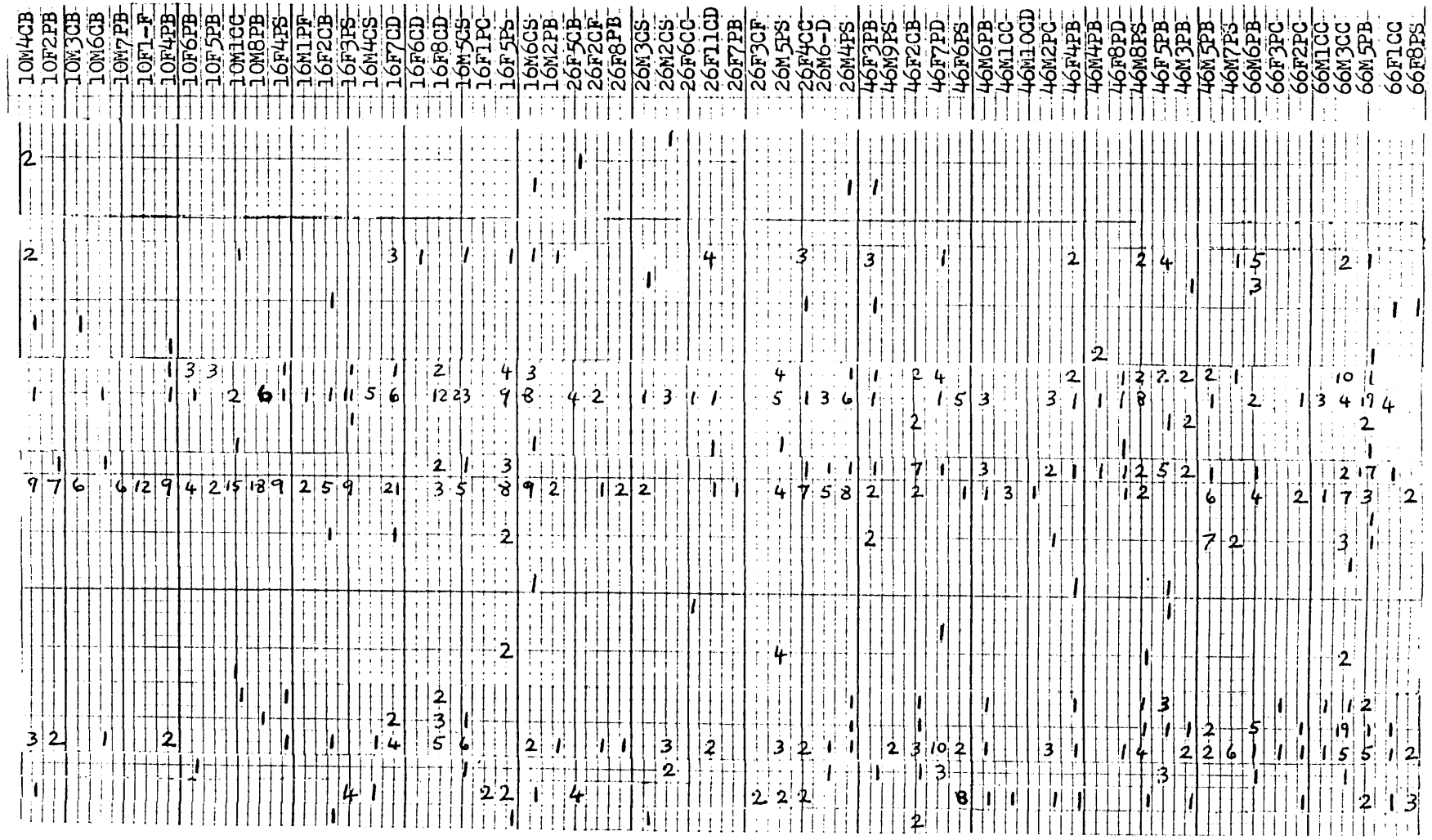


Table 5. 2 **Standard English forms cont.**

	10M4CB	10F2PB	10M3CB	10M6CB	10M7PB	10F1-F	10F4PB	10F6PB	10F5PB	10M1CC	10M8PB	16F4PS	16M1PF	16F2CB	16F3PS	16M4CS	16F7CD	16F6CD	16F8CD	16M5CS	16F1PC	16F5PS	16M6CS	16M2PB	26F5CB	26F2CF	26F8PB	26M3CS	26M2CS	26F6CG	26F11CD	26F7PB	26F3CF	26M5PS	26F4CC	26M6-D	26M4PS	46F3PB	46M9PS	46F2CB	46F7PD	46F6PS	46M6PB	46M1CC	46M10CD	46M2PC	46F4PB	46M4PB	46M8PD	46M8PS	46F5PB	46M3PB	46M5PB	46M7PS	66M6PB	66F3PC	66F2PC	66M1CC	66M3CC	66M5PB	66F1CC	66F8PS
haun'										4					2		1			1										1																																		
hunner					2																		1							7	1																																
haun'le																														2																																
grun'																						1							1																																	
wunner																		1																																														
fun'																																																																	
len'																																																																	
poun'									1																					2	4																																
fin'					2										2			1									1						1																														
bran'																															1																																
thoosan'																																																																	
sannies																																																																	
sen'															1				1								2																																				
frien'																																																																		

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 5.2 cont.

TOTALS	Females				Males				All			
	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots
-in	677	31	708	96	523	3	526	99	1200	34	1234	97
-t	23	78	101	23	4	80	84	5	27	158	185	15
-it	6	101	107	6	8	84	92	9	14	185	199	7
dinnae	5	156	161	3	1	142	143	1	6	298	304	2
-nae	157	21	178	88	173	34	207	84	330	55	385	86
took p.p.	0	1	1		1	0	1		1	1	2	
went p.p.	4	1	5		1	1	2		5	2	7	
came p.p.	0	1	1		2	1	2		2	2	4	
wroten "	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
gied,gave"	2	1	3		1	0	1		3	1	4	
knew p.p.	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
saw p.p.	1	8	9		0	5	5		1	13	14	
fell p.p.	1	0	1		1	0	1		2	0	2	
broke p.p.	0	1	1		2	0	2		2	1	3	
spoke p.p.	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
done p.t.	13	5	18	72	12	3	15	80	25	8	33	76
seen p.t.	2	9	11		4	1	5		6	10	16	
come p.t.	8	21	29	28	3	9	12	25	11	30	41	27
run p.t.	1	3	4		2	2	4		3	5	8	
tane p.t.	0	5	5		3	9	12		3	14	17	
waant	38	15	53	72	22	5	27	81	60	20	80	75
waash	7	3	10		5	6	11		12	9	21	
watter	12	4	16		4	2	6		16	6	22	
waallop	1	0	1		1	0	1		2	0	2	
waarm	1	2	3		0	0	0		1	2	3	
swallow	0	0	0		4	0	4		4	0	4	
full	5	5	10		1	0	1		6	5	11	
pull	6	2	8		3	7	10		9	9	18	
wumman	15	3	18		6	5	11		21	8	29	
gae	2	135	137	1	0	81	81	0	2	216	218	1
sae	5	85	90	6	4	82	86	5	9	167	176	5
nae(-)	17	20	37	46	10	31	41	24	27	51	78	37

cont.

Table 5.2 cont.

TOTALS	Females				Males				All			
	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots
nane	2	1	3		6	3	9		8	4	12	
ain	3	4	7		5	3	8		8	7	15	
hame	10	9	19		0	2	2		10	11	21	
claes	4	2	6		0	2	2		4	4	8	
hale	1	1	2		0	4	4		1	5	6	
stane	4	4	8		1	5	6		5	9	14	
maist	6	10	16		4	12	16		10	22	32	
mair,merr	19	17	36	53	23	16	39	59	42	33	75	56
sterr	7	9	16		3	3	6		10	12	22	
swerr	2	6	8		5	14	19		7	20	27	
scare	2	1	3		0	0	0		2	1	3	
fair,Fair	7	1	8		1	2	3		8	3	11	
care	2	0	2		0	2	2		2	2	4	
compare	2	0	2		0	1	1		2	1	3	
hair	2	6	8		1	0	1		3	6	9	
hairy n.	1	0	1		1	0	1		2	0	2	
rare(ly)	3	1	4		0	0	0		3	1	4	
area	5	4	9		1	1	2		6	5	11	
dare	0	2	2		1	14	15		1	16	17	
pair	0	1	1		1	0	1		1	1	2	
square	1	1	2		1	2	3		2	3	5	
aware	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
chair	4	1	5		0	0	0		4	1	5	
repair	5	0	5		0	0	0		5	0	5	
care	0	1	1		1	0	1		1	1	2	
Ayr	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
fairy	0	0	0		4	0	4		4	0	4	
lang	1	21	22		0	10	10		1	31	32	
alang	4	8	12		3	3	6		7	11	18	
wrang	5	6	11		1	1	2		6	7	13	
belang	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	

cont.

Table 5.2 cont.

TOTALS	Females				Males				All			
	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots
dis	9	10	19	47	22	10	32	69	31	20	51	61
fitbaw	8	0	8		6	1	7		14	1	15	
yist	3	120	123	2	1	136	137	1	4	256	260	2
ither	1	36	37	3	0	40	40	0	1	76	77	1
efternune	2	2	4		0	0	0		2	2	4	
widden	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
noo	70	29	99	71	53	58	111	48	123	87	210	59
oor	13	0	13		8	4	12		21	4	25	
oot	96	57	153	63	89	23	112	79	185	80	265	70
aboot	84	15	99	85	90	19	109	83	174	34	208	84
hoose	42	26	68	62	16	18	34	47	58	44	102	57
roon	50	9	59	85	26	12	38	68	76	21	97	78
doon	51	11	62	82	43	16	59	73	94	27	121	78
mooth	2	5	7		1	0	1		3	5	8	
croon	1	0	1		1	1	2		2	1	3	
hoor	1	1	2		3	0	3		4	1	5	
Toonheid	0	0	0		2	0	2		2	0	2	
Sooside	2	0	2		1	0	1		3	0	3	
coont	2	0	2		0	6	6		2	6	8	
pooder	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
goon	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
staun	19	6	25	76	14	2	16	87	33	8	41	80
haun	13	12	25	52	7	9	16	44	20	21	41	49
hauf	11	8	19		10	8	18		21	16	37	
caur	3	0	3		1	3	4		4	3	7	
tottie	1	0	1		4	0	4		5	0	5	
dark	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
haunle	1	0	1		3	0	3		4	0	4	
faur	0	2	2		1	7	8		1	9	10	
taur	0	0	0		3	3	6		3	3	6	

cont.

Table 5.2 cont.

TOTALS	Females				Males				All			
	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots
goat	140	33	173	81	94	29	123	76	234	62	296	79
loat	12	32	44	27	14	37	51	27	26	69	95	27
soart	1	22	23	4	0	18	18	0	1	40	41	2
stoap	13	5	18		12	3	15		25	8	33	
shoap	3	6	9		11	2	13		14	8	22	
broat	2	3	5		5	1	6		7	4	11	
thoat	13	0	13		7	4	11		20	4	24	
caught	1	5	6		0	9	9		1	14	15	
box	4	0	4		8	0	8		12	0	12	
ordinary	1	1	2		0	0	0		1	1	2	
bottle	9	3	12		4	3	7		13	6	19	
knock v.	5	1	6		4	0	4		9	1	10	
corner	5	1	6		4	1	5		9	2	11	
across	4	0	4		4	3	7		8	3	11	
hot	7	2	9		10	4	14		17	6	23	
job	0	8	8		9	4	13		9	12	21	
'knock' v.	1	2	3		0	0	0		1	2	3	
doctor	5	0	5		0	0	0		5	0	5	
born	5	1	6		5	2	7		10	3	13	
cross	4	5	9		0	0	0		4	5	9	
morra	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
bottom	7	1	8		1	0	1		8	1	9	
bought	3	1	4		0	1	1		3	2	5	
top	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
lost	2	1	3		0	5	5		2	6	8	
pot	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
lock	1	0	1		1	0	1		2	0	2	
God	2	8	10		0	4	4		2	12	14	
drop	2	0	2		0	0	0		2	0	2	
copper	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	

cont.

Table 5.2 cont.

TOTALS	Females				Males				All			
	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots
strong	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
office	1	0	1		1	0	1		2	0	2	
toffee	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
ornament	4	1	5		0	0	0		4	1	5	
odd	1	3	4		1	5	6		2	8	10	
fortnight	1	1	2		1	0	1		2	1	3	
short	0	1	1		4	2	6		4	3	7	
hospital	2	2	4		0	0	0		2	2	4	
Bob	0	0	0		3	2	5		3	2	5	
often	0	0	0		2	0	2		2	0	2	
loss	0	0	0		4	0	4		4	0	4	
Orr St.	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
orange	0	4	4		1	5	6		1	9	10	
efter	12	6	18		10	2	12		22	8	30	
Glesga	3	5	8		5	9	14		8	14	22	
mairry merry	2	9	11		3	6	9		5	15	20	
erm	2	1	3		0	1	1		2	2	4	
gless	8	0	8		0	1	1		8	1	9	
cairry kerry	8	4	12		2	3	5		10	7	17	
faither	5	1	6		0	1	1		5	2	7	
raither	2	5	7		0	1	1		2	6	8	
caird,kerd	1	0	1		1	0	1		2	0	2	
fermer	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
aipple	0	3	3		3	2	5		3	5	8	
gaither	0	0	0		1	1	2		1	1	2	
heid	7	7	14		13	15	28		20	22	42	
deid	3	1	4		0	0	0		3	1	4	
deef	0	0	0		3	1	4		3	1	4	
(in)steid	3	1	4		5	2	7		8	3	11	
threid	2	1	3		0	2	2		2	3	5	

cont.

Table 5.2 cont.

TOTALS	Females				Males				All			
	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots
streetch	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
-Heid	2	0	2		6	0	6		8	0	8	
aff	15	22	37		8	17	25		23	39	62	
tap	7	0	7		5	5	10		12	5	17	
drap	3	5	8		0	0	0		3	5	8	
saft	1	0	1		0	2	2		1	2	3	
Tam(my)	0	1	1		4	3	7		4	4	8	
dae	100	28	128	78	68	26	94	72	168	54	222	76
yaise	8	65	73	11	7	109	116	6	15	174	189	8
tae	4	4	8		2	4	6		6	8	14	
shair	1	2	3		0	4	4		1	6	7	
aw	281	24	305	92	189	35	224	84	470	59	529	89
caw	32	111	143	22	23	119	142	16	55	230	285	19
fitbaw	8	0	8		6	1	7		14	1	15	
baw	12	6	18		5	14	19		17	20	37	
faw	5	0	5		3	1	4		8	1	9	
haud	10	2	12		4	1	5		14	3	17	
awfie	9	2	11		0	0	0		9	2	11	
shooder	1	1	2		0	0	0		1	1	2	
waw	1	2	3		0	7	7		1	9	10	
awthe-gither	0	0	0		1	1	2		1	1	2	
gie	35	9	44	80	31	8	39	79	66	17	83	80
ower	27	9	36	75	18	32	50	36	45	41	86	52
hae	0	43	43	0	1	54	55	2	1	97	98	1
roon'	49	9	58	84	29	6	35	83	78	15	93	84
min'	1	30	31	3	1	12	13	8	2	42	44	5
staun'	19	4	23	83	13	1	14	93	32	5	37	86
haun'	13	7	20		7	9	16		20	16	36	
hunner	6	16	22		1	4	5		7	20	27	
haun'le	1	0	1		3	0	3		4	0	4	

cont.

Table 5.2 cont.

TOTALS	Females				Males				All			
	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots	Scots	Standard English	All	% Scots
grun'	2	3	5		3	4	7		5	7	12	
wunner	3	1	4		0	0	0		3	1	4	
fun'	3	2	5		0	1	1		3	3	6	
len'	1	0	1		2	0	2		3	0	3	
poun'	7	22	29		2	6	8		9	28	37	
fin'	1	5	6		0	4	4		1	9	10	
bran'	1	0	1		0	0	0		1	0	1	
thoosan'	2	1	3		0	0	0		2	1	3	
sannies	0	0	0		1	0	1		1	0	1	
sen'	0	6	6		2	0	2		2	6	8	
frien'	0	5	5		1	0	1		1	5	6	
TOTALS	2597	1827	4424	59	1979	1750	3729	53	4576	3577	8153	56

Table 5.3 **Additional variables: Scots ~ Scots.**

	10M4CB	10F2PB	10M3CB	10M6CB	10M7PB	10F1-F	10F4PB	10F6PB	10F5PB	10M1CC	10M8PB	16F4PS	16M1PF	16F2CB	16F3PS	16M4CS	16F7CD	16F6CD	16F8CD	16M5CS	16F1PC	16F5PS	16M6CS	16M2PB	26F5CB	26F2CF	26F8PB	26M3CS	26M2CS	26F6CC	26F11CD	26F7PB	26F3CF	26M5PS	26F4CC	26M6-D	26M4PS	46F3PB	46M9PS	46F2CB	46F7PD	46F6PS	46M6PB	46M1CC	46M10CD	46M2PC	46F4PB	46M4PB	46F8PD	46M8PS	46F5PB	46M3PB	46M5PB	46M7PS	66M6PB	66F3PC	66F2PC	66M1CC	66M3CC	66M5PB	66F1CC	66F8PS
merr	1		1					1	1	2					1							1					2	2		1				1			2		1				1		1		7	1									1	1
mair																							1								1																3																		
Maw	1	2	1		3	6	3	6									6							1				1	1						1																												
Ma								1												3				4				3	1			1						1																								

Table 5.3 cont.

TOTALS	Females	Males	All
merr	15	18	33
mair	4	5	9
Maw	28	9	37
Ma	4	9	13

Chapter 6. Interpretation

> The greatest need now is for this minority to reassess its position, to realise that the ideas for which their predecessors worked are in danger of being lost, that material improvements can be used so as to incline the body of working-people to accept a mean form of materialism as a social philosophy. If the active minority continue to allow themselves too exclusively to think of immediate political and economic objectives, the pass will be sold, culturally, behind their backs. (Hoggart, 1957: 263)

> At the same time that traditional societies are buffeted in the slip-stream of economic development to the point of capsizing, they are also assailed by Western culture, carried by emissaries with unequalled powers of penetration and persuasion. The economic development is a fraud, but the cultural onslaught is real and irresistible. (Germaine Greer, 1985, pp.ix,x)

> ... that momentous day in 1966 when we got our first look at her body in its entirety. The shock of that emotive full-frontal view stopped us in our tracks. Like monkeys confronted with a mirror, we saw ourselves clearly for the very first time in those shattering photographs of the Whole Earth drifting so delicately and serenely through the dark wastes of space. (Lyall Watson, review, 'Conscience of a planet', New Scientist 9 April 1987, p.55)

The findings reported in this work indicate a continuing loss of traditional dialect forms and especially vocabulary at the same time as typical working-class speakers in this inner city area remain potentially broad-spoken regardless of age (and sex) and the dialect continues to innovate and to borrow new non-standard material. People over about 40 (in 1984) have often noted a change in speech habits in the course of their lives. Enquiries directed (via the lexical questionnaire) at both sexes and all ages in the

East End of Glasgow suggest that the loss of traditional vocabulary is neither so thorough nor so abrupt as older speakers tend to represent it, but this is partly because of the subtle nature of the change: many everyday words have passed from active to passive status, and the pragmatic rules governing speech styles have lost definition. Many of the suggestions made about this are tentative and preliminary - this is the nature of qualitative research. [1]

It remains unclear how large a proportion of previously active dialect vocabulary is involved, but there is certainly a stereotype or public version of change which emphasises (and exaggerates) the decline of dialect words amongst the young, and the gap in sensibility, experience, and linguistic decorum between the inter-war and post-war generations.

And yet there is little observable difference in the speech of people of different generations. None was evident in the data in Chapter 5, which is concerned with certain features of lexical incidence and morphology, which in practice make up the bulk of scotticisms in the corpus.[2] Impressionistically, there are, of course, age-related differences - these appear in the different slang favoured by different ages, in the occasional use of obsolescent vocabulary by the over-70s, and in different fashions in discourse particles, exclamations and so on. Macaulay (1977) has already demonstrated quantitative differences in phonological variables in a Glasgow sample. Nevertheless, taking a broad view, the picture is one of a facade of unity when only present-day speech habits are concerned, concealing considerable change in real time.

In this chapter, the findings will be considered in the context of recent historical processes, especially as they affect the British working-class, but bearing in mind the global scale of many of them. In moving out into this interdisciplinary perspective, I am going well beyond my own academic competence, and there is a danger of giving too partial a view or misrepresenting work in other fields. Nevertheless, I would suggest that a study of language in use is incomplete without a critical assessment of the significance of these usages to some area of ideology or culture.[3] Without this, we might fall into a deterministic view

of human beings passively reflecting in their behaviour waves of change that appear from nowhere and pass through an inert communal mass (for critiques of determinism in sociolinguistics, see Romaine, 1982a, and Cameron, 1985).

6.1 Standard English as a lingua franca

Two broad findings have to be accounted for: the tendency of older speakers to exaggerate into a generation gap the results of the changes they participated in (already dealt with in Chapter 4), and the specific compromise reached between dialect levelling and dialect maintenance.

Clearly an important part of dialect levelling is its converse, the increasing importance of Standard English as a lingua franca. If education (and the broadcast media) can be seen as 'supplying' Standard English, we should also recognise that there is a (specific and limited) 'demand'.

6.1.1 Standard English as an occupational qualification

Nichols, in her work in South Carolina (1983 and 1984) relates sex differences to the different educational demands made by different occupations:

> Language use patterns within the Black speech community suggest that, where educational opportunities are limited, women will show more conservative linguistic behavior than men in their group. When these opportunities begin to expand, they do so along sex-segregated lines. White-collar jobs in sales, nursing, and elementary school teaching are opening up primarily for women, and in part because of the low salaries associated with such jobs. Somewhat paradoxically, such jobs are also ones that require knowledge and use of standard English, even heavy investment in higher education. (1983: 62-63)

This gives substance to the notion of a 'linguistic market' (Sankoff and Laberge, 1978). For men, their maintenance of the creole 'is in no way incompatible with the present occupational choices available to them' (Nichols, 1983: 63). It is also typical of the male jobs to allow men from the community to work together, while female white-collar work tends to involve contact with outsiders. (Cf. L. Milroy's 1978 findings, referred to in Chapter 2.1.1 above.)

Even without duplicating Nichols' work, we can say with some confidence that the same conditions have applied in many dialect-speaking communities in Britain. Whether unemployment in traditional male industries will drive men into competition for 'women's work' remains to be seen.

This interpretation is more satisfying than the suggestion that women have different attitudes towards prestige models of speech or a lesser degree of class solidarity than men (Trudgill, 1974; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980). Women are usually found in sociolinguistic studies to use more prestigious variants than men 'of the same class', but the relationship between sex and class has often been confused in sociology by assigning women to the class of their husbands, especially if they are not currently in employment, even though their educational qualifications may be higher. Heath et al. (1985) in a study of class structure and voting patterns in Britain identify three groups marginal to the working-class (all of whom tend towards Conservatism more than the working class proper): the petit bourgeoisie (the self-employed), foremen and technicians, and routine non-manual workers (clerks, typists, and so on), the latter containing a high proportion of women. This separate recognition of women voters reduces the size of the working class, and likewise the size of the salariat.[4] There is no need, then, to abandon class as a factor in sociolinguistic variation in order to give due weight to sex differences, or to suggest that broad speech is the special preserve of working-class men (cf. L. Milroy, forthcoming).

6.1.2 State bureaucracy

Here we can note the penetration of state bureaucracy into everyday life, and especially into the lives of the poor. In the pre-industrial past, the lives of the poor were scrutinised and ameliorated by the elders of the Kirk, the minister, the schoolteacher and the local gentry, all of whom no doubt retained at least a passive competence in the local dialect, even as anglicisation spread through society. In the urban context, the Kirk largely lost its grip over the poor, and municipal agencies such as the police and sanitary inspectors, as well as middle-class charitable workers, instead laid the foundations of the present system of health visitors, social workers, probation officers, and so on - the welfare professionals who now exercise 'effective dominance over much of Scottish society' (Harvie, 1981: 87)[5]. A problem housing scheme like Barrowfield, for instance, is controlled by a heavy social work and community work (as well as police) presence. In dealing with these arms of the local state, as with other middle-class professionals, such as doctors and housing officials, dialect speakers are faced with a rootless middle-class who will often have genuine problems understanding the local dialect.

Again, this influence affects women more strongly. In their role as housewives they tend to have a wider range of local contacts (Cornwell, 1985: ch.2) and more inter-class contact (Hoggart, 1957: 39) than men.

6.1.3 The widening of social spheres

Apart from these structural factors in society, there has been a general increase in geographical mobility.[6] Roberts (1971: 147) emphasises the importance of tramcars in breaking down the 'ingrained parochialism' of the Edwardian 'urban villages'. Advances in transport since then have allowed even those who are not particulary well-off to maintain family contacts and travel for leisure ever further afield.

The dispersal of population from Glasgow in the post-war period was largely brought about by official planning.[7] This has carried family ties out into Central Scotland and beyond (nearly a quarter of the population born in Scotland since 1911 has left the country - Harvie, 1981: vii). Marriage and the search for work also disperse families, creating the conditions for dialect levelling between grandparents and grandchildren.

Greater affluence and less austere social attitudes mean that, without moving up the class hierarchy, working-class people are much more confident socially than earlier generations; both men and women go out more, and mix freely with strangers in a wide range of social venues.

The proportion even of voluntary social activity that is conducted within the narrow bounds of the family and the neighbourhood has accordingly diminished, especially for middle-aged and young people. Contact with strangers favours a style closer to Standard English on the dialect continuum. In practice there are good reasons to prefer a mixed style - this is a 'safe option' (cf. Scotton, 1979) which will ensure intelligibility, while avoiding embarrassment to the other party if he or she turns out to be less comfortable with Standard English.

In all of these ways, working-class people, and especially women, often move in a milieu where frequent contact with outsiders makes it necessary or at least appropriate to avoid broad dialect, and to use a larger admixture of Standard English. On the other hand, the last mentioned - the wider social spheres in which individuals move - also encourages the influence of non-standard dialects and regional accents on each other, and the rapid word-of-mouth transmission of fashionable slang. (In this context, we should also note the influence of military service in the two World Wars.)

6.2 Embourgeoisement (modernisation)

In principle, dialect speech could co-exist with Standard English in a bidialectal situation. In practice, as we have seen, the two are integrated into a continuum, which is shrinking away from the

dialect pole. Changing patterns of interpersonal contacts must go a long way towards explaining the increased role of Standard English, especially as they also account for sex differences in usage (in formal interviews). But we still have to ask why this should entail the erosion of dialect forms, not only in some styles, but apparently absolutely.

One hypothesis is that (part of) the working-class has become more like the middle-class in its values and attitudes, as the gap in material standards between the two has narrowed. This idea of embourgeoisement was advanced after the series of Labour defeats in General Elections in the 1950s (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1963). In sociolinguistic terms, it corresponds to the idea that working- and lower middle-class speakers, and especially women, aim at the overt prestige of the upper middle-class speech model (Labov, 1972a; Trudgill, 1974) and are motivated to change their speech by social ambition (Douglas-Cowie, 1978).

Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1963; and Goldthorpe, 1967), in their investigations into embourgeoisement, agree that material progress and the Welfare State had reduced the distance between working- and middle-class standards of living, and that social mobility via the education system had increased (although the possibility of rising from the ranks within industry was decreasing). However, they do not agree that workers were becoming bourgeois in their attitudes. Goldthorpe writes:

> it is not enough to know that certain manual workers can earn high incomes: what must also be known is under what conditions this affluence is achieved, and their human and social implications. (1967: 15)

On this criterion there was (and is) still a clear difference between the job security and job satisfaction of most middle-class employees and the static, less rewarding, sometimes shift-work jobs of the working-class. The corresponding difference in political culture is usefully outlined by Goldthorpe and Lockwood:

Working class perspective

(General beliefs) The social order is divided into 'us' and 'them': those who do not have authority and those who do. The division between 'us' and 'them' is virtually fixed, at least from the point of view of one man's life chances. What happens to you depends a lot on luck; otherwise you have to learn to put up with things.

(General values) 'We' ought to stick together and get what we can as a group. You may as well enjoy yourself while you can instead of trying to make yourself 'a cut above the rest'. ... ...

Middle class perspective

(General beliefs) The social order is a hierarchy of differentially rewarded positions: a ladder containing many rungs. It is possible for individuals to move from one level of the hierarchy to another. Those who have ability and initiative can overcome obstacles and create their own opportunities. Where a man ends up depends on what he makes of himself.

(General values) Every man ought to make the most of his own capabilities and be responsible for his own welfare. You cannot expect to get anything in the world if you squander your time and money. 'Getting on' means making sacrifices. ... ... (1963: 147)

In the 1980s, this core working-class still exists, although it has shrunk in size (Heath et al., 1985) and influence (cf. Chapter 2, note 24, above). It is geographically concentrated in cities like Glasgow, and indeed Kellas and Fotheringham (1976) see class divisions as hardening, because of the marked urban segregation that carries over into education via comprehensive schooling.

In Scotland, as compared with England and Wales, there is a smaller proportion of non-manual jobs, and the unskilled have actually increased since 1921 to 9.9% of the adult population in the 1970s. 'While fewer Scots now do manual work, the type of manual work done is more likely to be unskilled' (Payne and Ford, 1983: 78). Particularly worrying is the self-recruitment of manual

workers. Payne and Ford cite a 1975 survey of adult males where only 15% of the sons of unskilled workers were professional, managerial or supervisory workers, and 80% of unskilled manual workers were sons of manual workers. The rigidity of this unskilled inheritance is even tending to increase as 'competitiion for the more desirable occupations operates heavily in favour of families from the middle class' (80). They are perhaps overlooking here the reproduction of the skilled-unskilled divide within the working-class. Given adequate qualifications, the most desirable manual jobs are often obtained through informal recruitment methods (Ferguson and Cunnison, 1951; Cornwell, 1985; and cf. Chapter 1.3).[8]

Since there is some upward mobility into the non-manual sector but very little downward, Payne and Ford conclude that there is less a cycle of disadvantage, as some sociologists have suggested, than a cycle of advantage. As Raffe (1983) points out, inflation in job qualifications means that class differences in relative levels of attainment have not changed. And, while an older generation of upper middle class males often had poor educational qualifications, and reached their position well on in their working lives, there is no such chance for the present generation.

If the working-class have not, as a body, become bourgeois in their political culture, it has nevertheless been suggested (e.g. by Harvie, 1981: 87) that they have tended to emulate middle-class culture in other ways. Researchers who have probed deeply into working-class values - Hoggart in England (1957) and Sennett and Cobb with white ethnic workers in Boston (1972) - have found working-class people, and even those upwardly mobile from the working-class, to be deeply ambivalent, an ambivalence expressed as follows by the Glasgow writer, Alasdair Gray:

> My world was confused, shabby and sad, but had as much order, variety, good feeling and potency as any other. While I worked at this writing I enjoyed the best happiness of all, the happiness which does not notice itself, until, stopping, we feel tired and see that an hour has passed like a minute, and know we have done as well as we can, and perhaps one day

> someone will be glad. I am sure this happiness is not rare. Everyone feels a little of it who makes or keeps something useful in the world, and does not just work for money or promotion. I suspect there is more of this happiness among skilled manual workers than in higher income groups, who have other satisfactions. (1985: 199,200)

In the view of Sennett and Cobb, the pursuit of things that money can buy is not a sign of cynical materialism, but an attempt to win respect, 'to heal a doubt about the self' (1972: 171) in a society where a high value is placed on individual distinction, and to be an ordinary person amongst the masses is to feel a sense of personal failure.[9] Those who attain middle class occupations through education, are seen as more fully developed human beings, with an inner authority which legitimates their exercise of power over others.

At the same time, working-class people generally have scant respect for the work that the middle-class do. Moreover, since the 1960s the young middle-class have, arguably, tended even more radically than the working-class towards a culture of instant gratification, and thereby lost their claim to moral superiority. Working-class women, for instance retain a much stronger attachment to child-rearing (with or without marriage).

In Macafee (1987), which outlines the argument of the present work, I suggested that the stigma attaching to old Scots words was not that of being working-class, which is no stigma at all, but that of being old-fashioned, and I appealed for support to Thelander (1980), who expresses the view that certain elements in Swedish dialect are becoming obsolescent because they are felt to be old-fashioned. Since then I have re-read Sennett and Cobb (1972), and I find that they have pin-pointed the source of embarrassment very clearly: poverty. They write of the typical worker in their study:

> he sees poverty ... as depriving men of the capacity to act rationally, to exercise self-control. (1972: 22)

This is the source of the deep feeling that poverty is shameful, not in itself, but because it reduces people (mainly men) to behaving like animals. Poverty, then, was not only material but also cultural and spiritual - and this despite the simple humanity and quiet heroism that also graced it. To have clung to old ways - and old words - when the opportunity for material improvement arrived would have been to show oneself unable to live up to a new and better standard of living - it would have been to keep coals in the bath, psychologically speaking.[10]

During the Second World War (with the stimulus of wartime production and the creation of structures that were to evolve into the Welfare State), there was, for those at home, a sudden 'abolition' of poverty (Laslett, 1983: 253) (except in the area of housing, where very bad conditions lingered on, and especially in Glasgow). Given the difficulties with the notion of embourgeoisement discussed above, it might be more appropriate to call this raising of living standards and expectations, and participation in a consumer boom, 'modernisation'.[11]

With the exception of Dennistoun, the East End districts covered in this study have a population that is relatively immobile, in terms of their social position. Before GEAR, the socially ambitious would have tended to move out. It may be that the people I interviewed have social ambitions that have remained unrealised, or that are vicarious:

> 66F3PC: Like - ma - say ma granchildren, or ma daugh- oh, they're very much improved. That's what Ah was sayin there in the sort a - Ah'm no tryin tae brag, but Ah was sayin there, she was lucky, ye know, she'd the brains tae go tae college, an she's married a teacher, an he's sittin now for is master's degree. An, of course, they're up tae here wi debt, because, ye know how if it's a mortgage, ye know, an house, they've boat their car. Children are lovely speakers. Cos ma daughter makes them that way. So she is, what Ah'd like tae have been. (37B)

But on the whole, they have advanced with the rest of the working-class (in terms of housing standards and spending power) rather than relative to it. Embourgeoisement does not apply here, but there has certainly been a great deal of modernisation and an enormous improvement in living standards, brought about by urban redevelopment, for those who have been able to stay in the area.

New housing was identified as an occasion for a change in terminology:

> 46F11CC: Naw, Ah know when Ah stoapped sayin aw thae things, when Ah goat the house in Barrafield, an when was that - what age would Ah be then - Ah was boarn in nineteen twenty - Ah was thirty years of age, an it was the kitchenette an the bathroom then, ye know how - so Ah was only thirty years of age, ye know. [...] Well, ye were in the big house, ye know ye called it -
> 66F19CD: Sink.
> 46F11CC: An insteed i sayin the lobby, it was the hall. (85C)

> 66M6PB: [syne] Ah mean, even me, Ah don't use that type a language now, ye know. An ah think if ye found most people i ma age at sixty odds - [sixty] seven - years of age, wouldnae use that. Yet, when they were in their - teenagers - runnin about this area, they would use it. Or they - they did use it. Until they moved out the arear or goat a better house in this arear or somethin, that they don't - they're easily converted, people, ye know. (65B)

> 66F5CB: sayins in the houses, ye know, that ye had, years ago, ye know, the - the ol- what was that noo - the jawboax an the - what was it noo - closet (84C)

> 66F5CB: Well, they call them flats now. The flats, ye see. Aye, it used tae always be tiniments, but now, when they renovated them, they've all - call them flats.
> 66F17PX: When we talked aboot flats, we talked aboot some place more exclusive. (84C)

26F11CD: Now we've got bin erears!

26F8PB: Yes, now we call them bins.

26F11CD: You ought to see my bin erear.

26F12CB: Very sorry about that, youse with back-an-fronts.

26F11CD: You couldn't call it a bin erea just now.

26F12CB: [...] Forget yourself when ye get yer back-an-front, daen't yese?

26F8PB: Oh, yes, Ah'll tell ye that. (67B)

Leaving home likewise represents a break with the past in the form of one's parents:

46F5PB: When Ah was helpin ma mother, Ah would say tae er, 'Where's ma peenie?' But since Ah married an had children an latterly, Ah would just say apron. Ah think Ah'm a wee bit further up in the world, ye see, we don't refer tae aw thae old ... (28B)

46F5PB: Ah think it depends whether - ye remember what yer parents used words for, but when ye get up an ye start thinkin i other words - (28B)

66F1CC: [jawboax] When we goat - likes i us gettin married, then we didnae use that. (35B)

The older generation then apparently feel obliged, as we have seen (4.4.2, 4.5 above), to take their cue from the younger:

26F4CC: But Ah think they're [grandmother's generation] inclined tae use the auld words when they're tellin ye aboot the aulden days. But even they use the kinda merr modern wans noo, ye know. (58C)

66F8PS: [butts] We're aw merr kinna modernised noo, we cry it the fire brigade, aye. (23B)

6.3 Dialect and uniformation

We can presumably take the maintenance of broad dialect styles (in informal conversation) as a sign of the continuity and stability of the (lower) working-class character of the area.[12] On the other hand, the complete overhaul of the physical fabric of the area, in the context of a general abolition of poverty,[13] means that people are almost literally living in a different world, and this is reflected in lexical change.

This unevenness in linguistic change is what we would expect of the spontaneous convergence of one language variety on another. Vocabulary is inherently more open than the systems of syntax, morphology and phonology. Its flexibility in encoding ideas allows it to adapt readily to cultural change. It is even possible for a language variety to be substantially relexified, with one lexicon of basic terms being replaced by synonyms (or near-synonyms) from another language variety, as has apparently happened with some creoles. The vocabulary of Sranan, for instance, has reportedly moved from being Portuguese-dominated, to English-dominated, to Dutch-dominated, while the grammar and phonology remains creole in character (Voorhoeve, 1971). Relexification provides an interesting analogy to what is happening to traditional dialects like that of the East End of Glasgow. It is a process that increases mutual intelligibiity and levels differences in codability between vernacular and standard, in the most direct and economical way.

If, then, the influence of Standard English is simply following the linguistic line of least resistance, what is the role of agencies like the education system and the broadcast media, which are widely credited with the decline of traditional dialects?

Standard English is, of course, explicitly taught in Scottish schools. As the writer William McIlvanney put it in a television interview, when he went to school and learned that a brace was 'really' a mantelpiece, 'the whole house was redecorated with English words,' and similarly for this lady:

> 46F5PB: Ah think we'd just call it <u>blushin</u> now, ye know, ye just - as Ah say, the more - the more your education goes on, the more ye lose the old words that ye used tae just gather from all yer friends - playmates. An the more you're educated, the more the right word's instilled intae yer mind an ye just use the right word. (8B)

People would sometimes comment - but jokingly - that they had become 'educated' or even 'snobbish'. However, the influence of education cannot in itself account for the changes, since the end product is not a population who speak Standard English, although their language <u>is</u> becoming less Scots. Indeed, educationalists in Scotland have sometimes advocated a treatment of lexis as against the other linguistic levels that is the exact opposite of what is actually taking place:

> While the teacher in Glasgow should be well advised to insist on the use of correct grammar and observance of the rules of syntax in the oral and written work of pupils, it would be a mistake to try to eliminate those Scotticisms which are Scottish idioms. ... With regard to diction, while objection may be taken to the Scots forms of Standard English words (e.g. fu', emp['y], impident), it would be unwise to discourage the use of purely Scots words. (Research Committee of Glasgow Local Association, Educational Institute of Scotland, 1935: vii)

- surely a recipe for the crippling self-consciouness about the minutiae of language that Haugen (1972) calls 'schizoglossia' (and cf. 2.2.5 above).

The main impact of universal compulsory education was undoubtedly felt in the mid-nineteenth century. Even before the nationalisation of parish schools in 1872, the institution of a national inspectorate in 1845 signalled the demise of Scots-medium education in small rural schools (Williamson, 1983). The rural peasantry had been the last body of speakers whose mental and imaginative life was circumscribed by local custom, tradition and dialect. The Standard English with which such people were familiar

was the vivid, concrete, Germanic style of the Bible and the big ballads (Leith, 1983; Henderson, 1980). By the turn of the century (and helped also by mass circulation newspapers - see Donaldson, 1986), Romance-influenced academic English would seem to have more or less driven out the native high style, and dialect speakers with a fund of concrete imagery and proverbial wisdom became very rare (Evans, 1970, chs. 15, 16). The 1944 Education Act, which abolished charges, and raised the leaving age to 15, consolidated the exposure of dialect speakers to formal education.

We might say that purposive attempts to standardise the language of the Lowland population have been quite successful, but only within constraints imposed by linguistic structure, and by more fundamental factors in the society (such as social mobility or the lack of it), and only in a sufficiently long historical perspective.

The role of the mass media should likewise be seen as facilitating inherently likely changes rather than remodelling listeners' and viewers' dialects. Trudgill emphasises the accommodation of speakers to each other in face-to-face contacts as the primary mechanism for the diffusion of linguistic change, at least so far as phonology is concerned. But he allows that:

> Certain highly salient linguistic features, such as new words and idioms, or fashionable pronunciations of individual words, may be <u>imitated</u> or <u>copied</u> from television or radio ... (1986: 40-41, author's italics).

One of the main functions of television, in particular, is the introduction of new modes of consumption and the advertising of new branded products. But this would be meaningless if the lifestyles and products were not actually available to the audience, and of course, they generally are (at least in terms of being displayed for sale locally, whether or not individuals can afford to purchase them). The processes of uniformation in the western world act through various channels, including education and the broadcast media. At that level, these are merely agencies by which powerful

forces prepare people to accept and participate in certain forms of organised social life.

On another level, the mass media, and especially television, normalise the experience of living in a 'prefigurative' culture (Mead's term for the present western case, where the elders have to learn from the children, and youth takes on authority). Postman (1985) argues, following Marshall McLuhan, that an effect of using television as the major source of information in modern society is to elide the differences in knowledge between the generations, so that everyone belongs, paradoxically, to the same generation, and we live in a constantly changing simultaneous present with the rest of the world.[14] The effect of television on linguistic change, then, lies not primarily in exposing viewers to Standard English, or even in introducing the terminology of consumerism, but in orienting them towards the mass cultural experience of the media present, and away from diverse local traditions rooted in the past (unless, in the perpetual search for new material, it offers some aspect of the local or of the past for momentary consumption as entertainment).

The picture of social immobility combined with cultural erosion that the present work has painted calls very strongly to mind the view of the British working-class presented by Hoggart in The Uses of Literacy (1957). The old way of life was in many ways 'a good and comely life' (1957: 37) - 'It was a lovely auld world' (46M7PS in 31D) - and fostered certain positive qualities (1957: 265): respect for marriage and the home, tolerance, a stress on the personal and the concrete, scepticism and non-conformity, an ability to put up with things cheerfully.

> The question, of course, is how long this stock of moral capital will last and whether it is being sufficiently renewed. (1957: 266)

I would submit that the traditional dialect, especially the vocabulary, the stock of idioms and sayings, and the rules of linguistic decorum (since these encode a distinctive outlook and set of values) is part of this stock of moral capital.

Hoggart saw the working-class as vulnerable, despite some insulation provided by their own dialects and customs, to the debilitating seductions of materialism, especially as the earnest and intellectual minority were now able to leave the working-class via education. The mass or popular culture that he deplores remains as he describes it, 'full of a corrupt brightness, of improper appeals and moral evasions' (1957: 277).[15] It is indeed heart-breaking to contemplate how thoroughly the world has been unified by modern communications, and how little of any practical or moral value is exchanged thereby.

I will not attempt here to draw up a balance sheet of the costs and benefits of modernisation to the Glasgow working-class. For a general critique of the effects of modernist architecture on urban life, I refer the reader to Jacobs (1961) and Coleman (1985); and on urban planning to Smith and Wannop (1985) for an account of planning in Strathclyde, and for a critique of planning, McKay and Cox (1979), Ravetz (1980), and the British edition of Goodman (1972). On the generation gap, I have already referred to Mead (1978), and I would add Greer (1984) for her treatment of the effect of the consumer society on the family and parenthood. Toffler (1970), though a popular rather than academic work, has much insight to offer with his idea of 'future shock'. For a straightforward social history of Britain since 1945, there is Marwick (1982), and for a history of Scotland since the First World War, Harvie (1981). For a consistently unsentimental view of the past, I recommend Roberts (1971), already referred to at several points.

I will not take space here either to enquire into the sources of power that brought about the modernisation, strangely combined with deindustrialisation, of Glasgow, but I recommend Cawson (1982) and Winkler's articles on corporatism (1976 and 1977), and Wilson (1976) on women and the Welfare State. Beyond that, the question <u>cui bono</u>? will perhaps lead us to the International Monetary Fund, international financial institutions, and multinational companies. This is the scale of inter-connectedness that uniformation implies.

1 It may be objected that the classifications and language labels set out in 4.7 above do not refer to the same words as those discussed in Chapter 3. Two different levels of generalisation are involved. In the date reported in Chapter 3, the discussion was focused on specific words and the questions about them raised by the fieldworker. The emphasis was on objective, factual information, and terms like _old_ or _slang_ were used narrowly and, as far as I can judge, accurately. Chapter 4 deals with spontaneous, often evaluative comments, and is thus more likely to reflect habitual conceptual frameworks. What we do have in Chapter 3 is qualitative evidence that specific words have passed from active to passive status in this community.

2 Lexical incidence is also the largest component in recordings from the Ayrshire Sound Archive and dialogue in the novels of John Galt analysed by Lindsay Hewitt (work in progress).

3 This form of argumentation is well developed in stylistics and discourse analysis (e.g. Fowler, 1981; Fowler _et al_., 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979; Chilton, ed., 1985) and to some extent in sociolinguistics (e.g. Bell, 1984) and especially with regard to sexist language (e.g. Thorne and Henley, eds., 1975; Thorne _et al_, eds., 1983).

4 Heath _et al_. (1985: Table 2.1) give some figures on class and earnings which are very interesting in the light of Nichols' findings:

Class and earnings

Relative earnings: base - working-class men

	Men	Women
Salariat	170	119
Routine nonmanual	102	72
Petty bourgeoisie	96	72
Foremen and technicians	121	77
Working class	100	66

It will be seen that working-class men earn only slightly less than those in routine non-manual work, and considerably more than women in this sector.

5 Harrison and Byrne both write feelingly of the powerlessness and humiliation of being dependent on the state. For the unemployed, 'It is the state which faces the people in almost every aspect of their everyday lives' (Byrne, 1986: 52). Likewise, 'The condition of being a tenant in modern Britain is one of powerlessness, of severely curtailed liberty' (Harrison, 1983: 213). A large proportion of the outgoings of the poor are under public control - the level of rents, the costs of fuel - as are wages in the public sector. Agencies like public transport, the NHS, social security and in particular the council housing repair system, unwittingly collaborate to drive people to distraction, through their inefficiency and the inconvenience of their arrangements (1983: 210).

6 As we have seen, this brings middle-class outsiders into the working-class community. We might also note the presence of the Asian petit bourgeoisie, whose informal financial networks enable them to take up inner city investment opportunities that institutional lenders will not take risks on.

7 Even the redistribution of population around the city may have had some effect on dialect maintenance, by throwing people into the company of strangers. This was visible in L. Milroy's (1980) study of social networks in Belfast.

Goodman (1972) reminds us that the disruption of working-class communities was a deliberate planning policy. They were still, as in the 19th century, seen as a threat to public order and the status quo. He quotes the Newcastle City Planning Officer of the 1960s:

> In a huge city, it is a fairly common observation that the dwellers in a slum area are almost a separate race of people with different values, aspirations, and ways of living ... One result of slum clearance is that a considerable movement of people takes place over long distances, with devastating effect on the social groupings built up over the years. But, one might argue, this is a good thing when we are dealing with people who have no initiative or civic pride. The task surely is to break up such groupings even though the people seem to satisfied with their miserable environment and seem to enjoy an extrovert social life in their own locality. (Goodman, 1972: 27,8)

The community development programmes that have been introduced to repair the social damage caused by these policies were imported into Britain from the United States, but they have their origin in colonial administration. Underdeveloped people are provided with projects to carry out in order that leaders and organisation can emerge

> to offset problems of adaptation in fast changing circumstances, such as the disintegration of tribal or communal life, or of adaptation to urbanized or competitive economies. (1972: 34)

I mention this colonial link because in many ways the modernisation that I will discuss below could simply be called 'westernisation'. Cf. Eagleton's remarks:

> As liberal capitalism yields ground to consumerism, it is as though a whole society undergoes the spiritual depletion and disinheritance previously reserved, with particular violence, for its meanest colonials. (1987: 6,7)

The idea of 'internal colonialism' is given an economic foundation by Hechter (1975). Jacobs (1985) would see this simply as the relationship between a city and areas arbitrarily and unevenly affected by its economic influence (cf. Chapter 1, note 9, above).

8 Harris suggests that the disruption of communities and the consequent isolation of families has affected the father's role particularly badly in this respect:

> the parent in such families, especially in the lower economic strata, can provide neither training for adult skills, nor the entreé into their own social group (as opposed to membership of a category or aggregate), nor can they sponsor their children in the sense of providing them with the resources to carry out an adult role in the wider society. (1977: 80)

9 This self-doubt is ruthlessly exploited by advertisers of consumer goods, who persuade people that specific goods are desirable to the selves whom they aspire to be (Sennett and Cobb, 1972: ch.3).

10 Nevertheless, there will always be those who can look back on a life of selfless struggle and dare be poor for aw that:

> 66F6PB: Bridgeton's poor, but they're - they're hamely. That's what ye waant tae feel, divn't ye? Ye don't waant tae be a snob or that. (27B)

> 66F3PC: Mrs. F----- would sit and - when Ah was gettin married, she came down tae see ma dress oan, it was ma weddin dress, an she said, ... 'Dignity is all a poor person's got. An always have dignity.' (37B)

11 Interestingly, one area where embourgeoisement does fit rather well as an explanation is linguistic insecurity. Although Macaulay [1974] uses this to describe working-class communication difficulties, Labov (1972a: 119-20) uses it to characterise the gap between own usage and usage considered correct, in the lower middle-class. Considering the role of lower middle-class women in the education system - schoolteachers are non-U - it may be that the self-deprecating mannerisms of linguistic insecurity have actually been taught.

In Scotland, the bourgeoisie are notoriously insecure. Young characterises Scotland as:

> a total culture in which an insecure and authoritarian élite articulated an obsessive awareness of its own provincial inferiority and backwardness. (1979: 21)

Similarly, Baratz and Baratz (1972) consider that it is middle-class blacks in the USA, bearing the brunt of white misreading, who have the identity crisis in the black community. Likewise, Ngugi's (1986) devastating critique of Kenya's neo-colonial bourgeoisie recalls the Scottish middle-class very strikingly.

12 Some individuals, particularly some from Dennistoun, are upper working-class, but, as explained, variation in code selection in the interviews has had the effect of swamping any sex or class patterns that might be present in the recorded speech.

13 This term seems more appropriate than 'affluence'. I would not want to deny the reality of poverty in Britain in the 1980s, but it cannot really be compared with the Third World conditions of pre-war Glasgow.

14 Whereas Mead (1978) would see the opening up of the generation gap as the most significant discontinuity in modern history, Laslett takes the view that all subsequent social changes since industrialisation are eclipsed by that process, which he describes as not so much an experience but 'a perpetual tendency towards continual change' (1983: 251).

15 As Haug puts it, in his critique of advertising and the eclipse of use-value by seductive images and packaging, 'the whole world of useful things' is subjected to 'an incessant aesthetic revolution' (1971: 44). People are not coerced into their enjoyment of commodities, but 'turn away spontaneously from material necessities towards the satisfaction of their immediate needs, or any other temptations' (1971: 98). He suggests that workers have so accepted the illusion of economic life as a huge supermarket that they even 'notice with sadness its absence on the streets of socialist countries' (1971: 105). Of course, this orgy of waste and destruction (as Sennett and Cobb see it, 1972: ch.3) involves all classes - the reader will perhaps detect in my concern for working-class culture that I share with Hoggart a particular esteem for its traditional values.

Afterword

Lest a feeling of liberal defeatism should have crept in, the last word in this thesis must go to the informants. This is the stuff that Glaswegians are made of:

66M8PB: Ah says, 'Just a minute,' says I, 'You came here, as oor representative,' says I, 'an we votit Labour an put you back in. What for? Just tae go an build roads against the opinion i the people?' Says I, 'You're there tae dae what you're bloody well telt, what we tell ye. Now, never mind your party politics. The people put you there, an you see tae the people first.' An ye see the people at ma back?! Hoo! Goodness.

66F6PB: May, Ah fainted wi thon - ye know what it was? Man came, e says, 'Who's - who's the sick person?'
Ah says, 'Me. ( ).'
E says, 'What are ye doin up?'
Ah says, 'Doactor, talk friendly.'
It wasnae ma doactor, it was just a helper. Ye know what e says tae me? (That was that wee rash, it's helpin me, gaun away noo.) E says, 'Ye shouldnae be oan yer feet.'
Ah says, 'Mister, c'mere, don't be mental, Ah've nobody.'

Appendix A

Lexical Questionnaire

A. Money

1. How much is a bob? Would you still use it? Ten bob. Two bob
2. How much is a tanner?
3. How much is a tishy, tisharoon?
4. Can you tell me any expression for money in general? What is gelt?
5. What do you call it when you get something for nothing? Buckshee.

B. Games and entertainment

1. What did/ do you play at?
2. What is hunch cuddy hunch?
3. What are elastics? Any other names? Chinks.
4. What is chickie mellie?
5. What is ring/ bing bang skoosh?
6. What is five stanes?
7. What did/ do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest? Keys. Baurlay.
8. Did/ do you ever go out dressed up at Hallowe'en? What are the people doing it called? Guisers. Gloshins.
9. What is a kinderspiel?
10. What is a tossing school? What are the people running it called? Tollers.
11. The shows - what things did/ do you like? What is a stookiedoll?
12. What does it mean to stooky somebody?

C. Food

1. What do you call a sweetie? Swedger. Swedgie.
2. What do you call chewing gum? Chinex.
3. What do you call lemonade? Ginger. Jeggie.
4. What do you call a cone? Poky hat.
5. What do you call liquorice? Sugarallie.
6. What other kinds of sweeties did/ do you eat?
7. What did/ do you eat made from peas? Pea leap.
8. What do you call a match? Scratch. Spunk.

D. Clothes

1. What do you call it when you're all dressed up? Dolled up. Brammed up. In your paraffin.
2. What do you call an apron? Peenie. Daidlie. Thibbet.

E. Household

1. What do you call an uneven bit in a tablecloth when it's spread out? Lirk.
2. What do you call the square of cloth that you wrap around a baby's bum? Hippen.
3. What do you call a clock? Knock. Waggity-wa.
4. What do you call the shelf above the fire? Brace.
5. What do you call the toilet? Closet. Cludgie.
6. What do you call the place where you leave the rubbish to be collected? Midden. Midgie.
7. Did you ever have/ see a metal tool for mending shoes on? What's it called? Tackety joack.
8. What do you call an old style block of houses? Tenement. Laun(d). What's a buggy laun(d)?
9. What do you call an arched passage between blocks of houses? Pen(d).
10. What do you call the sink? Jawboax.
11. What do you call the tap? Well. Wall.
12. What do you say for rinding out, e.g. a cup? Syn(d).

F. General

1. What do you call somebody's place, e.g. 'We'll go to ma ...'? Bit. Cane.
2. What does send for the butts mean?
3. What do you call freckles? Fernietickles.
4. What does it mean to take the spur at something?
5. What does turn it up mean? When would you use it?
6. What do you call a lie? Dinghy.
7. What does going out for cadgies mean?
8. What do you say for 'have a look' at something? Clock. Have a shuftie.
9. What do you call it if somebody blushes? Beamer. Riddie. Brassie.
10. What do you call something that's nasty? Mingin. Clingin. Gingin. Boggin. Bowfin. Honkin.
11. What do you call something that's really good? Brill(iant). Magic.
12. What does gallus mean?
13. How do you tell somebody to hurry up? Get a jildi on.

G. People

1. What do you call somebody who is thick? Balloon. Sody-heidit.
2. What does a person who is a minesweeper do?
3. What kind of person is a bampot? Is there any difference between a bampot and a bamstick?
4. What kind of person is a chanty wrassler?
5. What kind of person is a ned?
6. What kind of person is a keelie?
7. What kind of person is a bachle/ bauchle?
8. What kind of person is a bun?
9. What kind of person is a guppy?
10. What kind of person is a gitter?

11. What kind of person is a boot?
12. What kind of person is a mingmong?

H. Animals

1. What is a bubblyjock?
2. What is a netterie?
3. What does it mean to put the hems on somebody?

I. Language

1. What do you call the bones of the body? Skelington. Would that be used seriously?
2. Would you say occifer instead of officer? Would that be used seriously?
3. Describe a sherricking.
4. Give examples of patter.
5. Give examples of rhyming slang.

J. Attitudes

1. What do you think of the language of young/ old people? Do you notice any differences?
2. What do you think of the way men/ women/ boys/ girls speak? Do you notice any differences?

Open Questionnaire: Schools

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

Survey of Glaswegian

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect material for a book on Glasgow words and expressions. Your help is much appreciated.

Name of informant: _____

School: _____

Class: _____

Teacher: _____

Have you always stayed in this part of Glasgow? If not, please list the places you have stayed, e.g. "Partick up to the age of 6, then Govan", "New York until I left Primary school, then Manchester for a year, then Partick":

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other language(s) do you speak apart from English (e.g. Bengali)? If none, write 'none'.

_____

In the original, each topic was given a separate page to allow space for responses

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with EATING, DRINKING AND SMOKING. Take your time to think about it, and discuss it with other people. Include only words and expressions which you might use yourself.
After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. piece	packed lunch	a piece on jam a piece-box

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with GAMES AND TRICKS. Only include words and expressions that you might use yourself.
After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. tummle your wulkies	turn a somersault	I can tummle my wulkies backwards.

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with LOVE AND THE OPPOSITE SEX. Include only words and expressions that you might use yourself.
After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. mammy's big tumphie	a timid boy	He was greetin - he's just mammy's big tumphie
boot	an ugly girl	She's a boot - she's got a face like the back end of a bus.

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with THE POLICE. Include only words and expressions that you might use yourself.
After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. polis	police	a polisman

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with DIFFERENT TYPES OF PEOPLE. Take your time and think about it, and discuss it with other people. Include only words and expressions that you might use yourself.
After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. clype	somebody who tells tales	They'll clype on you, the clypes.

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with CLOTHES AND MAKE-UP. Take your time to think about it, and discuss it with other people. Include only words and expressions that you might use yourself. After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. galluses	braces	He wears galluses to keep his troosers above his pot bell
dolled up	carefully dressed and made up	dolled up to the nines

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can for DESCRIBING THINGS YOU APPROVE OF. Take your time about it, and discuss it with other people. Include only words and expressions you might use yourself. After each one, give (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

Glaswegian term	Example(s) of use
e.g. rerr	We had a rerr terr at the Ferr.

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can for DESCRIBING THINGS YOU DISAPPROVE OF. Take your time and discuss it with other people. Include only words and expressions you might use yourself. After each one, give (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. yuckie	yuckie plastic icecream

Write down as many Glaswegian terms and expressions as you can think of to DESCRIBE BEING UPSET OR EXCITED. Take your time to think about it, and discuss it with other people. Include only words and expressions you might use yourself. After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. taking a flakie	losing control of your temper	My mum took a flakie when she saw the state of my jeans.

On this page, write down any other words and expressions which you think should be included in our book. Again, we are interested in words and expressions that you use yourself. Thank you for your help.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE

missing pages
follow p. 442

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

Survey of Glaswegian : 1984

Note for the teacher.

The questionnaire could be broken up and administered in sections. In this case, please have the students fill in the top sheet and write their names on each subsequent section. Please attach any additional sheets of paper which are used.

If it is not possible to complete the whole questionnaire, please do allow time for the last page to be filled in.

The examples which have been given on each page but the last can be entered again by the students if they wish, with their own meanings and illustraions.

At the end, please remind the students that in this questionnaire we are looking only for items that are in current use among their own age group. If they know of other interesting expressions, used, for instance, by older people, we will be very glad to have these as well, but they must be clearly indicated. Please have the students go through the completed questionnaires and if there are any such items, put a note beside them indicating who might use them.

If desired, additional copies of the questionnaire can be supplied on which students can enter expressions they have heard but don't use themselves. Alternatively, they might like to take questionnaires home and administer them to friends and relatives. In this case the informant's age and street should be substituted for class and school.

Thank you for your help.

Please return completed questionnaires to:

C. I. Macafee,
Department of English Language,
University of Glasgow,
12 University Gardens,
Glasgow G12 8QQ

Open questionnaire: adults (where different from schools)

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

Survey of Glaswegian 1984

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect material for a book on Glasgow words and expressions. Your help is much appreciated.
The following information is needed so that we can compare the language used by different types of Glaswegians. It will be treated as confidential.

Age of informant: _____

Male or Female: _____

Residence History. Please list the places you have stayed since age 5, and indicate how long in each place:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Occupation history: Please list the jobs you have held during your working life:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Please list also the jobs held by other adults in your household:

_____

_____

_____

_____

You need not give your name and address, unless you are willing to be contacted again by the Survey.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

Telephone No. _____

Please return the completed questionnaire to: C.I. Macafee,
Department of English Language,
University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with LOVE AND THE OPPOSITE SEX. Include only words and expressions that you might use yourself. After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. lumber	a date to date	Did ye get a lumber last night?

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with CRIME AND THE LAW. Include only expressions that you might use yourself. After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. polis	police	Her brother's a polis.

Write down as many Glaswegian words and expressions as you can, connected with DIFFERENT TYPES OF PEOPLE. Include only words and expressions that you might use yourself.
After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. eejit	idiot	Away, ye big eejit!

Write down as many Glaswegian terms and expressions as you can think of to DESCRIBE BEING UPSET OR EXCITED. Include only words or expressions you might use yourself.
After each one, give the meaning(s) and (an) example(s) of how you might use it.

GLASWEGIAN TERM	MEANING(S)	EXAMPLE(S) OF USE
e.g. taking a flakie	losing control of your temper	His mum took a flakie when she saw the state of his jeans

Appendix B

Lexical file: Pen(d)

Item mentioned:

66F1CC: Pudden Pen (30B), also 46F11CC (85C); also mentioned in response to pen 26M6-D (18D)

Item used:

46F11CC (85C), 26F11CD (46B, 67B), 26F8PB (67B), 66M3CC (56C),
46F4PB that pen in the Main Street (28B)
46F5PB [in connection with laun] pend (28B)
46M6PB [in connection with loan] pend, pen (64B)

Comments:

66F1CC: A pen, ye went up an there were two or three different stairs, know, for different buildins. (30B)

[pend] 66F1CC: ye didnae pronounce the D but it was - that is the right name i it. (30B)

66F8PS: Aw, that was a wider - a wider enterance. See the - a wee close like this in the mean time - was a wider entrance, an maybe be a workshoap or somethin up it. Aye. Because we had a pen in D- in Preston Street. There was a coal ree in it an a bakehoose an a stables, ye know, up at the back, an that, when McNeill had a stable, an wee Hamilton's, they had the bakehoose, an ( ) the coal-man, he had a space, an Joe, aul Joe Thom, he'd the coal ree. (23B)

26F4CC: Aye, the pen, 'up the pen' - that's an openin in the buildin actually, was a pen. Ye know, it was like - ye had a close, an maybe another close an a pen in the middle. It was like an archway, actually cut oot the actual buildin, ye could go through (58C)

46F11CC: There was a pen in the Gallagate, an they called it the Pudden Pen. An Ah don't know - an Ah says, 'Ah wonder why they called it - ' an ma Ma's, 'Well, there used tae be a wee man in the back end,' - know how the - up the back - 'an e made black puddin.' That was in the Gallagate at Charlotte Street. (85C)

26F9: [Savoy Street] Aye, that's what we used tae call that, isn't it? The pen? (29B)

26F11CD: This is what it was, M------, Ah mean, it goat tae the stage there was only the three i us up that close, an the pen was actually, know, desolate. It was fawin doon roon aboot yer ears. But Ah still loved the hoose. But what can ye dae? They're comin tae take ower yer property. Ye cannae sit there an say, 'Well, Ah'm no gaun.' An for aw Ah goat for it. (46B)

26F8PB: Aye, Ah steyed up a pen. An then ye went through the pen an then it went tae a close, was efter that again, ye know. (67B)

66M1CC: Ah stayed up a pen, by the way. (52C)

66M3CC: It's p.e.n.d. - pend. Well, we never used the d. (56C)

46M8PS: A pend. A pend or a pen, as it was called. Well, that was a - a - an entrance into houses, was - was at the back of the - know, it was at the back. Whether, years an years ago, that pen was used maybe to go into a stable or whatever the case may be, Ah haven't a clue, but it was always the pen. In fact there was several in Parliamentary Road (21D)

46M/PS: Aw, up the pen, up the pen close, aye.
46M5PB: In Main Street in Bridgeton there was a pen.
46M7PS: Aye, there was umpteen pens. [...] Christ, we were aw up the pen in Collins Street. [...] Ye went up the pen an then ye'd A. B. C., the closes, aye. [...] In fact, they used tae pit a post in it, we used tae jump ower the post. (31D)

46F4PB: Ma mother was boarn up a pen. Well, she wasnae actually boarn in the pen!
46F5PB: Ah was boarn up a pen tae!
46F4PB: That's what Ah mean, I--.
46F5PB: A pen was where ye'd tae go up tae go round the back an ye entered the buildin from the back. [...] An up a wee spiral stair, where Ah was born it was up a wee spiral stair.
46M4PB: [...] Fact, there used tae be a loat in - a loat in Psrkhead. The auld Rabble Row things, ye know, the miners' row, an go through the pen intae the back, an up the wee sterrs at the back. Oh, the pen, oh aye.
46F5PB: [...] It was always known as Hendry's Pen, because Hendry's work was at the back, an the buildin at the front, ma Dad kept the keys an that.
46F4PB: [...] See where Ina's shop was, there was a pen next tae it, an when ye went roon the back there was houses. (28B)

46M11-X: It's like a wee tunnel or similar, somethin ye go through intae the hooses an that. (40S)

26F1CC: Ah steyed in a pen. [...] It's just a big - it's a big close that goes right through tae the - the back. An there's nae hooses- the hooses are up above it. Ah was right up above the pen, an Ah used tae always say, Ah steyed above the pen. An Ah hated it. There was always nae lights oan in thae hooses. Ah used tae shout oan ma Ma! (26F)

26M2CS: [arched passage = pen] Well, maist pens arenae arched, ye know. If ye're talkin aboot an arched passage, then ye're talkin aboot a close, know.
( ) in between two buildins, that's a pen.

16M2PB: [...] Aye, it's just like a path.
26M2CS: [...] the end i the buildin, an there's another buildin next tae it, it's a pen. [...] Ye could get an auld open, if ye went doon Anderston, at the end i auld Argyle Street, doon next tae the ( ). That's actually an auld pen there. It's a listed buildin, know. An they've goat the auld pen, know.
16M2PB: That's the only wan that's - that's aboot the only wan that's left in Glesca.
26M2CS: That's the only wan left, an that's where ye'll get it.
16M2PB: Cos that's where Ah used tae go drinkin wi ma aul man. (13F)

46F2PB: There was wan ower - just by John Street.
46M6PB: There was wan ower therr, there was wan right facin here, next tae the ( ) Inn. Just right facin therr. Then there was the -
46F2PB: There was a loat i pens.
46F3CB: Oh aye, there was a loat a pens along the Main street.
46M6PB: - the big pen wi the trees, reember what Ah called - we called the 'tree close'. Up the back i Clark's fish shoap. [...] Sometimes up the pen ye had the factory at the back, insteid i - insteid i a house (64B)

26M4PS: There was, in Duke Street there - there's a particular firm up this - know, part, and Ah was actually lookin for the number, an Ah was wi ma mate, ma mate says, 'Well, that number's actually up the pen there,' ye know what Ah mean, it's ... (25D)

16M5CS: Ah think it's an entrance intae a lane at the back i a buildin, that's goat an archway. [...] An a gate oan it, usually. (74B)

10M8PB: Aye, a pen, somethin like - it comes up an ye've goat hooses above it an aw. Ye come oot the other side. (75B)

16F3PS: Aw aye, that was like - in ma Grannie's time, it was the pen, leadin intae the hoose. Ah've heard them talkin aboot that. (76B)

16M1PF: There's wan doon Saltmarket, aw thae wee pens. (70B)

10F4PB: Aye, they've goat them in closes, ye walk up it tae the close, a pen. Aye, some people call it that, a pen. [...] Aye, see when Ah'm gaun tae T--'s - that's a boay in oor class - ye've goat tae go up therr tae go tae the - ye've goat tae go through a pen tae go up tae his place. (53B)

16F2CB: Aye, they've goat them doon Brigton, doon therr, that's what they're callt, the pens. (43B)

16F2CB: A pen, aye, they've goat pens doon in Brigton, pen hooses. [...] Aye, see where thingwy is, the Continental Café [...] - in there, see where that is, it's aw the pen hooses. (80B)

Synonyms elicited:

46F8PD podium (30B)
66F8PS arcade [Savoy Street] (23B)
46F5PB Savoy Arcade (28B)
26M6-D Pussy Lane (18D)

Appendix C

Additions and corrections to the dictionary record

There follows a list of neologisms collected in the course of this research, together with forms, senses and parts of speech unrecorded in the major dictionaries. These items are in addition to the headwords in Chapter 3. Items already known to Patrick (1973), Mackie (1984) or Munro (1985) are included, as it seems worthwhile to add additional support to these sources. Glasgow literature is sometimes alluded to in support of material collected directly from informants. There is a separate listing of rhyming slang.

Obvious solecisms have been weeded out, and material which seems in any way dubious. In the case of the open questionnaires from schools, items mentioned only once have been omitted, except for the topic of children's games, where the informants could be said to write with particular authority. Only three sets of school questionnaires are analysed here:

John Street Secondary, Bridgeton (JSt), one first year class

Albert Secondary, Balornock (Alb), one first, one second and one third year class and a single fifth year student

Queen's Park Secondary, Govanhill (QPk), one first year class.

There was also a visit to Queen's Park School, when some of the informants clarified and expanded on their written answers in tape-recorded discussions (QPk tape). The questionnaire itself is given in Appendix A. It will be seen that the pupils were encouraged to discuss their answers (in the latter two schools this was done in the classroom under the supervision of the teacher), so each class is in a sense a single multiple informant, although they were also asked to write down only terms they would actually use themselves, and the individual returns do vary from each other. The individuals are coded as follows:

1M1 - first year boy number 1
2F3 - second year girl number 3, etc.

Punctuation has been altered (the answers were given in the format provided by the questionnaire), but the spelling is as in the originals.

Scurrility

In any partial word list of a dialect there is a risk of giving a false impression of the whole. For instance, the SND, and therefore the CSD, omit vocabulary and senses shared with Standard English. The overall impression in comparison with dictionaries of English is a certain quaintness which results from the exclusion of the great body of industrial and technological vocabulary that has entered the language since 1700 (Macafee, 1985b). The SND omits the slang component of the language almost entirely, apart from a

few items labelled 'Glasgow slang' (mainly from McArthur and Long, No Mean City). Slang will bulk correspondingly large in any list that sets out to supplement SND's coverage, quite apart from being a prolific source of neologisms.

It will be noticed that in the following list certain semantic fields are particularly prominent. It should be remembered that most of the material was elicited in conversation about words, or from schoolchildren using the open questionnaire. The topics covered were largely introduced by the researcher, including scurrilous ones - I was actually rebuked for this on several occasions. When adults introduced words of interest to them, their agenda tended to be historical (see Chapter 4), but since the traditional Scots element of Glasgow vocabulary is already recorded in SND, it does not figure largely in the present compilation.

Esoteric language

Adult slang and children's language have a great deal in common, particularly the practice of altering and mangling words. James (1982: 305) describes how children form their nicknames: 'adult labels for children are destroyed and a new name - a nickname - is created by children out of the remnants.'

This applies equally well to the variations that children produce on words other than proper names. James (1982) is particularly concerned with children's symbolic treatment of food and the naming of the 'metaphoric rubbish' (p.299) that they eat. Neither raw nor cooked, the lurid sweets that children consume are symbolically rotten.[1]

Opie and Opie (1959, 1977: 344,5): discuss the motivation for esoteric speech in the context of secret languages:

> By using slang, local dialect, a multiplicity of technical terms, word-twistings, codes and sign language, children communicate with each other in ways which outsiders are unable to understand, and thus satisfy an impulse common to all underlings. In fact children use esoteric speech more commonly than is generally supposed. Rhyming slang, for instance, ... normally associated with cockneys, is neither confined to the metropolis, nor to the shift-for-a-living class. As far away as Newcastle respectable children can be heard [using rhyming slang].

The same kinds of forms are created and used by adults and children out of motives of modesty (e.g. mangled oaths), abuse, humour and sheer ebullience. Some recurrent features are:

a) -ie is added with diminutive effect to the full or clipped form of a word, e.g. haunnie, midgie. These are usually nouns, but cf. e.g. dreepie. There are also items of obscure origin with this ending, e.g. hudgie, niggie.

b) -o is added with emphatic effect, e.g. galdo, bando.

c) forms resembling (often rhyming with) existing participial adjectives are coined but the verb stem itself is not always found, e.g. gingin (cf. mingin), geekin (cf. reekin); dickied up, brammed up (cf. dolled up and brammer, itself not a genuine derived form).

allevio n. game 46F2CB, 46F8PD, 26F4CC, 46M2PC, 46M9PS. Var. of relievo (SND s.v. relieve 3(2), leave-o, and Supp allievers, the latter Glasgow 1934). Relievo is the principal seeking game with two sides in Scotland, Wales and Northern England, according to Opie and Opie (1969: 172-4).

allevo as allevio 66M5PB, 46F1CC, 46F8PD, 46M2PC, 46M5PB, 46M6PB, 46M3PB.

alliestieboax as allevio, literally 'relieve the box' 46M6PB.

American elastics [Q: What are elastics? Any other names?] 26F7PB.

American ropes as American elastics 46F2CB, 46F3PB, 26F7PB, 26M2CS, 16M2PB. Opie and Opie (1969) mention American skipping as a new craze, but without any description.

archie as erchie 'move your archie I kanny see the blackboard' (A1b1F2, but glossed as 'heed'). A1b1F3;1M5 (no glosses).

Australian whitehorse game, 'knock every door until the second top and then run up the stairs' (QPk1M11). I.e. this is white horse upside down.

Ba Bru n. nickname for the soft drink Irn Bru 16M1PF, QPk1M5. Barr's used to advertise this product using a cartoon black called Ba Bru. Also Bar-b, Bar Bru.

back bridge n. phrase, a stage in playing ball 16F2CB. For the sequence, see (first) leggy.

badgemen n.pl. members of the Dockworkers' Union, holders of a union badge, in contrast to snappers (q.v. for quotation).

baldie n. a haircut QPk1F8

balloon n. See 3.7.1.

bam n. 1. var. of bampot (3.7.3) 66M5PB.

> five year old boy: Ah've got a big brother called S--- S--- and he lives in W--- Street -
> 10M12: An he's a bam.
>
> The teacher is a bam. (A1b1F9).
>
> 'Ah feel like Methusalah's daddy, Tam,' he said. 'This wis your idea, ya bam.' (McIlvanney, The Papers of Tony Veitch, 1983: 132)

2. the bam nickname [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] bamstick, just 'the bam' (10M8PB).

> '... that sody-heided mug Tam-the-Bam' (McGhee, Cut and Run, 1962: 121).

bamstick n. see 3.7.3

banana slides n.phrase

> 46M1CC: Ye start fae the pavement, right? An somebody'll shout out, 'Right, you dae two banana slides.' An you go like that wi yer feet, wan, ye know, skew-with, ye know.

bandit n. 1. villain's term of contempt for the amateur, e.g. gas-meter bandits (Taylor, In the Underworld, 1984: 68)

2. apparently a mangled oath, ya bandit 46M6PB.

bando n. [Q: What kind of person is a ned?] 26F2CF. Possibly altered form of bandit, cf. galdo.

banjo v. [Q: What does it mean to stookie somebody?], 66F3PC, 46F4PB, 46M6PB. 'To clout over the head' (Mackie, 1984).

Bar-b as Ba Bru QPk1F1,8,9;1M4,6,10.

Bar Bru as Bar-b 26M2CS, 10M3CB; QPk1M1.

bass vocative, apparently a mangled oath, 'ya bass', (girl, 2B); often seen on walls.

baton n. insult between young men, 'ya baton' (reported by Graham Warwick, Bridgeton community worker).

bawheid n. [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 66F8PS, 66M6PB.

> 'Listen, fuckin baw-heid, ... I'm on serious business.... You want to be a comedian, practise somewhere else.' (McIlvanney, The Papers of Tony Veitch, 1983: 222).

bawheidit adj. 'Baw-heidit means big-heidit' (16M2PB).

beamer n. see 3.6.9

Belgium, game with skipping ropes:

> The girls played ropes, pavey-waveys or French ropes or Belgiums (Hanley, 1958: 51).

1. fast ropes 46F8PD, 46F4PB, 46F2CB, 46F3PB, 46M6PB.

> 26F4CC: Somebody - two people were cawin, right, you jumped yersel an they sung a fast song an you'd tae really go like bellowses, like actually it goat bellowses an then it went fae bellowses tae Belgium. Ye know, Ah mean, it was actually gaun like bellowses, was where that came fae, because it was the fast cawin. Don't know how bellowses go fast, but Ah mean that's what they - ye know, go like bellowses, an then it was bellies, and then all of a sudden it was Belgium. Ah mean it's actually bellowses was the - was the - originally came fae.

Also bellies, bellowses.

2. with two ropes 66M3CC, 46M7PS, 46F5PB. (Cf. Double Dutch).

bellies n.pl. game with skipping ropes 16F2CB, 26F4CC, 46F3PB. 26F4CC derives this from bellowses (in agreement with SND's treatment of the literal sense). Also Belgium.

belt-man n. 66M3CC, 66M7PD, 46M7PS. See 3.2.9

belter n. something excellent, QPk1M4,6,10,11;1F9 (cf. DSUE belt out - a belter is a song that the singer can let rip).

benny see take a benny

bent shot n. male homosexual, 26M2CS, JSt1M4.

best adj. favourite

> Ah love home-made soup an that's ma best soup. Ah don't like any other kind i soup. (girl, 1B)
>
> Excellent. / Brulliant. / Fandabbydosy. /Gallus. / Ah don't know. / Yer best things. (girls, 2B)

big broon yin n. £10 note, 26M1CB.

binliners n.pl. police, A1b3M7,8.

birlie n. big birlie and wee birlie are stages in playing ball, 16F2CB, 16F10-X. For the sequence, see (first) leggy.

bit bit n. baby talk for biscuit 26F8PB.

blaw n. marijuana, 'Have you got any blaw' (QPk3M12). QPk3M1,3,5; A1b3M7,12;2M11, (DSUE blow).

blaw v. to smoke marijuana, A1b3M7,8. (DSUE blow).

blawback, blowback n.

> blawback: when one guy puts the joint in his mouth the wrong way round and blows out the smoke to another person (A1b3M7).

Blowback: a fanci draw of a joint (A1b3M8).

Cf. blaw.

blether i hell n.phrase 66F4PC, M(39F) (cf. SND blether). See also yap i hell.

blowback see blawback.

blue murder n.phrase, game:

> A group of people halved into equal teams. One team makes a word and each person goes a letter of the word. The other team chases you and batters you until you give your letter. (QPk1F9)

(Cf. the slang phrase blue murder.)

boakses n.pl. game (boxes):

> 5 or more people. 1 counts to 20 and the rest of the people hide in someones veranda so they shout something like Jackie in Wiers. (QPk1F3)
>
> Someone counts in a corner in the school toilets and people hid in the toilets. (QPk1F7)

boattle-merchant n. 1. person who 'goes tae the van wi their gingies' (16M6CS, in conversation)

2. person who runs away when there is a fight (16M5CS, in conversation).

> But it [teenage fashion] disnae really affect the teams, ye know. It's usually wee guys roon the fuckin edges, wee boattle-merchants, at yaised tae get tane up wi aw these things. (man, early twenties, Bridgeton, recording made in 1979, Macafee, 1983a).

Cf. patter-merchant.

boattlie n. 'Two boattles we goat. Ye used tae throw wan then try tae brek the other wan' (16M2PB).

boggin(g) part.adj. see 3.6.10. (Cf. DSUE bog(house) 'privy').

bootsie n. game:

> You give everybody a letter in one team and the other team chase them and onse you catch them you gie them a doun until they give thier letter. (QPk1F2)

boufin(g) part.adj. see 3.6.10.

bouncie n. a stage in playing ball, 16F10-X, 16F2CB. For the sequence, see (first) leggy.

box see do (someone's) box in

brammed up part.adj. see 3.4.1.

brass can n.phrase [Q: What do you call it if somebody blushes?] 16F10-X.

brassneck n. red face, 'She took a brass neck' (A1b1F9). See 3.6.9.

brill adj. see 3.6.11 (DSUE s.v. brilliant). Also brillso, brylcream.

brillso [ad hoc?] var. of brill 10M7PB.

brylcreem [ad hoc?] var. of brill 16F2CB.

bubble n. bubble gum 'any bubbles?' (QPk1F8). QPk1F1. Also bubbly

bubbly n.[1] bubble gum 'Liquorice bubblies!' (10M6CB). 10F6PB. 'Gees a bubbly' (QPk1M3). QPk1M4,5,10;1F9. (Also in the North of England: James, 1982).

bubbly n.[2] [Q: What do you call lemonade?] 10M2CC. (Cf. DSUE 'champagne').

buggy laun n.phrase or nickname, see 3.5.8.

bumbash v. bugger 'see John --- he went an bumbashed Paul ---' (girl, IB). (Cf. DSUE bash).

bumchum n. 'poofs' (JSt1M2); A1b2M8.

bunny see go like a bunny.

but an ben n. room and kitchen, used of Glasgow tenements, 66F2PC, 46F8PD. (SND defines as 'two-roomed cottage').

butch(e)y n. 'butchey: Aw the snue gliffers use these to buzz the evo stick out of' (A1b3M6). A1b3M4,5.

butty n. roll or sandwich, 'chip buttie: a roll / piece on chips' (QPk1F9). QPk1F3. 'Jambutty: peice on jam' (A1b3F12). (But A1b3F1,2 gloss butty as 'pancake'). (DSUE notes that (jam) butty has spread beyond the North of England, particularly under the influence of the Liverpool comedian, Ken Dodd).

buzz v. 'buzzin it: glue sniffing' (A1b3M7). 'Buzz the glue' (QPk1M1). QPk1M3,5. (cf. DSUE buzz n.).

buzzer n. 'a glue sniffer' (A1b3M1).

cally n. as cally dosh, 46F1CC, 16M6CS.

cally dash n. as cally dosh, 26F7PB.

cally dosh n. [Q: Can you tell me any expressions for money in general?] 26F4CC, 16F10-X, 16M3PB, 16M5CS, 10F4PB, 10M3CB, 10M7PB (cf. DSUE dosh).

calm your beard /bɛrd/ exclam. QPk1M3,4,5.

> Boy A: 'Calm down'.
> Boy B: Miss, that's just, miss, if ye're gaun mental, miss, know how if it's something that ye don't need tae - an they just say 'calm yer berd', miss. (QPk tape)

casual 1. adj. 'Some football supporters think they are casual' (A1b3F9). '... thinks he is a casual guy cos of the clothes he wears' (A1b3M5).

2. n. 'A well dressed fighter' (A1b2M4). 'All the Rangers supporters think they are casuals' (A1b3M4). A1b1F9,2M12,16,3M6.

(Cf. DSUE casual adj. 'undependable, happy-go-lucky'. The noun is current in the media in connection with football hooliganism.)

catwalk n. game, 'to run through a lot of gardens: I got nabbed done the catwalk' (QPk1M3).

chanty wrassler n.phrase (SND Supp). See 3.7.4.

chap (the) door(s) (an) run away [Q: What is ring / bing bang skoosh?] 46F6PS, 16F7CD, 10M1CC. 'Chap the door and run away: I dare you to chap that door and run away' (A1b2F6). A1b2M1,12,19,20; QPk1M3;1F4,6,7.

chap door run fast [Q: What is ring / bing bang skoosh?] 26F4CC, 46M9PS.

chap windaes kick doors 'You chap a window and kick a door' (QPk1F1).

chappie var. of chap door run fast / away, 'You go up stairs, chap a door and run away: Want to come for a game of chappie' (QPk1M4). QPk1M7.

check v. [Q: What do you say for 'to have a look at something?] 26M3CS, 16F7CD, 16F10-X, 16M7CD, 16M6CS, 10F1-F, 10F6PB, 10M3CB.

cheengo n. as chewgies, children's 46F3PB.

chegewng gegum eggie-language form of chewing gum 10M2CC.

chewg-(ch)ewgs n. as chewgies 10M-CB.

chewgies n.pl. [Q: What do you call bubble / chewing gum?] 10M3CB. (Cf. chewy, North of England, James, 1982; DSUE chewey Australia).

chewngies n.pl. as chewgies 10F6PB.

Chinese elastics var. of Chinese ropes 16F6CD.

Chinese ropes see 3.2.2. 'Chinese ropes: put elastack bands together Jump over them without tuching: Want a game of chinks' (QPk1F4).

Chinese password game:

> 16F10-X: Everybody goes in a row, in a circle, an ye pass oan a word, an they add oan tae it. Say Ah say tae you, 'John' or somethin, you'd add oan, 'John done' an you'd pass it oan, an pass it oan an the very end person would have tae say it oot, an they might forget it.

Chinese torture a friction burn:

> 46M7PS: Oh, Ah used tae get Chinese torture. [...] Rubbed yer knuckles oan tae the flesh - that was - somebody done wrang, ye'd gie the Chinese torture.

(Cf. DSUE Chinese burn.)

chinkies var. of chinks QPk1F6.

chinks var. of Chinese ropes see 3.2.2. 'chink's: elastic bands joined together and you jump over them' (QPk1F1). 'Theese chinx are gona snap' (A1b2F7). QPk1F4; A1b2F1,4-6; JSt1F3,4;1M1. Chinx was a favoured spelling.

chooky waggon n.phrase police van, 16M2PB. (Cf. DSUE meat waggon; Munro 1985 chookie 'fool'.)

chuckies n.pl. testicles, 'Ah'd like tae kick them in the chuckies' (Girl, 1B), 16M4CS. (Cf. SND 'small stones'.)

chuckin fuckit exclam., spoonerism (young men, 74B). Cf. cunny funt.

chuggy n. [Q: What do you call bubble / chewing gum?] 16F3PS, 16F4PS. (Cf. DSUE chuddy, chutty; chut, North of England, James, 1982).

chungy as chuggy, 16F7CD, 10F6PB.

chunks n.pl. [Q: What do you call bubble / chewing gum?] 10M3CB.

clabber n. al fresco dance 66F3PC, 66F6PB, 66F10PC, 46F6PS, 46F10CS, 26F3CF (SND clabber-jigging).

cleggin part.adj. [Q: What do you call something that's nasty ...?] 16F10-X.

Clenny men n.phrase dustbin men (i.e. from the Cleansing Department) 26M2CS.

clingin part.adj. See 3.6.10. 'Clinging: filtth person who does not wash' (A1b3M6). 'The cake we made was clinging' (A1b3F5). A1b3F3,4,10-15; 2M1M6-10,19,20;2F4,7;1F9.

closet n. 'Ya closet', insult [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 26M3CS, 16M4CS, 10M-CB. See 3.5.5.

cludge n. var. of cludgie (3.5.5) 66M3CC, 46M8PS.

coakerrie var. of coal-cairry 10F3PB.

coaksie var. of coal-cairry 26F4CC, 26F3CF, 26M2CS, 16M2PB. 'Coaxy: on someones Back' (A1b2F5). Coaksie fights 26M2CS.

coal-cairry n. a carry on someone's shoulders 16M2PB (cf. SND Supp coalie-back, SND cocky-roosie a coal-cairry fight). Also coakerrie, coaksie.

cockaroses n. game 26M1CB (SND cocky-roosie). Also cocorustae.

cococalypso adj. [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 10M7PB.

cocorustae n. game 16F10-X (SND cocky-roosie). Also cockaroses.

code n. game 1. involves running across the street when called 26F11CD

2. 'code: catch the people and batter them till they tell you the code' (A1b2M19). A1b2M20.

come ahead phrasal v. 1. get into a fight [Q: What does it mean to take the spur? - misunderstood as reference to the Spur] 10F1-F. 'Don't come ahead wi the M---'s mob' (10M11-B).

2. invitation, 'come ahead wee man: come and see me wee guy' (A1b1F9).

coo's dung n.phrase, adult's dismissive term for chewing gum 16F10-X.

cooly n. 'A cooly walks about like a hit man and thinks nobody should say anthing or do anything to him.' (A1b3M6). '... thinks he's a cooly cos he hings about with me and wears coal [sic] gear.' (A1b3M5). '... thinks he's a cooly becos he is the best fightr in 3rd year' (A1b3M4). (Cf. DSUE cool adj.).

cough n. /kof/ a cigarette:

> 26F7PB: Willy Woodbines, that's when Ah was a wean, that was what was aw the rage, was a good cough! That's what Ah used tae say tae ma Da, 'Gie's wan i yer coughs,' ye know.

(Cf. DSUE cough-to-coffin.)

coupon n. face, 'coopen: face: Look at her coopen' (A1b3F1). A1b3F2,11-13.

> He grabbed a pint measure from the bar, smashed it and jabbed the broken edge at Ben's 'coupon'. (McGhee, Cut and Run, 1962:30.)

(DSUE fill in someone's coupon is to attack them with a broken bottle, Glasgow, later 20th century).

craw as crawbag

> 26F8PB: 'Are ye gettin up tae dance?' Ah went, 'Naw, we're too shy,' [...]
> 26F7PB: Ya craws! Ya craws!

crawbag n. coward 16F2CB. 'Somebody who is scared of somebody else (especially someone younger)' (A1b1F4). QPk1M1,5,10;1F9. (Cf. DSUE crawfish.) Also crowbag.

crazed up (on) part.adj. 1. 'That lassiy's pure crazed up on that guy.' (A1b1F5).

2. superlative, 'the photie is crazed up' (A1b1M2).

Crickie Mickie mangled oath (16M6CS's grandmother) (cf. DSUE crik(e)y).

crinkly gear n.phrase, paper money 16M2PB (cf. DSUE crinkle n.).

cris n.pl. crisps, 10M4CB. JSt1F4.

crowbag n. apparently a hypercorrection of crawbag, QPk1F8.

cunny funt n.phrase, spoonerism 16M6CS. Cf. chuckin fuckit.

daidlie n. a pee 66F8PS (SND daidle v^2).

daud see ten bob daud.

dead man's fall 'See who can die best off a wall: Can I be shot in the eye wi a tommy gun' (A1b2M4).

deckie [Q: What do you say for 'to have a look' at something?] 16F8CD (DSUE decko). Adults also gave deck(o).

deefie n. sling or fling a deefie, ignore someone's remarks, M(39F), 46M6PB, 26F3CF, 26F4CC, 26F8PB, 26F11CD, 16F1PC, 16M2PB, 16M1PF, 16M6CS, 10F4PB, 10F6PB.

deek as deckie 26M6-D.

destroyer see 3.7.2.

dibdob n. insult QPk1M3,5,10.

> Boy: Miss, it's a nickname, miss, for somebody, miss, it's like an idiot, miss, if they dae somethin wrang, playin at fitbaw or somethin, call them a dibdob. (QPk tape)
>
> Girl: Aw, everybody just says that; that's just a daft word. (QPk tape)

dice exclam., call to divide up sweets, etc.:

> 10M4CB: If ye're askin for it [chewing gum], ye would go like that, 'Spread the flavour,' or 'First up,' or somethin. Or 'Dice,' or somethin.

dicers n.pl. police (from the hat band) QPk1M3,12.

dickie n., adj. well-dressed (boy):

> Ah mean, it's aw the dickies, what we cry the dickies - dickie wee cunts, ye know. Guys, boays, don't dive aboot wi gangs, right? An they go oot for claithes an that, dressin up, think they're aw fuckin gemm an that. Aw dickie, right? (man, early twenties, Bridgeton, recording made in 1979, see Macafee, 1983).

(DSUE dickey n., adj. London, -1910.)

dickied up [Q: What do you call it when you're all dressed up?] 46F4PB, 46F5CB, 46M2PC, 46M9PS, 26F5CB, 26F11CD, 10M2CC, 10M8PB. Cf. dickie.

didgie n. var. of midgie 16F1PC.

diesel n. nickname for Guinness, barmaid (10D).

dillion 1. n. 'Rats goal was a dillon' (Alb2M19).

2. superlative adj. 'they trainers are pure dillion' (QPk1M3). 'Hit you on the arm sorely' (QPk1M12). QPk1M1,5; Alb2M20.

(?dilly + yin). Also dullion.

ding ding n. baby talk for dummy tit 26F9. Also ing ing.

dinghy see 3.6.6. 1. n. swing, sling or spin a dinghy Alb1M5,6;1F2,3,5,9.

2. exclam.:

'I broke into a shop.' 'Dingi.' (Alb3F9). Alb1M4.

dingy-bore n. 'someone who is telling a lie and who is somehow a boring person because of it' (reported by David Drever, teacher at Alb.). Cf. dinghy.

dirty dingus n. 1. 'T--- is always telling dirty dinguses' (A1b3M5).

2. 'C--- is a dirty dingus' (A1b3M4). 'When someone hitting you with a load of lies' (A1b3M6). Cf. dinghy.

dish n. face, A1b3F7,17;3M2,3. (Cf. SND dish-faced).

do (one's job / act) (bit) v.phrase, 'doin ma message girl' (66F3PC); 'doin their nanny' (66F7PB); 'do ma M.C.' (66M7PD); 'do ma pro' (46F5PB); 'dae ma Jolson' (46M9PS).

> ... another Ayrshire character who came to Glasgow to do his comic artist and has been doing it ... for over twenty years (Hanley, 1958: 200)
>
> 'You shouldn't be doing your doctor bit.' (Burrowes, Benny 1982, 1984:108)

(DSUE do one's bit.)

do (someone's) box in 'My dad does my box in when is drinking.' (A1b3F9). A1b1F7-9. (Munro 1985 also out yer box 'drunk'.) Also do (someone's) nut in.

do (someone's) nut in 'R--- dis ma nut in' (QPk1M5). 'Stop daen ma nut in: annoying me' (A1b1F9). (Cf. DSUE do (one's) nut.) Also do (someone's) box in.

do you want your go invitation to fight QPk1M1,4,5 (cf. DSUE go n. 'quarrel').

dobba n. 'hair do bo' (QPk1F8); 'herry duba' (QPk1M3).

> Boy: Don't know, just made it up. [...] Just call people that. (QPk tape)
>
> Boy A: Ah don't want tae say it, miss.
> Boy B: Miss, a penis.
> CIM: [...] Aw, they sayed that was somethin ye call people. Ye go around callin each other that, aye.
> Boy A: Aye, miss.
> Boy B: Miss, ye call a lassie - ye call a lassie it.
> Boy A: A hairy dobba! (QPk tape).

dodgy ba' n.phrase '2 teams - anyone who gets hit with ball joins other team' (adults, open questionnaire).

Double Dutch n.phrase, skipping with double ropes, 10F1-F, 10F4PB, 10F5PB, 10M5CB. Also Belgium, French ropes.

doublers n.pl. 'two baws an ye stoat against the wall' (F on 12F).

dough-re-mi n. [Q: Can you tell me any expression for money in general?] 26F11CD (DSUE USA, Canada and Australia).

dolly adj. unpleasant, 'Her dress looks dolly' (A1b1F2); A1b1F3,9;1M5,6. (Cf. DSUE Dolly Cotten = rotten.)

doughnut n. [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 26M5PS.

douse v. attack 10M1CC (DSUE rare, except dowse on the chops).

douser n. 'Ya doucer, I've just won the Bingo' (A1b5M1). (DSUE 'a heavy blow' 18th-19th century; cf. sense development of stoater, etc.)

dreepy v. 'hang from a wall and let yourself fall' (A1b2M7). A1b2M5. (SND dreep.)

dullion as dillion QPk1F9. 'Dollin' (A1b2M5).

eccy as excell A1b2M20.

edge interj. 'Edge it's the Mob' (A1b3M17). A1b1F9. (Cf. DSUE edge up, noise the edge.)

edgy n. see keep the edgy

edgy interj. as edge 'Edjy here's the teacher coming' (A1b1F14). A1b1M5,5;1F1,3,6,10;2M7.

> Boy A: Miss, if we're daein somethin, miss, an ye see somebody comin, ye shout 'Edgy!'
> Boy B: Teacher comin or somethin. Miss it's if everybody's jumpin aboot oan desks, miss, ye shout, 'Edgy!' (QPk tape).

ee-aw men / motor children's for firemen / engine 26F4CC [Q: What does send for the butts mean?].

eenty-teenty vocable:

> 46F5PB: 'Eenty teenty halligalum, the man went up tae sweep the lum,' or somethin like that!
>
> "Is eenty-teenty halligolum, eenie meenie, manny moo, urky, purky tawry rope, ki mar ach an choo, pipe clay up the lum, hickerty pickerty pease broose." (David Kirkwood in the Scottish Grand Committee responding to a Latin motto, Forward 1 May 1926, displayed in the People's Palace).
>
> "Eenty, teenty, figgery, fell,
> Ell, dell, dominell,
> Arky, parky, taury rope,
> Am, tam tousy Jock
> ... You are OUT." (Burrowes, Benny, 1984: 15)

(SND s.v. eendy).

egalega language var. of eggie-language 'Urdu, Panjaby, Egalega language' (list of languages spoken, QPk1M8).

egg on your face amongst young people, specifically a euphemism for 'your flies are open' 46F4PB (cf DSUE 'suffer embarrassment').

egg-language var. of eggie-language:

> 10F6PB: [eggie-language] Ye heard - heard i egg-language?
> C1M: Can you talk it?
> 10F6PB: Sheg leg egan oo.

eggie-language a secret language:

> C1M: There's somethin called 'egalega language'.
> 16M6CS: Eggie-language.
> C1M: [...] Can you talk that?
> 16M6CS: Egaye a wegee begit.
> C1M: What's that?
> 16M6CS: 'Yes, a wee bit.'
> 16M5CS: Naw, Ah can't talk it. Ah've heard it, umpteen times, Ah could never master it. Ah found it was awfie disappointin.
> 16M6CS: [...] Wegee legaelegin tegae spegie kegit, yegears agego ... wegi ma - megae pegall sego, peggie pepum - peg - well, been that long since Ah used it - sego peggie pegul cegould negot egunderstegand egus egon the neggie begus!
> C1M: That's great. Ye'll have tae translate now!
> 16M5CS: 'We've goat egg oan wur chins.'
> 16M6CS: Naw, Ah said, 'I learned tae speak it a long time ago wi ma pals so that people couldnae understand us oan the bus' or whatever. [...] Used tae have long, long conversations in that. [...] Ye put E. G. in front of a vowel. There was another wan, it was ... evae or avae or somethin like that. Ah could never master that. Cos Ah was quite happy wi the wan Ah had!

(Various forms are known, including eg from around England and Wales, from all social classes: Opie and Opie, 1959; Awbery, 1987.) See e.g. chegewng gegum, fire begutts, jeginger.

elastic var. of elastics, for quotation see triangles.

elastics see 3.2.2.

epi see take an epi.

erchie n. mangling of erse? 'Move your erchie' (A1b3F7). A1b3F17 (no glosses). Also archie.

ex as excell A1b1M2;1F4,5.

excell, exl, XL superlative, var. of excellent A1b1M3,4;2M4,5,12,14,15,17.

excellento superlative [Q: What do you call something that's really good?] 10F4PB

faces n.pl. game similar to Statues 26F7PB.

falsie n. a rule-break in a game 10M7PB, 10M5CB.

fandabydoesy superlative, 10M7PB, girl (2B). A1b1F14. (Catchword on local radio, cf. DSUE fantabulous.)

faurden'orth n. 66F10PC.

fire begutts eggie-language form of fire butts.

fire mabutts secret language form of fire butts 46M6PB.

fire magade secret language form of fire brigade 46F3PB (tentatively).

fit-an-a-hauf role in a game:

> 66M3CC: Well, say there was seven or eight boys, an Ah was, you know, they tossed an Ah was down - in other words, Ah went down, ye know, like, similar to leap-frog. So you - you chose a guide an a fit-an-a-hauf. So the guide, he jumped over you, an wherever he landed, you put yer heels to it. ( ) you - first of all you startit off wi yer heels against the pavement, an the guide jumped over ye, an wherever he landit you put yer heels to that. Then the fit-an-a-hauf took over. Now, if he went over it, everybody else had tae go over it, in nothin, a naner, as they called it, in other words, go from the pavement over the body. [...] That's over whae - whaever was down. Then the guide went over again, see? An wherever is feet landed, you again put yer heels to it. Now, this is where the fit-an-a-hauf comes in. If he could do it in a noner, everybody else had to do it, includin the guide - naw, naw, including the - the big crowd behind im. But supposin the fit-an-a-hauf only does it in one - one an over, well then, everybody: one an over. Then the guide again would make it a wee bit more awkward. See, ye'd - ye'd now be well in - so if the fit-an-a-hauf then tried tae do it in one an over, an e couldn't do it in one an over, he'd maybe do it one, two an over, an then if Ah was next, an Ah went over in one - [...] Naw, the fit-an-a-hauf took the person's place who was down. That was the gemm over. So that's why - the reason i the guide an the fit-an-a-hauf. Ye needit a good guide. The guide would make it difficult, so, ye know, ye could sometimes land away across the street. But most times there was always somebody just that wee bit fitter, they could go over it in oner. So that's one game.

(SND fit-an-a-half, the game itself.)

fit an hauf an guide a variety of leap-frog 46M2PC (SND fit-an-a-half).

flakie see take a flakie.

flim-flam n. £1 note 26F4CC (cf. DSUE flim and flim-flam 'humbug').

four-wheeler n. game:

> 46M9PS: Well, ye used tae - a crowd i yese aw goat thegither an one would go away up tae the corner i the street, an the minute a car came past, ye shoutit, 'Four wheeler!' an everybody ran, then ye'd tae go an hunt for them. That's - that's what we called it, 'Four wheeler'.

French var. of French ropes, 'an then there were French wi a double rope, ye know, a rope in each hand' (66F15-C). 'Ye played ropes an ye played - ye jumped French, an it was the two ropes' (46F11CC). 66F4PC, 46F8PD.

French ropes n.phrase, 66F7PB, 66F3PC, 46F3PB, 46F2CB. Hanley (1958: 51), see Belgium. (Cf. Double Dutch.) Also French.

frog n. 'an ugly girl' (A1b2M8). A1b2M6,9-11.

frogger n. leap-frog 10F2PB.

fruits an sweets game:

> 46M9PS: What was that again, fruits an sweets. [...] Aye, just the sorta thing, ye named the sorta fruit or somethin, ye just gave them an initial of somethin, ye know, just named it, that's what ye cawed fruits an - some kinda sweet, ye know, sweetie, ye named them.
> CIM: Was it one i these ones where they called an ye ran across the road or -
> 46M9PS: That's right, fruits an sweets, what ye'd tae dae, ye'd tae hop acroass, tae hop fae one side i the street tae the other. An the - the person that was in the middle had tae try and knoack ye doon afore ye goat tae the other side i the street.

fryin pan nickname for a type of roundabout 46F1CC.

fumigatin part.adj. [Q: What do you call something that's nasty ...?] 46M11-X.

funny collective n., police, 'The funny jailed us for loitering' (A1b3M5). A1b3M6;2M6,11.

> 10M3CB: if we see screws, we say, 'Aw, there's the funny,' and 'There's the treble two's.'

(Cf. DSUE funny adj. 'dishonest' and the filth collective n.)

furry-a interj. call to divide up sweets, etc.:

> 10M3CB: 'Furry-a' an 'dice' and 'spread the flavour' an aw that.

galdo superlative, Alb2M1,20; QPk1M4. 'It comes from gallus, miss, that's how it came from' (boy, QPk tape).

galluses see paralysis in your galluses

garage see go to the garage

gaumie var. of (run the) gauntlet 10M7PB, 10M5CB.

geekin part.adj. [Q: What do you call something that's nasty ...?] 10M8PB.

gemmie superlative, var. of gemm, boy, girl (14B).

Gibralter a stage in playing ball 16F10-X. Also gypsy.

gie it a by [Q: What does 'turn it up' mean?] 46M6PB, 16M7CD, 26F3CF. (Cf. DSUE give him / it the go-by.)

ginger n. see 3.3.3.

gingie n. ginger bottle 16F10-X, 16M6CS (see boattle-merchant). '... went to the van with a gingy' (Alb3M14). '... goes aboot collectin ginges' (Alb3M13). Alb2M6,7.

gingie-merchant as boattle-merchant 1, 'Ya gingy merchant' (Alb2M7). Alb2M6.

ginny var. of ginger, boys (QPk tape).

ginny-merchant as gingie-merchant, boys (QPk tape).

ginging part.adj. see 3.6.10.

ginkin part.adj. [Q: What do you call something that's nasty ...?] 16F7CD, 16F4PS, 16M7CD, 10F4PB. Alb3F1,12;2M6,8.

gitter n. see 3.7.10.

Glasgow handshake n.phrase 46M3PB.

> 26M5PS: Or there's an auld wan that's - it quite annoys me actually an - Ah don't know aboot you, Bill - it's called the Glasgow handshake. Now that - ye see it every tiime oan the telly, see it oan the telly an you wouldnae believe that people - what people call it. It's the head-butt, stick the heid on ye. It's called the Glasgow handshake. [...] Ye know, they sorta shake yer haund an they go: boomp! [...] It's an expression that gets used in Glasgow, an it's - in fact it's quite frequent in Glasgow.'

go see do you want your go

go like a bunny glossing 'getting over excited', A1b2M7,9. (Cf. DSUE go like a rabbit, where the reference is sexual, and bunny, a talker.)

go to the garage go to jail (reported by Graham Warwick, Bridgeton community worker). (Cf. DSUE go to the country, etc.)

gobbies n.pl. gobstoppers 16F3PS, 10M4CB.

good see have you any good on your mind

goosey n. (ad hoc?) var. of gander [Q: What do you say for 'to have a look' at something?] 26M6-D.

grass (someone) up tell tales, 'He'll grass you up. Don't tell him anything' (A1b1F13). A1b1F8. (Cf. DSUE grass v.)

grasshopper n. tell-tale, 'The girl said to her friend you bester not say anything because she is a grasshopper' (A1b3F15). QPk1M4,6. (Cf. grasshopper= copper.)

grubber n. children's for a greedy person 26F7PB. 'A boy who eats a lot' (A1b3M7). 'Somebody who eats your food after they have had their own' (A1b1F4). A1b3M8;1M4;1F1,5-9,14.

guide n. role in a game 66M3CC. See fit-an-a-hauf, fit an hauf an guide.

guidie n. home-made vehicle 66M6PB, 16M6CS.

> 26M6-D: Dae ye know what a guidie is? John, a guidie? [...] Well, ye tane the wheels aff the pram, [...] a skate, know, ye opened yer skates like that, took the back bit i the skate, put it oan a board, likes i a board, like a floor-board. Put the - put the skate at the back, an ye tane the wheels aff the back i a pram, an old pram, an then ye went doon like that, like a guidie.
> 46M10CD: It was Pussy Lane, right?
> 26M6-D: An ye guided it like that. Aw the wey right doon there.

(SND guider.)

gypsy apparently a var. of Gibralter, a stage in playing ball 16F2CB. For the sequence, see (first) leggy.

hairy (canary) - see take a hairy (fit), take a hairy canary. (DSUE defines hairy canary as an 'unlikely eventuality', but cf. wack i the doo.)

hallicaplum, hallicaplunk, halligalum 'next hallicaplunk Tuesday' some time in the unforseeable future (66M9PB in conversation).

> 46M3PB: Aye, hallicaplum Tuesday.
> 46F4PB: Aye, hallicaplum Tuesday. There was a rhyme tae that, wasn't there?
> 46F5PB: 'Eenty teenty halligalum, the man went up tae sweep the lum,' or somethin like that!

(Cf. SND halligalant a jollification, and similarly formed words.)

haunies n.pl. handstands JStlF4.

have you any good on your mind

> 26M2CS: If ye're gaunnae ask for money, insteed i askin straight oot for cash ye ask them, 'Have ye any good oan yer mind?' know.
> 16M2PB: [...] 'Have ye any sense?'
> 26M2CS: That's the answer ye get back. Insteed i gettin a straight 'Naw.'

(Cf. DSUE have you any kind thoughts in your mind?.)

head-banger n. [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 16M5CS. (DSUE has the sense 'hard case' from Fife.)

headie twa touch 'sort of soccer: Dae ye want a game o' headie twa touch' (Alb2M4).

heard it interj. meaning 'I don't believe you; you're not fooling me'. Alb3F9;1M1-4;1F4,5,9,10,12. (Also, a few write sherdit).

> Weans kinna go, 'Heard it.' (social worker on 12F).
>
> 'My Granda says he is only 21 and I said heard it' (AlblF13).

hector spector insult 'a pure pain, a bore' (AlblF12). Cf. next.

hector spector four-eye projector insult for someone wearing glasses (Bridgeton boys in conversation).

heid case n.phrase [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 26M6-D.

> Behind his back others will refer to him (and what more could he ask for?) as a 'nutter' or lunatic. Another term commonly use is ... HEAD-CASE ... (McGhee, Cut and Run 1962: 10).

(Cf. DSUE hard case.)

heider n. blow on the head (DSUE header). 'You heider im, Ah'll hauder im' (pun) M(31D).

hender n. var. of bender homosexual Alb2M6,8. (Cf. next.)

hender bender var. of hender Alb2M9.

hey presto 'doing a handstand: Coming play hey presto' (Alb2F3).

hidey n. 'hide and seek: Want a game of hidey' (Alb3M13). 'You hid and some one has to find you' (QPk1F8).

high heavens stage in playing elastics 10F2PB.

hing-oot n. [Q: What kind of person is a bun?] 26M3CS. (Cf. DSUE hang out of v., in contrast to the explanation in Patrick, 1973.)

hingy-oan n. a hurl 26M5PS. Also hudgie, niggie.

hoat peas an barley-o game 46M2PC (SND het beans and butter, etc. and cf. het peas).

homer n. 'doing a homer' doing small plumbing, electrical, etc. jobs in people's houses, on the side 26F7PB, 26F8PB and others (conversation).

hoolie n. GPO nickname for overtime;

> 26M4PS: Ah mean, what did you call overtime in the docks, Alan, if ye done any overtime? [...] Well, see, in ma joab in the post oaffice we call that hoolie, [...] 'Ye doin any hoolie the day?' Or when ye're phonin up, Ah mean, ye - ye know, Ah mean, ye'll no phone an say - this is you phonin the office an aw - ye'll no phone an say, 'There any overtime going today?' 'Is there any hoolie?' An if - for somebody that's - that does really a lot a overtime, well, they call im a hoolieking! 'He's a right hoolieking, him!'

(Cf. DSUE hooley v. 'pile success on success' 1894-8.)

hoolieking nickname, see preceding.

hoormaister insult for boys 16F2CB.

> 'Take a liberty wi' ma sister, wad ye? (...) Ya bloody hoormaister.' (McGhee, Cut and Run, 1962: 86).

hound insult for girls 'an ugly bag: Look at the coupon on that wee hound' (Alb2F2); 'dirty girl' (Alb3M7); 'a girl you want to batter' (Alb3M8); Alb3F2. (Cf. slang dog.)

House i Commons n.phrase, euphemism [Q: What do you call the toilet?] 46F8PD (cf. DSUE Parliament (House)).

huckle v. 1. physically remove (someone)

> 66F3PC: So Ah says tae Rose, 'Ah think we'll huckle him [a neighbour passing with a carry-out] intae your hoose!'

2. often used of the police 'The police huckled the supporter away for smashing a car up' (A1b3M6). A1b3M4,5,9;3F9,17;2M6. QPk1M5,6.

hudgie n. a hurl 66F1CC, 46F2CB, 46M9PS, 26F4CC.

> 16M2PB: A hudgie.
> F: A hudgie. Ye jumped oan the back i a motor for a wee hurl. (12F)

26M5PS and M (on 21D) both describe hanging from the canvas straps of a midgie-motor. (Cf. SND hudge-(mudge), secret(ly).) Also niggie.

humdinging part.adj. QPk1M6,10;1F9.

icey n. 1. ice lolly 16F6CD.

2. ice cream van 10M4CB.

ing ing n. baby talk for dummy tit 26F11CD. Also ding ding.

inshot bed n.phrase, recessed bed 46F8PD (see 3.5.8 buggy laun for quotation). 46F4PB (conversation).

> He could see Helen's form lying in the inshot bed (Hind, The Dear Green Place, 1984: 147).

jail bait n.phrase, 1. 'can't do it [a shop]' (A1b2M20).

2. 'caught by the polis: your jailbait' (A1b2M7). A1b2M19.

jakie n. alcoholic 26M3CS, 26F3CF, 16F5PS (cf. DSUE jake).

jam sandwich n.phrase, police car (white with a red stripe) JSt1F4. A1b2M7. (CB slang.)

jeggie var. of jeginger, see 3.3.3.

jeginger n. [Q: What do you call lemonade?] 10M1CC, eggie-language form of ginger.

jewelies n.pl. 1. marbles (10M/PB)

2. bulls-eye sweeties (10M7PB).

jingles n.pl. 'a game with coins' (A1b2M14); 'playing with money' (A1b2M15).

jinks n.pl. [Q: What do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest?] 10M-CB. (Cf. SND jink v.)

jog it interj. [Q: How do you tell somebody to hurry up?] 46F6PS.

joyment n.

> 66F8PS: Aw, there nae joyment the noo wi the weans in the street, ye know what Ah mean, there too much badness in them, aren't they?

(Cf. SND, OED joy v. obsolete.)

jungle's oan fire a chasing game 26F2CF, 26F3CF, 10F1-F.

k.d.r.f. initials of kick door run fast [Q: What is ring / bing bang skoosh?] 46F1CC, 46F7PD, 46M6PB, 26F4CC.

k.d.r.h.f. var. of k.d.r.f., initials of kick door run hellova fast 46M6PB.

keep the edgy 'keep the edgy for the screws' (QPk1M6). QPk1M3;1F9. A1b1F2. See edge.

keys up elaboration of keys [Q: What do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest?] 10M3CB. 'Keys up, keys doon, five-ten, (Ah'm) no playin' (16F2CB).

keysies var. of keys [Q: What do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest?] 16M5CS.

kirby n. game, 'throw ball against kerb, so it would bance back' (adults, open questionnaire). 16F2CB, 16F10-X, 16M6CS.

kit n. heroin 26M2CS.

knock v. rob 66F4PC, 46F3PB, 26F2CF, 10F6PB

> 'How would you feel if ye got knocked for your whack?' (McGhee, Cut and Run, 1962: 59)

(DSUE knock off.)

knucklie n. [Q: What is five stanes?] 46M6PB.

LD nickname, 'Eldorado wine' (A1b2M7).

laun n. laundry 10F1-F.

leg-opener nickname, Carlsberg lager:

> 26F7PB: When ma young brother goat engaged, we were at that - is it Mile-end, is it, ye call it? [...] an we were just, like, meetin Ann's family for the first time, ye know. Me an oor Maria are the same, we don't think bad i - aw right, there's wans aboot here drink Carlsbergs an they don't know when tae stoap, but we've always drank them, an, just like that, somebody - maybe it was a cousin i hers, or whatever it was, an ma Daddy, ye know, 'What are ye drinkin? What are ye drinkin?' an of course, Maria an I asked for Carlsberg, an this guy, just like that, 'What, the leg-openers?' See ma Da - see if looks could a killt! That guy would a been deed. He just glowered at im, as if, 'How dare ye?' ye know, 'Ma two lassies.'

leg-opener n. 'cow' A1b3M7,8.

leggy n. first leggy and second leggy are stages in playing ball 16F2CB, 16F10-X. 'First leggy, second leggy, splitsy, gypsy, back-bridge, wee birlie, big birlie an wan haunnie [...] wee mansie' (16F2CB). Alternatively, first leggy, second leggy, splitsies, gibby, back-bridge, wee birlie, big birlie, stooks, one hand and can-can (video recording).

loose n. single cigarette, M(39F). JSt1M1. QPk1M1,3-6,10;1F1,8,9. Cf. next.

loosie n. single cigarette 66F2PC, 66F1CC, 46M1CC, 46F6PS, 26F8PB, 26F11CD, 16F10-X, 10F1-F, 10F4PB, 10M1CC. (DSUE loosies -1978.)

low flier nickname, Grouse whisky 'two low fliers' (26M6-D in conversation).

Macallum /m^kal^m/ n. 1. the raspberry sauce that is served on ice cream 46F4PB, 46M4PB, 26M6-D.

2. the ice-cream and raspberry together 46F2CB (SND - the suggested etymology mak caul' em is rather far-fetched).

3. ice-cream as served in a café, 'ye don't get a poke, ye jist get the Macallum, the ice-cream put oan the plate, that's a Macallum' (46M10CD). 46M2PC, 46F7PD.

4. Gaitens (Dance of the Apprentices, 1948: 57) describes as a Macallum an ice-cream, sponge and chocolate concoction that Weir (1970: 105) calls a 98.

mad superlative, 'mad = it was good' (A1b3M7). 'I hid a mad time it the show's' (A1b3M8).

maddie see take a maddie.

Martian insult QPk1M1,3.

medal n. joking term for a pinned-on dummy tit 26F7PB.

meegie n. a chasing game similar to scabby touch 26M2CS, 16M2PB.

meekin part.adj. [Q: What do you call something that's nasty ...?] 46M5PB.

melancholy adj. [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 16M2PB, pun on cauliflower ear.

menshy var. of mention QPk1F8. 'Graffiti aw ower the wall. Ye get a menshy oan the waw. [...] Yer nickname an aw that' (girl, QPk tape). (Cf. DSUE don't mensh, and current slang mensh n.:

> There is mention of 'documentary', 'partnership', 'co-operation' and, above all, 'working together.' But 'socialism'? Not a mensh. [Peter Kellner, New Statesman 12 April 1985].)

mention n. 'graffite: gies a mention' (QPk1F9). QPk1M1,5.

> Ah mean if we went home an started writin on their desk they wouldnae like it, or if it was their favourite thing in a room an it had mentions i everyone's name over it, they wouldnae like it, wi their names an that, an bad things about other people; like say they've fallen out wi - like 'someone fae such an such a class is a - somethin,' an aw that ... (first year girl at Holyrood School, recorded by Patricia Dillon, student dissertation, 1986).

Also menshy.

midden-men n. 1. dustbin-men 'We call the midden-men, that takes the midden away' (10F2PB). Also midgie-men.

2. = midgie-raker:

> "Mick, Mick, the midden-man, combs his hair with a fryin' pan!" (Turner, 1985: 171)

midgie-bin n. 26M5PS. 'S--- stys in midgy bin' (Alb3M13).

midgie-dyke n. 46M10CD (SND midden-dyke).

midgie-men n. 'Migiemen: binmen' (QPk1F3). 66F8PS, 66M6PB.

> 26M2CS: Well, that would be you talkin aboot the Clenny men, sayin 'the midgie-men', know.

Also midden-men.

midgie-motor n. 26M5PS, M(21D).

milk shake [Q: How do you tell sombody to hurry up?] (ad hoc?) var. of (give yourself a) shake 26M6-D.

mince n. rubbish in derogatory sense, 'the film was pure mince' (Alb5M1). 'You'r talking mince' (Alb1F4). 'You're cookings utter mince' (Alb1F5). (Munro, 1985: 84, your heid's full a mince.)

minger n. [Q: What kind of person is a mingmong?] 16F2CB, 26F2CF. 'Someone who is smelly' (Alb1F4). Alb2M1.

mingmong see 3.7.12.

mingy var. of minging (3.6.10) 16F5PS.

mintit part.adj., in the money, 'Get a grand, that's you, Ye're mintit' (16M2PB). (DSUE mint n.)

mob collective n. the mob, the police Alb3M17,1F9. Also the rotten mob.

monkey n. 1. £20 M(39F), 66M7PD

2. £50 66M1CC (DSUE variously £50, £500, $500, £50,000).

naner, noner n., a jump without a step first in a game 66M3CC. See fit-an-a-hauf.

neb insult [Q: What kind of person is a bachle / bauchle?] 46F8PD.

> 10F4PB: Ya poor neb,' that's what they say up the Calton.
> 10F1-F: Aye, an know how if ye have yer - know how if ye shout an bawl, know how, sayin how ye know everythin, they aw go, 'Ya wee neb,' an aw this.

(Cf. SND nebby adj.)

niggie 1. n. a hurl, children's 46F2CB, 26M3CS, 16M2PB, M(39F). 'I jumped on the back of a lorry to get a nigie down the hill' (Alb3M2). (Cf. DSUE a trick, 19th century public schools'.)

2. v. 'Lets niggie that milk float' (Alb2M14). Alb2M3. (Cf. DSUE to catch, arrest, 18th century.)

nineties var. of nines in done / dressed / dolled up to the nineties [Q: What do you call it when you're all dressed up?] 46F3CB, 26M4PS, 16F7CD, 16M2PB. QPk1F1.

nip v. 'to get off with someone (to find yourself in an embrace with one of the opposite sex)' (open questionnaire, adults). 'She's nipping him' (JSt1F1).

nippsies n.pl. [Q: What do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest?] 26F7PB. 'Nip, nippsie, nae nippsies back' (26F6CC).

no-gooder n. [Q: What kind of person is a ned?] 66M5PB. (DSUE is curiously personal: 'a selfish or a cynical person given to adverse criticism of the do-gooders and, indeed, all good-workers'.)

no-user n. [Q: What kind of person is a bampot?] 66M6PB.

'You're a "no-user"...' (McGhee, Cut and Run, 1962: 115).

noise up 1. v. 'he keep noising me up: he is having me on' (A1b1F9).

2. n. 'We gee Mrs. S--- an noise up' (A1b1F6).

nowt pron. [Q: What do you call it when you get something for nothing?] 66M3CC, 16M6CS, 10M8PB, 16F3PS. (DSUE regards this as now colloq. Although it occurs in Southern Scots as well as Northern English dialect, it probably enters Glasgow as a general English colloquialism.)

nut see do (someone's) nut in.

nut job insult [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 16F2CB, 16M5CS, 10M8PB.

P.B. var. of pure brilliant, children's F(10D).

Paisley n. wavy ropes 66F1CC, 46F8PD (SND pavey-waveys).

pal it 'an ma mother palled it wi the sister' (46F4PB).

paralysis in yer galluses 'talkin stupit' 66M8PB (conversation).

patter-merchant see Chapter 4. (OED Supp. reports merchant 'fellow' revived in recent slang, e.g. speed-merchant.) Cf. boattle-merchant.

pea leap see 3.3.6.

pea loop var. of pea leap 66F7PB, 66M7PD.

pedlar punning insult, 'On yer bike, ya pedlar', girl (1B).

pee in the can, Sanny man 'Do the toilet in a can and lean it up against a door and knock the door' (QPk1M11).

pee-wee nickname 'p.w.' i.e. policewoman (QPk1F8; QPk tape).

peebly n. [Q: What is five stanes?] 26F2CF, 26F3CF (cf. SND peeble a semi-precious stone, Aberdeen 1910).

peevie var. of peever 'an ye had "peevie", when ye played the beds' (26F2CF).

penny blacks n.phrase, 1. 'training shoes' (A1b2F5). A1b2F4.

2. 'black shoes' (A1b2F6).

Cf. penny whites.

penny vantis n.phrase 46F7PD, 46M10CD.

> 46M9PS: It's coloured water. Just a powder an they colour it wi - it gets coloured wi the water; called it a penny vantis'
>
> M: It was just a wee boattle, a coca-cola boattle, an they poured this stuff intae it, an they put it in this machine an pulled the haunle, for tae put gas in it, an they selt it for a penny an tuppence' (39F).

(Cf. DSUE penny red, Dartmouth.)

penny whites n.phrase, 'sandshoes' (Alb2F4). Cf. penny blacks.

perr of pants insult, 'a smelly person' (Alb3M8). Alb3M7.

pie or a cake

> 46F3PB: 'Cake or a Pie.'
> 46M6PB: Aye, that's just a -
> 46F3PB: 'Cake or a Pie'.
> 46M6PB: Which was which?
> 46F3PB: They were pies, we were cakes!
> 46M6PB: Were they? Aw. It's wan Ah never heard i maself: Cake or a Pie! Heard i 'Billy or a Dan' but Ah think that was just before oor time. Aye, 'Billy or a Dan or an auld tin can.' But Ah don't know where the auld tin can bit came in at. Ah think that was just somebody that didnae bother their backside. (82B)

Although 46F3PB identifies herself (tentatively) as a 'cake', it seems more likely that the initial letters correspond to Protestant or Catholic.

> 'Are a Billy or a Dan or an auld (ould?) tin can?' 'Eh?' 'Are ye a Pie or a Cake?' 'What?' (Lindsay, 1985: 91).

pish-hoose n. [Q: What do you call the toilet?] 10F2PB. Also piss-hoose 26F7PB. (Cf. shit-house.)

plaster n.

> 66F2PC: Ah was gaun through the lane an Ah tramped intae a big plaster an Ah went, 'Oh, does that mean Ah've goat tae go intae the hoose wi them?' So Ah widnae go intae ma ain hoose wi the shoes. He lifted them an put them doon the chute!
> 66F3PC: Who did?
> 66F10PC: The boay.
> 66F2PC: Ma grandson! Ah went, 'Whit d'ye dae wi ma shoes, son?' E went -
> 46F8PD: 'Doon the chute.'
> 66F2PC: 'They were stinkin, Grannie, Ah went an put them doon the chute.'
> 46F8PD: Oh dear, oh dear, oh dear.

play tig with buses imprecation, 'you are anode with someone' (QPk1F8). 'Go an get run over: go and play tig with the buses' (QPk1M6).

plookymodo insult or nickname, 'some on with a lot of spots' (QPk1F8). QPk1M1,3,5.

> Miss, ma pal, miss, e's goat a boay in is class that's got hundreds i plooks, miss, an e just started callin im 'Plookymodo' (boy, QPk tape).

poky hat see 3.3.4. SND derives this from hokey-pokey 'ice-cream', but since there is a type of hat called a poke hat, and since a cornet is shaped like a poke, and poke is a common var. of poky hat, it seems likely that poke (SND s.v. pock) is somehow also involved in the etymology.

poke var. of poky hat 66F2PC, 66F8PS, 46M8PS, 46M3PB, 46M1CC, 26F4CC, 26F11CD, 16M4CS, 10M2CC.

pole-i-o var. of pole tig 16F10-X, 16F2CB.

> 10F1-F: It's a game. Right, ye name - right, ye name likes i, right, there's aw - a big body i people an you're staunin yersel, an you go like that tae them, "Right, names i hooses," an they gie ye names i hooses, an you - you've goat tae pick wan i the hooses, an they've goat tae race against ye. An if you win again, you're oot again tae tell them what names i'.

pole tig n.phrase, 'We played at pole tig' (Hanley, 1958: 63) (not one of the forms of tig listed in SND).

polie var. of pole tig 'run for a poll and some is het: Want a game of polly' (A1b2M5).

praises n.pl. stage in playing elastics 10F3PB.

pressie n. prank 'press the door bell of the house and run away' (QPk1F8).

Pringle brandname used as a count n.

> 16F7CD: [describing wee herries] Or Pringles. That's another thing [...] craze for Pringle jumpers. They're quite expensive.
> 16F6CD: They're, like, quite expensive. They go for aboot fifteen pound at the cheapest.
> 16F7CD: [...] But it depends what ye wear, ye see ye could wear leg-warmers, an no get called a - a wee tramp, just depends what wey ye wear them. An what ye wear it with. Ah could wear a Pringle, but it depends what Ah'm wearin wi it.
>
> 'A good jumper: my mum bought me a Pringle and it was very dear' (QPk1M2).

punt v. sell 26M2CS (quoted at 3.1.5) (DSUE 'buy').

puntie up n.phrase, a lift up in order to get a better view 10M2CC (cf. DSUE punt n. 'a look', from rugby parlance).

pure intensifier, 'Ah like mince, but no ma Ma's. It's pure pink, she only hauf cooks it. An er eggs are pure black' (girl on 1B, one of many examples from children). 'Oh! that was pure brilliant' (A1b2M5). 'I was pure ill last week' (A1b2F5). A1b2F4,7;1F4,14; QPk1F9. (DSUE pure and + adj.)

put the head on:

> Ah, jist go an drag im oot. As they say e can only 'put the heid oan ye' (F on 12F).
>
> 'Listen, (...) I think the five of you should all go away and do something more sensible. Like putting the head on a wall. In unison. Okay?' (McIlvanney, The Papers of Tony Veitch, 1983: 232)

(Cf. DSUE stick it / one on; put the boot in.)

reddie var. of riddie (3.6.9) 46F5PB, 46M10CD, 26M5PS.

reekin part.adj. [Q: What do you call something that's nasty ...?] 10M8PB.

Resi nickname for residential school 10F1-F.

revenge 1. v.trans.:

> 66F7PB: So an she went, 'Aw, you go, you go, you go if ye like, but Ah - Ah widnae go. You go if ye like. But see if she goes -' 'Aye.' 'See if she goes, Ah'll revenge her.' Ye know. 'An if she goes -' She's been gaun oan an oan an oan like this. I'm seek an tired i er.

(OED, obsolete.)

2. revenge on [Q: What does it mean to put the hems on something?] 'Revenge oan them?' (10M4CB). (All OED citations of revenge on / upon are instances of upon).

riddie n. see 3.6.9. (Cf. DSUE (have a) red face (or neck), Glasgow.)

right n. obligation:

> 66F8PS: An if ye waantit anythin, Ah mean, if ye were - ye'd go an ask somebody, could they len ye anythin, ye know, an go decent aboot it, but when ye see them in the street, the wey they are, it's - aye. An they think ye've a right tae gie them it.

(A common usage, though regarded by OED - on the basis of written texts - as obsolete.)

ring a bell [Q: What is ring / bing bang skoosh?] 66M6PB.

ring a bell skoosh 'This means that you ring a bell and schoosh the person that answers' (QPk1F5).

roll over a catching game 10F1-F.

rotten mob collective n., the rotten mob the police, A1b3M7,8,17. Also mob.

rubber var. of rubber ear or rubber dinghy 'sling her a rubber: do not answer' (A1b1F9). A1b3F7.

rubber dinghy full version of dinghy (3.6.6).

rubber ear 1. interj. 'someone sais something and I said rubber ear' (A1b1F10). See 3.6.6.

2. to give / sling etc. (someone) a rubber ear 'to ignore - doesn't take person up on offer' (open questionnaire, adults). [=dinghy] children's 46M6PB, 26F4CC, 26F3CF, M(39F), 16F2CB, 16M2PB, 16M6CS, 10M2CC.

> Give him the elbow/ Give him the body swerve/ Give him the rubber ear. (John Martyn, 'Perfect hustler', on the LP Glorious Fool)

(For the imagery, cf. SND a puddin lug s.v. lug; DSUE (have) wooden ears on and rubber dick v. give false promises.)

rubber lug var. of rubber ear 16M6CS.

sauce n. money 10M4CB (cf. DSUE sauce pan lid = quid).

sawdust-heid [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] (ad hoc?) 10M7PB.

scabbie touch a chasing game 26M1CB, 16M2PB, 10M1CC. 'Playing at tig with an old rag: C'mon play on the midges at scabbie touch' (A1b3F2). 'A game with a ball: You're het at scabby touch' (A1b3F1). Also scabbie, scaibie.

scabbie var. of scabbie touch 16M3PB, 16M1PF.

scaibie var. of scabbie touch 16F10-X, 16F2CB.

scatter-cash n. 'That's somebody wi a lot i money' (26F7PB). 26F9.

scoutie n. a lift in order to get a better view 16M4CS.

scratch(ie) n. see 3.3.7.

screw n. policeman, 16F5PS, 10M8PB, 10M3CB. 'How many nails are in a polis factory? Nane, they're aw screws!' (girl on 4B). The most popular synonym in the open questionnaire (schools). (Cf. DSUE 'prison warder'.)

scum collective n. police, common response in open questionnaire (schools). 'We got a chaser from the scum' (Alb3M5). Scum van n.phrase, police van, Alb1F9.

scumbag 1. general insult, 'somebody ugly: She's a scumbag' (Alb3F13).

2. policeman, Alb3M8,11;3F1,10. (Cf. OED Supp. 'condom', s.v. scum.)

scum-mobile n. police car JStlM1.

second prize n.phrase 1. scar:

> Finally, with his glance resting on my scar, he said in a ridiculing tone, '... Have a pipe at the "second prize" he's cairryin'- (McGhee, Cut and Run, 1962: 132).

2.

> 46M10CD: Say a guy wants tae fight, an e takes second prizes, Ah'd say, 'That's a balloon, that yin,' know. [...] E cannae beat anybody, an e's always gettin a doin.

segs n.pl. [Q: What do you call a sweetie?] 16F4PS (used by her younger brother).

seven-sider n. fifty pence piece, M(39F), 46M9PS. Cf. twelve-sider.

shangalang n. children's:

> 26F11CD: An what was the other word an aw, they used tae call that boay facin us, mind, when you first moved in? Shangalang! [...] 'That big shangalang ower there.'
> 26F7PB: Is that in other words for 'poofter'?
> F: Naw, just a big gawk.

shangy adj. nasty 'that dinner is shangi' (Alb1F5). See also next.

shanners adj. [Q: What do you call something that's nasty ...?] 10F6PB (cf. SND shan). See also preceding.

sherdit var. of heard it A1b1F1,6,8.

shillin n. 'ma wee shillin', term of endearment to a child (see 3.1.1).

shitebag n. coward, 'crapper' (16F2PB).

shootin stars apparently a mangled oath 46M6PB.

shuftie up n.phrase, a lift in order to get a better view 16M4CS. Cf. shuftie (3.6.8).

sid collective n. the police, i.e. the c.i.d., QPk1M3,4 and several other first year pupils who spell it cid. Cf. peewee.

skeevie n. a lift in order to get a better view 10M1CC.

skeggs n.pl. underpants 'The man was caught was caught in his skeggs' (A1b3M11). (Possibly eggie-language for scants which is given by A1b3F1,2,10,13.)

skip the ladder in and out skipping game 46F5PB.

skiter n. ' a piece i cardboard or even a slate, an ye skimmed it though the air' (46M2PC). (Cf. SND skite v.)

skoosh v. 'ye used tae dae it in the baths (...) When ye couldnae dive, ye skooshed oaf the steps i the baths' (46M7PS). (Cf. SND skoosh.)

skooshies n.pl. squirting water from washing up liquid bottles 10F5PB (cf. SND skoosh). Also squoosh, and cf. ring a bell skoosh.

slag count n. an abusive name, 'It's [spam] just a slag for somebody, miss' (boy, QPk tape). (Cf. DSUE v.).

Smokey Joe insult or nickname, 'C--- B---! Smokey Joe fae Mexico!' (boy, 6/B, on topic of smoking). 'Smokes a lot: L--- is a Smokey Joe' (A1b2F4). A1b2F5,7;1M4. (Cf. DSUE, a coal-burning WW2 minesweeper.)

snaglet n. cigarette, Qpk1M3. Girl on QPk tape. Also sneg.

snapper n.

> 46M: A snapper was a - a - was a man that was stannin for a job after all the badgemen got a job.
> CIM: [citing SND] The foreman used tae come an snap is fingers at the men e wanted?
> 46M: Naw. They're wrong. [...] A snapper is one who gets a job after all the badgemen are employed. Ye couldnae start a snapper tae - or there'd a been a riot, ye know. That's what it was. It had nothin tae do wi snappin.

(Cf. SND Supp.; DSUE (on the) snap - the snap is the spell of work itself.)

sneg n. a cigarette, Alb3F1,10,11,13. QPk1F9. (possibly eggie-language form of snout, used in this sense by Alb3M3, QPk1F9.) Also snaglet.

snider n. 'It means it's rubbish' (1M1 on QPk tape). QPk1M5.

> Boy A: Used tae call ma Primary School teacher that -
> Boy B: - Used tae call im Snider.' (QPk tape)

snooky up phrasal v. endearment to children, cuddle up 46F5PB. (Cf. DSUE snook(um)s nickname).

snore n. 'bore: Mr. C--- is a pure snore' (Alb3M5). Alb3M2;3F6.

snuggy n. 'pulling someones nickers up from their trousers and hurting them: Snuggy Time for Wee Tam' (Alb3F2). 'Moan gee him a snuggy' (Alb3F1). Alb3F1;3M7.

snue gliffers n.phrase, spoonerism, Alb3M6. For quotation see butchey.

sny n. 'somebody that goes away wi another person, miss, an e's playin wi you. [...] just say e's a sny.' (1M2 on QPk tape)

spacies n.pl. var. of Space Invaders 10M-CB.

spam insult or nickname, 'ya spam' (QPk1M5). QPk1M1,3.

> Boy A: 'Ya spam!' Miss, that's ancient, miss, naebody uses that noo. Miss, that used tae be ma slag. Miss, they always used tae call me 'Spam', don't know ...
> Boy B: [...] Miss, an idiot. (QPk tape)

Cf. next.

spamhead insult, 'someone who is Baldy' (Alb2M7).

spangle insult, var. of spongle, QPk1M5 and QPk tape.

sparkers n.pl. [Q: What do you call a match?] 66F17PX (cf. SND spark v.).

spark up verbal n. a light 10F6PB. (Cf. SND spark v.).

spearies n.pl. [Q: What do you call bubble / chewing gum?] 10M6CB.

splits, splitsie n. stage in playing ball 16F2CB, 16F10-X. For the sequence, see (first) leggy.

spongle insult, QPk1M5;1F8.

> Boy A: That's just a name for an idiot.
> Boy B: Just a name for somebody that's always daein things wrang, miss. (QPK tape).

Also spangle.

splash the cash interj., asking for money 10M4CB (cf. DSUE splash v.).

spraggers n.pl. [Q: What do you call a sweetie?] 10M9CB.

sprazzer n. 1. threepenny bit, 46M2PC

2. sixpence 66M7PD (cf. DSUE sprowser, market traders', which it considers obsolete by 1980; sprat, obsolete by 1935).

spur see take the spur (3.6.4).

squares see squerrs.

squelch n. a look gained by squeezing in 10M1CC.

squerrs n.pl. game played with elastics 16F7CD. See 3.2.2.

squishy fights 'a bottle of fairy liquid with water in it and you chase each other and spray them with the water' (QPk1F1).

squoosh v. 'Fill a washing up liquid bottle with water and sqoosh someone with it' (QPk1F6). (SND skoosh and cf. squish.)

stanie n. (Q: What is five stanes?] 26F9. (SND steenie some kind of game, Aberdeen 1837, s.v. stane.)

stankie n. game with marbles, 'See aw the holes in the stank, used tae try an get aw the bools in a straight line' (16M2PB). 26M1CB.

steamboats adj. (var. of steaming?) drunk:

> 46F8PD: Ye know what she says, ye know what she says? They'll aw come steamboats oot the - the - the Dominion. Well, the Dominion isnae even open oan a Sunday.

(Cf. DSUE steamed-up, Glasgow 1934.)

steesher n. something superlative, 'it's good' (QPk1M5). QPk1M1,3,4. 'It's a pure steecha' (QPk1F9).

stick the head on M(12F) correcting put the heid on (cf. DSUE stick it / one on).

stoat the baw 1. game, 'used tae staun in a circle wi yer legs wide open an stoat a wee baw' (16M2PB). (Cf. SND stot-ba s.v. stot.)

2. 'some man that tampers wi weans' (26M2CS, reluctantly explaining when raised by a social worker who was in the room).

(Cf. heid-the-baw, nickname for an idiot, Munro, 1985.)

stoaty adj. [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 10F6PB (ad hoc?).

stookie n.

> 66F8PS: Know what they made in the Potteries, they had it, ye know, for mouldin wi the putty an aw that, the clay, an they put them intae - well, efter that, they throw them oot, but, know, it was awful good for the side i the closes. Mean, ye went doon oan yer knees, an washed them an decoratit doon the sides wi the stookie. Made them nice an white, aye. Insteed i puttin the pipe - pipe-cley oan them.

(SND equates this with pipe-clay.)

Stookie chalk 'That was just a big lump i chalk ye had, cawed it stookie chalk' (46M9PS).

stookie v. see 3.2.11.

stooks a stage in playing ball, when the thrower must not move her feet (video recording). For the sequence, see leggy.

strike n. (var. of striker?) [Q: What do you call a match?] 26M2CS.

striker n. [Q: What do you call a match?] 66F7PB, 66M6PB, 46F2CB, 46F3PB, 46M4PB, 46M11-X, 10M5CB, 10F4PB. (Cf. OED anything used for striking a light).

stuckie n. var. of stookie, hard chalk 66F1CC.

suavy adj. 1. [Q: What do you call it when you're all dressed up?] 26F6CB.

2. superlative 'We had a swavvy time at the town' (A1b1F12).

(Cf. DSUE suave, Army, late 1950s.)

suaved up part.adj. [Q: What do you call it when you're all dressed up?] 10M4CB.

sucker n. a rubber implement misused to lift a grating as a prank 46M3PB.

swagged up part.adj. [Q: What do you call it when you're all dressed up?] 10M6CB (see 3.4.1). (Cf. DSUE swag n., mostly pejorative senses; swagger-dress Army, 20th century.)

swaggy-lookin [Q: What do you call it when you're all dressed up?] 10F5PB. Also swagged up.

swadger var. of swedger 16M6CS, 16M1PF.

swattie-boo-boos var. of swadger. children's 46F3PB.

swedger n. see 3.3.1.

swedgie var. of swedger QPk1M3.

swedgie-boo-boos var. of swattie-boo-boos 46F3PB.

swegg var. of swedger JStlM1.

swing it interj. [Q: How do you tell somebody to hurry up?] 16F7CD.

tacketies n.pl. tackets 66F8PS.

take a benny 'cracking up' (A1b1F13); 'He took a bennie when I hit him with a stone' (A1b2M13).
A1b1F1,7-12,14;2F1-3,5,6;2M11-7,9,10,12,15-20; 3F16. (Cf. DSUE take a bend out of, to calm someone down, Australian. David Drever, a teacher at Alb, suggests a derivation from bennies, sixties slang for benzedrine.)

take an epi 'My ma tan an epi when she saw ma room' (QPk1F8).
QPk1M1,3,4,6,13;1F1,9; A1b1F1;2F4,5;2M6-10,16;3F1,2,12,13.
Apparently short for an epilectic fit, cf. next. Also take a heppy.

take an epi fit 'Daft Ped took a eppy fit' (A1b2M11).

take a flakie

> 10F4PB: [describing the school pantomime] 'Well, this teacher in John Street school, an e takes flakies!' This is the wey e was gaun oan, wint it?

(Jim Cusik of the Glasgow Evening Times tells me that a flakie in computing is a fault in a microchip that makes the system go bananas.)

take a hairy, take a herry 'taking a herry: go daft' (A1b3F1).
A1b1M1;2M4,8,10;2F4,7;3F10-12. (Cf. DSUE hairy and hairless.) Also take a hairy fit, hairy canary.

take a hairy canary (ad hoc?) var. of take a hairy fit 'hairy canarie: going off your head: The girl took a hairy canary because we stole her keys' (A1b2F3).

take a hairy fit 'Heh! He's talking a Hiary foot' (A1b2M5).
A1b2M18-20.

take a heppy (on) 'My Mum took a heppy on me when I asked for money' (A1b1F6). A1b1F8. 2M3,5,8,10,19,20. Cf. take an epi. Also take a hippy.

take a herry see take a hairy.

take a hippy var. of take a heppy A1b1F7.

take a maddie (on) 'taking a madie: getting mad on someone or something: My dad took a madie on my brothers' (A1b3F15).
A1b1M1;2M1,6-11,14, 18,20;2F1,6;3F9. QPk1M2. JSt1M1.

take the spur see 3.6.4. Cf. DSUE get the spur.

tan v. 1. strike a person 'tan your jaw: fight' (QPk1F8); 'tan your farter: kick your bum' (A1b3M3). QPk1F1;1M1,3. (Cf. DSUE tan one's hide).

2. 'tan: smash: tan a windae' (QPk1F9). 'S--- tand all the windes' (A1b3M14). QPk1M1,3

3. 'tan: break in: I gonna tan that shop' (A1b2M3). A1b2M4,7,17,19,20.

Tarrier punning nickname for a Catholic:

> 46F3PB: What school did Alice go tae?
> 46M6PB: Sacred Heart [...] She was off as a Tarrier.
> 46F3PB: [...] Och, come on, ye must've heard i Tarrier! [...] that's merr common than 'Fenian', Ah think.
> 46M6PB: [...] Aw tarred wi the Pope's brush!
> 46F3PB: Tarred wi the wan stick!

(Cf. SND a' tarred wi the same stick s.v. tar.)

taurrie baw n.phrase:

> 46M2PC: Or even if ye've got 'taurrie baw'? The tram-cars used tae travel alang, see in the hoat weather, the tar used tae melt an we used tae take the - the cobble stones we're talkin aboot, ye know. An stanes, ye know. Used tae take the taur oot it an roll it up, ye know,. Hauns were aw taur, ye know. Used tae put a string in it an we used tae swing it, ye know. An the only thing that took taur aff was margarine in yer Maw's hoose. [...] An ye were disappointed, it used tae catch the tram line, the lines, ye know.

teeties n.pl. baby talk for sweeties 26F11CD.

ten bob daud ten shilling note 26F4CC.

ten spot a ten pound note 16M2PB, 26M2CS (DSUE ten dollars, US, s.v. spot, twenty-spot(ter) twenty pound note; Munro, 1985 five spot five pound note).

teni var. of tennis JSt1F4.

texies (ad hoc?) var. of tecs detectives 10M3CB.

thick as two shites [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] M(39F). DSUE as thick as two short planks and OED as thick as Tewksburie mustard (Shakespeare) are apparently mangled forms.

three bob game:

> 16F2CB: Right, it's like chases, right. An see if the person, know how like, it's like tig, i ye get tug that's you het. Well, if that person's comin up tae you, you can bob down, ye only get three lives, an the rest are, like, the rest ye need tae run.

(SND three lives.)

three white horses var. of white horse:

> 3 people go up a close and one goes to top landing and chaps 2 doors. Other two go to middle and bottom and chaps they doors (QPk1F9).

thumbies up [Q: What do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest?] 16F3PS.

thunder an lightnin [Q: What is ring / bing bang skoosh?] 10M7PB. See 3.2.4.

times n. game, 10F1-F describes it as a variant of pole-i-o.

> 16F1PC: Used tae play at - two people went oot an they had tae guess the times. [...] Used tae say, 'Quarter tae ... somefin,' an they went through aw the numbers, wan tae twelve, tae whoever got it, an then ye'd tae race against the wan that was oot. If ye beat im you goat oot an guessin the time.

tishy-board see 3.1.3.

tober n. money, hawkers' 66F3PC.

> ... helped the Wilson brothers to run their [pitch-and-toss] school, getting their earnings from a split in the percentage money, known to them as tober money, which was taken from bets for ... 'organizational costs' (Burrowes, Benny, 1984: 55).

(DSUE rent, market traders'.)

toffy adj. 'toffy hooses' 46M7PS; 'that's toffy' M(12F). (DSUE toff n. becoming obsolescent by 1930s.)

tollstick flat stick used in pitch and toss to throw the coins 46M7PS.

tormentor n. 66M6PB.

> 46M7PS: The wee thing ye goat oot the chemist, a wee tube. It was a tube, an ye could put it oantae the - know how we'd aw wee fountains roon near where ye were, an ye used tae pit it in, an it fullt up wi the water, the aul tormentor, an ye used tae skoot it'

(Cf. DSUE an instrument devised to annoy people at fairs, from c. 1890.)

treg n. tramp 'someone who has trampy clothes' (A1b3F10). ''The boy looked like a right treg (tramp)' (A1b3F2). A1b3F1,11,13;1M3,4. (Possibly eggie-language form of tramp.)

triangle var. of triangles:

> Elastic bands joinded together shaped like a triangle, 3 people hold them with their legs and you jump over the elastic band. (QPk1F1)

triangles n. a game played with elastics 16F7CD.

> 10F2PB: an we play triangles, three people at elastic, an they put it intae a triangle, an ye've goat tae jump it aw different weys.

trigger drug abusers' needle. See next.

triggered part.adj.

> boy: Triggered, ye inject dope intae yersel.
> 1M6: Miss, triggered, cos that's what they aw dae. Miss, ye go up the toon, miss, an there's certain shoaps, miss, they aw - miss, ye see aw the trigger marks aw up their erms an aw that, miss, where they've been injected. (QPk tape)

tubes n.pl. [Q: What do you say if you want to stop a game for a rest?] 10M-CB.

twelve-sider old threepenny piece M(39F). Cf. seven-sider.

two man hunt game similar to hide and seek 26M1CB, 16F7CD, 10M-CB. Cf. wan man hunt.

vantis var. of penny vantis 46M11-X, 66M6PB.

vino collapso nickname for cheap wine (Graham Warwick, community worker). (Cf. DSUE vino.)

waggle your wallies 'rattle your false teeth: My grandad used to waggle his wallies' (A1b2F1). A1b2F4,7. QPk1F2. (Cf. SND wallie adj. china.)

wally-heidit [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?] 16M2PB, 26M2CS, 46M9PS. (Cf. SND wallie china; wil(l)y-wallie and wallydrag insults for men; wallie in pl. the male genitals; DSUE wally an ordinary uniformed policeman; Taylor, In the Underworld 1984:49 and passim, gullible ordinary people.)

wan haunnie a stage in playing ball 16F2CB, 16F10-X. For the sequence, see (first) leggy.

wan man hunt hide and seek (adults, open questionnaire). Cf. two man hunt.

washin line [Q: What kind of person is a bun?] 26M3CS (the imagery is the same as hing-oot).

wee mansie stage in playing ball 16F2CB, 16F10-X. For the sequence, see (first) leggy.

wee men variation in playing elastics, 'Ye [ender] sit oan yer knees, ye sit oan yer backside' (10F3PB). 10F2PB.

white horse 1. call to freeze in a game 16F10-X, 16F2CB. According to Opie and Opie (1969: 193) in the eastern part of Scotland, white horse is the term for what they call 'peep behind the curtain' - a player stands against a wall counting or reciting with closed eyes, while the others try to sneak up and touch him or her, but he or she can turn suddenly and try to spot them moving.

2. call when indulging in k.d.r.f. M(39F)

3. k.d.r.f. M (39F)

4.

> We used to play a game like 'White Horse', where a boy was talked into being the 'White Horse' and had a rope tied round his waist and ran in front of the other boys shouting 'I'm the White Horse, I'm the White Horse.' And when you got to a door you tied the rope on to the door, kicked the door and ran away, and he couldn't get away. (Kirkintilloch W.E.A., 1983:24)

Hanley (1958: 16) gives a description of the game, but without any specific name:

> Kicking other people's doors is a sport with its own added dimension when played in Glasgow's tenements. The gang requires an innocent sucker, and explains to him that it's his turn to be het, and that he must go to the top landing of the close and running [sic] down answering 'It was me, it was me!' when he hears the question from the close. As soon as he gets up, the rest of the gang kick all the doors or ring all the doorbells on the lower landings so that the tenants will rush out in answer just as the victim passes with his innocent, damning cry. I don't believe anybody was ever

taken in with this. The victim always knew what the game was, but he played it out anyway.

(Cf. DSUE, indication of cowardice, Anglo-Irish, from James VII and II fleeing the Boyne on a white horse). Also white horses, three white horses, Australian white horse.

white horses var. of white horse [Q: What is ring / bing bang skoosh?] 10M6CB.

Whiteinch is below Partick euphemistic phrase, your underskirt is showing 46F5PB.

widden thruppny the old twelve-sided (as opposed to silver) threepenny, 66F8PS, 46F6PS, 46M4PB, 26F8PB.

Willie Woodbines nickname for a cheap brand of cigarettes, Woodbines made by Wills 26F7PB.

won a watch got lucky, '[Hallowe'en] We goat money, that was a bonus, we'd won a watch, ye know' (46F4PB).

Wriggies nickname for a brand of chewing gum, Wrigley's 10M6CB.

wumman insult for a boy, 'And the person she got hut, got hut ower the heid wi is J--- S--- an he's a wee wumman' (girl on 1B).

yap i hell var. of blether i hell [Q: What kind of person is a gitter?] 46M4PB.

yokter var. of yopper QPk1M1 and QPk tape.

yop v. tell tales

> boy: [yopper] They go like that, 'Aw, Ah'm yoppin oan ye!'
> boy: [...] Like if ye go in - if ye're in the hoose, an ye go an break somethin an yer sister, she always goes an yops oan ye. (QPk tape)

(Possibly from the n., see next.)

yopper n. somebody who tells tales QPk1M4,6. (Possibly related to grasshopper in the same sense.) Also yokter.

Rhyming slang

Like other examples of verbal wit, this does not come readily to mind on demand, and this was (fortunately the only) area where the tape-recorder had a markedly inhibiting effect. Much of this material was collected after interviews (as with the young men on 74B), or in off-tape conversation (as with the young men in the Crown Bar). Since the question came right at the end of the questionnaire, it was often omitted altogether. The following list then merely scratches the surface. The number of items cited from a single source is one indication of this, but it should be remembered that rhyming slang is something of a verbal game, and is constantly shifting, so that an exhaustive coverage is not to be expected.

Franklyn excludes 'extemporary rhymes' (1961: 26), even when heard by himself, requiring that items should have some currency, at least within restricted occupational groups. I have not had the opportunity to check the material below in any way. I have listed all the rhyming slang from oral sources in my Glasgow files that is not attested for Cockney, including items passed on at second or third hand, in the hope that it will be useful as a starting point for future research.[2]

Franklyn's review of the origins of rhyming slang shows it to have been established in Cockney by the middle of the 19th century. It is found also in Australia and in the USA, and many of the same rhymes occur, indicating diffusion from Cockney. It is used in sporting circles in Dublin and Belfast (and the practice has been taken over into Irish Gaelic) (Franklyn, 1961: 21). Belfast might well be a secondary source of the fashion in Glasgow. From the comments made by informants, however, rhyming slang is strongly associated with Cockney, and well-known Cockney rhymes (such as apples and pears, frog and toad) were cited as examples.[3] It will be noticed too that some of the items below are more or less corrupted variants of attested Cockney rhymes. However, others are certainly Scots in rhyme or local in reference.

46M9PS indicated that individuals have their own favourites. Asked if people make them up as they go along, he replied:

> Aye, ye dae, ye make them up, but they twig right away what ye're talkin aboot, ye know. [...] Anythin at aw ye could think oan. If anybody's goat a sore ear, 'How's the three-speed-gear?' Or anybody that's baldy, 'Hey,' ye know, 'Ye nae Dan Derr?' Ye just make them up as ye go alang. (61B)

16M5CS and 16M6CS also agreed with this:

> 16M5CS: Ah usually use patter aw the time like that. But it's when ye're tryin tae think oan them, yer mind goes blank. [Made up or always heard before?] Naw, naw, some i them ye make up yersel.
> 16M6CS: Naw, sometimes Ah make - make up ma own.
> 16M5CS: [How do people understand?] They usually don't the first time ye dae it. They laugh at ye. Say, 'What does that mean?' An ye tell them.

16M6CS: Sometimes it comes aboot in a - a joke, an ye find, know, it aw just faws intae place. Providin ye're therr at the joke, ye know what they're talkin aboot. (74B)

The quizzing element is probably always latent in rhyming slang:

26F7PB: Oor Fiona's the same. He'll sit an go like that tae the weans, 'What's plates i meat?' They'll sit an go, 'Plate i meat.' 'Naw, yer feet! Plate a meat's yer feet. Tin flute?' They're gaun, 'Flute?' 'Naw, it's yer suit.' An e sits an says that tae aw the weans. An they're tryin tae guess aw the - know, what e's sayin, they cannae get them. (29B)

This study was too limited to ascertain which of the items listed are well-known and which idiosyncratic. Informants were often unclear on this point.

Rhyming slang is acceptable in mixed company, but women tended to regard it as men's language. Men, on the other hand, would say that women could be heard using it too. It would probably be regarded as unladylike, however:

26M3CS: Aye - ah well, ye get a loat i burds daein it. [...] Aw the wee herries.
16F5PS: Ma Mammy must be a herry. Ah'll tell er. (63F)

46F3CB: Tae me, it's more, ye know, the youngsters would - when Ah say 'youngsters', Ah - not the kids at school now, but more like teenagers when Ah was a mother, sorta thing. They were usin that, because wi hearin so much of the Cockney slangs likes i on television programmes an - an they were relatin it to their own language. But we didn't do a lot of that. Mind you, personally Ah wasnae allowed to. Ah was broat up wi a Granny who was very strict an ye had tae say 'yes' an 'no'. Ah didn't always, right enough, when Ah was out i her hearing, but Ah was - we were always sort of more polite. (64B)

Abraham Lincoln = stinkin, JSt 1st year class (conversation), M(39F), M(40S).

American medley = deadly (reported by student, 1979)

Arthur Scargill = gargle, i.e. a drink (reported by colleague).

Askit pooder (brand name) = shooder 26M6-D (conversation).

Barney Dillon = shillin, also as term of endearment to a child (see 3.1.1).

Bayne and Duckett (chain of shops) = bucket, (collected by 26M4PS).

Bob Hope 1. = dope (marijuana) 26M2CS, girl (16B).
2. = soap (reported by colleague).

Brian Dunleavy = heavy (beer), 26M6-D (conversation).

Brussels sprouts = dowts (cigarette stubs) 26M6-D, 46F7PD. (Cf. DSUE = Boy Scout.)

Buffalo Bill = pill, A1b3M1.

Burlington Bertie = Bertie Auld (football manager) = auld (reported by a colleague, heard at a football match). Not really rhyming slang.

Cathy McGuigan = jiggin (dancing) 46M10CD (conversation).

caurybunkle = wrunkle [Q: What do you call an uneven bit in a tablecloth when it's spread out?] 46M9PS.

Charlie Chase = face 46M9PS (DSUE Chevy Chase).

Charles Lawton (?) = rotten M (40S).

Chick Murray (radio DJ) = curry (reported by colleague).

chopped pork = fork 46M9PS.

chorus an verse = erse (working-class man, Partick, 1979). See winners and losers.

chuckie stanes / chuckies = weans 46M5PB.

> Mother was ladling out spuds to the chuckies, Father was patting the infant on its big fat head and everybody was happy. (Hanley, 1958: 29.)

Clyde McBatter = patter M(39F). Cf. sody-waater.

Clydesdale Bank = wank (reported by colleague).

coo's dung = [ad hoc?] chewing gum (16F10-X's father).

cookie = a look(ie) 46M10CD [Q: What do you say for 'to have a look' at something?]. Also shuftie cook.

cornbeef = deef, young men (74B). 'Are you cornbeef as well as stupid?' (A1b1F5). (Cf. DSUE = thief.)

County Down = poun(d) 26M2CS, 16M2PB.

> 'There's a "County Down" the noo, an' Ah'll gie ye some mair mibbe the morra' (McGhee, Cut and Run, 1963: 64).

County 66M3CC. Also I lie down.

Craigendoran = torn (working-class man, Partick, 1979). See winners an losers.

cream bun = nun 16F7CD.

cream puff = huff 66M6PB, 26M6-D, 26M3CS [Q: What does it mean to take the spur at something?]. Alb2M7,8,10.

Crossmaloof (place-name, near Glasgow) = poof (homosexual) (collected by 26M4PS). Young men (Crown Bar).

curran bun = Hun (Rangers supporter) (young men, Crown Bar), young men (74B). (Also means 'prostitute' 46M7PS.)

Dan Dare = hair 46M9PS. Cf. Yogi Bear.

Danny (?) = clue:

> 10M4CB: [dinghy] They've no goat a danny. If ye've no goat a danny - no goat a clue.
> 10M3CB: A Danny Dare, ye've no goat a clue.
> 10M4CB: No goat a chance.

Dolly Dimple = simple 26F3CF [Q: What do you call somebody who is thick?]. (Cf. 'I pointed out that this was a dolly question which would result in a five-minute party political from Norman Tebbit.' Letter from Cheshire, Guardian 3 June 1987.) See also dolly in main list.

Duke i Argyll 1. = bile n. (boil) 46M9PS.
2. in pl. = piles M(39F).
Errol Flynn-t = skinnt (broke) 26M1CB. Also boracic lint.

finnie boos = shoes (apparently based on a nickname for a local girl) 16M2PB.

Finnieston Ferry (place-name) 1. = sherry 26M6-D. Cf. Tom and Jerry.

2. = a wee herry (scruffy female) 46M10CD.

fisherman's trout = smout (small person) 10M/PB.

four by two's / fours = screws (police) Alb5M1 (DSUE = Jew). Also ten by two's, treble two's.

Frankie Vaughan-s (singer) = hauns M(39F). Also Norman Vaughan-s.

Georgie Best (footballer) = vest M(39F).

Gold Flake (brand of tobacco) = shake, 'gie yersel a Gold Flake' 46M10CD [Q: How do you tell somebody to hurry up?]. (Also working-class man, Partick, 1979.)

Gregory Peck-s (actor) = specs 46M9PS, 16M2PB.

Hamilton Ackies (nickname of football team) = Pakies (reported by colleague).

Hampden Roar 1. = score, young men (74B). 'Hampden roar means whits the score' (A1b3M3).

2. = bore, 'someone who tells you a lot of story's' (A1b3M6).

haw maw-s = baws (testicles) 'kick your ho mos: your private' (A1b3M3). Cf. Sandie Shaw-s, R. S. McCalls.

hee haw = fuck aw 26F11CD, 26F8PB.

Hermann Hess = D.S. (Drug Squad) (reported by student).

honey perrs = sterrs 46M10CD (conversation) (cf. next and Chapter 5, note 7).

honey an pears = stairs 46M4PB (DSUE apples and pears and cf. previous item).

horse's collar = dollar 46M2PC.

I lie down = one poun(d) 10M6CB. Also County Down.

jaggy nettle = kettle (girl, conversation).

jazz drummer = [thrummer] = threepence M(31D).

Joe the Toff = off, 'We're Joe the Toff', young men (Crown Bar).

Joe Loss = sauce, 'pass the Joe Loss' 46M10CD (conversation).

Joe McCree = pee 26M6-D (conversation). Also Mother McCree.

Joe Reid = breid 46M10CD (conversation).

Jungle Jim = Tim (Catholic) young men (74B).

Killiecrankie (place-name, battle) = mankie (dirty) 16F1PC (conversation).

Lillian Gish (actress) = pish, young men (Crown Bar) (DSUE = fish). Cf. single fish.

macaroon = half a croon 46M9PS (but see 3.1.3).

Mars bar = scar (reported by student).

Mick Jagger (singer) = lager 26M3CS; 46M10CD (conversation).

Milngavie (spelling pronunciation - really /mʌl'gae/) = lavvy (working-class man, Partick, 1979).

mince pie 1. = lie 26M2CS (perhaps confused with pork pie)

2. = eye 16M2PB (DSUE).

Mother McCree = pee 26M6-D (conversation). Also Joe McCree, riddle me ree.

nail = tail (prostitute) 26M3CS (DSUE brassnail).

Nat King Cole = (to get your) hole, young men (Crown Bar).

Norman Vaughan-s = hauns M(39F). Also Frankie Vaughan-s.

Paddy Malarkey = darkie 16F1PC.

paraffin ile = style, see 3.4.1.

paraffin lamp = tramp 26F9, 26M2CS, 26M3CS, 16F6CD, 16M2CB, 16M4CS, 10M5CB, 10M-CB.

Lamp 'Paraffin lamp: wee tramp: Shes a pure wee lamp' (A1b3F1). For the imagery, cf.:

> you got to walk around like an old wick on a paraffin lamp, with holes in your jacket and shoes (Harrison, 1983: 332).

Pat McCluskie (footballer) = whisky 46M10CD.

pearl diver = fiver 26M2CS, 16M3PB (DSUE deep-sea diver).

pork pie = lie 16M2PB. Also porkie pie.

porkie pie var. of pork pie 16F7CD.

Porkie(s) 26F4CC, 16F7CD. Popular in the media, e.g.

> I watched a real life Lonely Heart being interviewed and signing on at Manchester's newest and "friendliest" marriage bureau, Knights Introductions.... Some of the men as well as the women, "tell little porky pies about their age." (Irene McManus, Guardian 13 February 1985)

R. S. McCalls (chain of shops) = balls (testicles), 'I'll kick your R. S. McCalls' (A1b3M2). A1b3M1,3. Cf. haw maws, Sandie Shaw-s.

Radio Clyde = wide (i.e. fly) adj. (fly) young men (tape 74B).

riddle me ree = pee 46M10CD (conversation). Cf. Mother McCree.

Robert the Bruce = dooce (in cards) taxi driver (conversation).

Rose Marie = tea (collected by 26M4PS) (Barker, 1979, Rosy Lee).

Sandie Shaw-s = baws (testicles) A1b3M1,3. Also haw maws, R. S. McCalls.

shaggy goat = coat 10F2PB (conversation).

shuftie cook = a look 46M6PB (possibly confused with shufty cush, see DSUE). Also cookie.

single fish = a pish 10M6CB. Cf. Lillian Gish.

Skooby Doo-s (TV cartoon) = shoes (girl, conversation) (Munro, 1985 = clue).

sky diver 1. = fiver 10M-CB (possibly confused with pearl / deep sea diver).

2. = skiver (Mackie, 1984).

soapy bubble = (in) trouble 66M6PB.

sody-waater = patter 46M10CD. Cf. Clyde McBatter.

Stewart Granger (actor) = (nae) danger, young men (Crown Bar).

Sweeney Todd = road 46M5PB, and collected by 26M4PS.

Sydney (Devine) (singer) = steak and kidney M(39F), 16F1PC.

Teddy Berrs = Gers (Rangers) boy (tape 14B).

ten by two's = screws (police) QPk1M6. Also four by two's, treble two's.

three speed gear = ear 46M9PS.

Tim Halt = salt 46M10CD (conversation).

tin flute = suit 46F8PD, 26F7PB, 16M2PB (Barker, 1979, whistle and flute).

tin pail = jail, young men (Crown Bar).

Tom and Jerry = sherry 26M6-D (cf. DSUE (Tom and) Jerry shop, low drinking shop, obsolete by 1910). Also Finnieston Ferry.

tottie scone = phone 16M2PB.

treble two's = screws (police) 10M3CB. Also ten / four by two's.

wack i the doo = a screw (sexual intercourse) 26M3CS. (For the imagery, cf. hairy canary, the rhyme 'Auntie Mary had a canary / Up the leg i er drawers' and the folksong 'Yellow Yorlin').

weely willow = pillow 46M10CD. Also weepin willow.

weepin willow = pillow 16F5PS (DSUE, obsolete by 1960. Cf. also tit willow.)

who dunnit = bunnit JSt1F2.

Willie Bald = cauld (collected by 26M4PS).

wine grape = Pape (reported by former student).

winners an losers = troosers 16F1PC, 10M1CC. Also from a working-class man (Partick, 19/9) who offered, 'his winners an losers were aw Craigendoran at the chorus an verse.'

Yogi Bear (TV cartoon) = hair 16M2PB. Also Dan Dare.

you're very posh = (cally) dosh (money) 'You're very posh - Ah waant some dosh. [...] Cally dosh, dosh, see?' (10M6CB).

Zola Budd (athlete) apparently = fud (pussy), young men (Crown Bar, but they wouldn't tell me what it was).

Note

1 The word kets meaning 'sweets' in North-east England originally signified non-butchered meat, an instance of anti-language. Swedger is a similar, though less striking, example of a dialect word taken over by children to express their own cultural values. Mangled forms of chewing-gum are particularly in evidence in the list below; cf. also variants of swedger and cris.

2 Munro (1985) and Mackie (1984) have further material, and there are also occasional items to be added from the dialect literature, e.g. 'Ah don't gie a "donald"' (McGhee, 1962: 155) - rhyming with 'luck' according to DSUE and Munro (1985); hot peas = knees (Burrowes, 1984: 181); ham sandwich = language (ibid, p.121). Tim (McGhee, 1962: 27) or Tim Malloy (Burrowes, 1984: 203) may be a rhyme on the Hibernian English stereotype bhoy (as in the nickname for the Celtic football team, the Bhoys or Bahoys).

3 About forty items known to DSUE were collected, including well-known items like tea-leaf = thief, half-inch = pinch (steal), china (plate) = mate, butcher's (hook) = a look; some whose rhyming origins have perhaps been forgotten, e.g. (not a) sausage (and mash) = cash, rabbit (and pork) = talk (not a rhyme in Scots or Scottish Standard English), (not on your) Nelly (Duff) = puff (life), cobbler's (awls) = balls; and some more arcane specimens, such as Tom Mix = six (in dominoes or bingo), pink or boracic lint = skint, ding dong = song, yit variant of Yid = quid.

Appendix D

List of informants

The code is described in Chapter 2.2.4. Further information is given below about informants' residence history where it is known, and where it is more complex than indicated by the code.

10F1-F — Recorded on 1B, 2B, 53B. Age 12. Attends John Street Secondary School. Has lived in Manchester and various parts of Glasgow, now Barrowfield.

10F2PB — Recorded on 2B, 4B, 16B, and video. Age 11. Attends John Street Secondary School. Older sister of 10F3PB.

10F3PB — Recorded on 2B, 4B, 16B, and video. Age 10. Attends Dalmarnock Primary School. Younger sister of 10F3PB.

10F4PB — Recorded on 53B. Age 12. Attends John Street Secondary School.

10F5PB — Recorded on 80B. Age 14. Attends John Street Secondary School. Recently moved from Bridgeton to Rutherglen.

10F6PB — Recorded on 80B. Age 13. Attends John Street Secondary School. Dalmarnock, rather than Bridgeton proper.

10F7CB — Recorded on 2iiiB. Age 13. Attends Charlotte Street School.

10F8 — Recorded on 2iB. Age 13.

10F9CD — Recorded on 2iB. Attends Whitehill School.

10F10CB — Recorded on 2iB, 2iiB. Attends Dalmarnock Primary School.

10F11CS — Recorded on 16iiiB. Age 13. Attends Charlotte Street School. Has lived in Dennistoun, Castlemilk and now Bridgeton.

10F12CB — Recorded on 16iiiB. Age 10. Attends St. Anne's Primary School.

16F1PC — Recorded on 39F, 63F. Age 22. Lives on Gallowgate.

16F2CB — Recorded on 1B, 43B, 80B. Age 17. Factory worker.

16F3PS — Recorded on 75B, 76B. Age 17. Attended Cranhill Secondary. Pre-nursing student. Easterhouse and Cranhill.

16F4PS — Recorded on 38D, 45D. Age 16. Sandyhills.

16F5PS Recorded on 12F, 63F, 72F. Age 22. Rutherglen, now Barrowfield.

16F6CD Recorded on 45D. Age 19. Sister of 16F7CD. Works in weaving factory. Dennistoun, some time in Whitburn.

16F7CD Recorded on 38D, 45D. Age 18. Sister of 16F6CD. Apprentice joiner. Dennistoun, some time in Whitburn.

16F8CD Recorded on 75B. Age 19. Attended Charlotte Street School. Cashier.

16F9PB Recorded on 46B. Age 20. Mother. Dalmarnock and Bridgeton.

16F10-X Recorded on 43B. Age 16. Friend of 16F2CB. Factory worker. Priesthill.

26F1CF Recorded on 26F, partly erased in error. Details lost.

26F2CF Recorded on 63F, 72F. Age 26. Mother.

26F3CF Recorded on 63F, 72F. Age 32. Mother. Daughter of 46F10CS.

26F4CC Recorded on 47C, 58C. Age 40. Administrator in charge of Orr Street centre. Daughter of 46F11CC. The Calton and now Barrowfield.

26F5C- Recorded on 22B. Age 26. Mother. Assumed to be from Bridgeton.

26F6CC Recorded on 6B, 29B, 46B. Age 30. Mother.

26F7PB Recorded on 6B, 22B, 29B, 46B, 67B. Age 32. Mother.

26F8PB Recorded on 6B, 67B. Age 28. Mother.

26F9-- Recorded on 29B, 67B. Age 37. Shop assistant, now mother.

26F10-- Recorded on 6B, 67B. Age 32. Mother.

26F11CD Recorded on 6B, 46B, 67B. Age 32. Factory worker, now mother.

26F12CB Recorded on 46B, 67B. Age 40. Mother.

26F13-X Recorded on 82B. Age 30. Shop assistant. Castlemilk.

46F1CC Recorded on 58C. Age 55. Worker at Orr Street centre.

46F2CB Recorded on 64B, 73B. Age 50. Wife of 46M6PB, sister-in-law of 46F3PB. Shopkeeper.

46F3PB Recorded on 64B, 73B, 82B. Age 47. Sister of 46M6PB, sister-in-law of 46F2CB. Shop assistant. Bridgeton, now Cranhill.

46F4PB Recorded on 9B, 28B. Age 58. Sister of 46M3PB, sister-in-law of 46F5PB, wife of 46M4PB. Bridgeton, now Cranhill.

46F5PB Recorded on 3B, 8B, 9B, 24B, 28B. Age 63. Wife of 46M3PB, sister-in-law of 46F4PB. Women's Auxiliary.

46F6PS Recorded on 33F, 39F. Age 51. Townhead, Aberdeen, Barrowfield.

46F7PD Recorded on 18D, 36D, 51D. Age 50. Wife of 46M2PC. Cleaner.

46F8PD Recorded on 7B, 17B, 30B, 35B, 44B, 50B, 66B, 77B. Age 61. Worker at Queen Mary Street centre. Haghill, Bridgeton.

46F9CC Recorded on 62B. Age early 50s. Local activist, Citizens' Advice Bureau. The Calton, now Bridgeton.

46F10CS Recorded on 78F, 81F. Age 60. Mother of 26F3CF. Kitchen maid, waitress. Helped to interview her neighbour, 66F4PC. The Gorbals, Barrowfield.

46F11CC Recorded on 84C. Age 65. Mother of 26F4CC. Tailor's cutter. The Calton, Dennistoun, Barrowfield.

66F1CC Recorded on 17B, 30B, 35B. Age 74. Machinist. The Calton, Camlachie, Bridgeton.

66F2PC Recorded on 17B, 30B, 35B, 37B, 44B, 66B. Age 69. Machinist. The Calton, Bridgeton.

66F3PC Recorded on 35B, 37B, 50B, 66B, also written reminiscences. Age 67. Shopkeeper, Air Force. The Calton and Dennistoun, Bridgeton.

66F4PC Recorded on 78F, 81F. Age given as 73. The Calton, Bridgeton. Cleaner.

66F5CB Recorded on 84C. Age 72. Shop assistant.

66F6PB Recorded on 3B, 15B, 24B, 27B. Age 78. Mill worker. Rutherglen as a child, Bridgeton. A short extract of her speech is included in Hughes and Trudgill (1987: 90).

66F7PB Recorded on 17B, 35B, 37B, 50B, 77B. Age 67. Armed Forces. Frequently visits daughter's family in London.

66F8PS Recorded on 15B, 23B, 24B. Age 81. Mill worker, cleaner. Govanhill, Bridgeton.

66F9-X Recorded on 35B, 37B. Age 82. Garnkirk.

66F10PC Recorded on 7B, 35B, 44B, 66B. Age 76. The Calton, Dalmarnock, Bridgeton.

66F11PB Recorded on 7B, 35B, 37B. Age 86. Bar tender to age 70.

66F12CD Recorded on 7B, 24B, 77B. Age 70. Machinist. Millerfield Street and Bridgeton.

66F13-C Recorded on 48C. Age 89.

66F14PB Recorded on 3B. Age 76. Sister of 66M9PB.

66F15P- Recorded on 3B. Age 72. Assumed to be from Bridgeton.

66F16-B Recorded on 3B. Age 86. Shopkeeper.

66F17PX Recorded on 84C. Age 72. Shop assistant. Ayrshire and Sandyford as a child, Bridgeton.

66F19CD Recorded on 84C. Age 87. French polisher.

10M1CC Recorded on 70B. Age 15. Step-brother ('we went tae different schools thegither') of 10M2CC. Calton, Parkhead.

10M2CC Recorded on 70B. Age 14. Step-brother ('different schools thegither') of 10M1CC. Calton, Parkhead.

10M3CB Recorded on 67B, 79B. Age 11. Shettleston, Bridgeton.

10M4CB Recorded on 42B, 67B, 79B. Age 11. Bridgeton.

10M5CB Recorded on 2B, 32B, 42B, 67B, 79B. Age 10. New York (!!??!!) and Bridgeton.

10M6CB Recorded on 42B, 67B. Age 11. England, Bridgeton.

10M7PB Recorded on 2B, 32B. Age 11.

10M8PB Recorded on 75B. Age 15. Goes to John Street School.

10M9CB Recorded on 42B, 67B, 79B. Age 11. Easterhouse, Fernhill, England, Bridgeton.

10M10-F A few words recorded on 63F. Age 15.

10M11-B Recorded on 41B. Age 10.

10M12 Recorded on 2iiB, 41B. Age 11.

10M13 Recorded on 2iiB. Age 11.

10M14-S Recorded on 5B. Age 15.

16M1PF Recorded on 70B. Age 16. Goes to St. Mungo's.

16M2PB Recorded on 12F, 13F, 39F. Age 25. Unemployed father, active in community. Bridgeton, Barrowfield.

16M3PB Recorded on 54B. Age 21. Unemployed.

16M4CS Recorded on 70B. Age 17. Glazier. Parkhead, Bridgeton.

16M5CS Recorded on 74B. Age 21. Van boy, job creation scheme at Insect Zoo. Townhead. Went to St. Mungo's.

16M6CS Recorded on 74B. Age 23. Non manual work, job creation scheme at Insect Zoo. Shettleston. Went to St. Leonard's to age 17.

16M7CD Recorded on 38D. Age 18. Dennistoun, and various parts of Glasgow, including Easterhouse and the Southside.

26M1CB Recorded on 54B. Age 28. Unemployed father, active in community.

26M2CS Recorded on 12F, 13F. Age 29. Unemployed father, slightly shady, active in community. Parkhead, Barrowfield.

26M3CS Recorded on 63F, 72F. Age 28. Slaughterman. Parkhead, Barrowfield.

26M4PS Recorded on 10D, 11D, 25D, 83S. Age 45. Postman-driver. Balornock, Broxburn, Dennistoun.

26M5PS Recorded on 11D, 25D. Age 38. Ex-Army. Cowcaddens, England (English wife), Dennistoun.

26M6-D Recorded on 18D. Age 40. Construction worker.

26M7XB Recorded on 64B. Age 30. Trainee teacher. Son of 46M6PB and 46F2CB, nephew of 46F3PB.

46M1CC Recorded on 33F, 34F. Age 52. ('HLI - hellova lang idle'). Calton, Barrowfield.

46M2PC Recorded on 18D, 36D. Age 53. Calton, Dennistoun.

46M3PB Recorded on 3B, 8B, 9B, 28B. Age 64. Warehouseman. Husband of 46F5PB, brother of 46F4PB, brother-in-law of 46M4PB.

46M4PB Recorded on 9B, 28B. Age 60. Leather worker, Navy, insurance. Husband of 46F4PB, brother-in-law of 46M3PB and 46F5PB.

46M5PB 31D. Age 64. Army, postman. Went to Bernard Street School. Much travelled.

46M6PB Recorded on 64B, 73B, 82B. Age 51. Bookie's runner, Navy, shopkeeper and collecting agent. Husband of 46F2CB, brother of 46F3PB.

46M7PS Recorded on 31D. Age 65. Railway worker, coupon collector. Townhead, Govan, Dennistoun. Went to Townhead School.

46M8PS Recorded on 20D, 21D. Age 62. Floor-layer, janitor. Townhead.

46M9PS Recorded on 59B, 61B. Age 48. Butcher shop assistant, Army, various manual. Parkhead.

46M10-D Recorded on 18D. Age 53. Construction worker. Assumed to be Catholic.

46M11-X Recorded on 40S. Age 62. Navy, coalman. Anderston, Garngad.

66M1CC Recorded on 47C, 52C, 55C. Age 70. Machinist.

66M2CC Recorded on 55C. Age 68. Voice has Hibernian English traits. Calton.

66M3CC Recorded on 84C, 49C, 56C. Age 70. Long distance driver, RAF.

66M4CB Recorded on 55C. Age 69. Railway worker, Army.

66M5PB Recorded on 19D, 20D. Age 72. Craft engraver, Army. Bridgeton, England, Dennistoun.

66M6PB Recorded on 60B, 65B, 71B. Age 66. Leather worker, Army, clerk. Active in community. Bridgeton, Dennistoun, Bridgeton.

66M7PD Recorded on 47C, 52C. Age 67. Butcher, tram and train driver.

66M8PB Recorded on 7B, 57B. Age 73. Trained as evangelist, driver, supervisor, Army. Active in community, source of many contacts.

66M9PB Recorded on 3B. Age 69. Railway worker. MC of pensioners' club.

Appendix E

List of interviews

1 Bridgeton, Tape 1:1: Girls. Carry on and discussion, especially of food and insults for boys. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

2i Bridgeton, Tape 1:1: 10F8, 10F10CB, 10F3PB, 10F1-F, 10F9CD, 10F2PB and other girls, in small groups. Carry on and discussion. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

2ii Bridgeton, Tape 1:1: 10M5CB, 10M12, 10M13, 10M7PB, joined latterly by 10F10CB and other girls. Carry on and discussion. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

2iii Bridgeton, Tape 1:1: 10F7CB and other very young girls. Carry on and discussion. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

3 Bridgeton, Tape 1:2: 66M9PB, 66F14PB, 66F6PB, 46F5PB, 66F15P-, 66F16-B. Discussion of old words. Dolphin Arts Centre, pensioners' club.

4 Bridgeton, Tape 2:1: 10F2PB, 10F3PB and other girls. Carry on and discussion. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

5 Bridgeton, Tape 2:1: 10M14-S, waiting for someone else in Savoy Street. Discussion of words.

6 Bridgeton, Tape 2:1: 26F7PB, 26F10, 26F6CC, 26F8PB, 26F11CD and others. Conversation and discussion. Savoy Street, mothers and toddlers group.

7 Bridgeton, Tape 2:2: 66F10PC, 66F11PB, 66F3PC, 66F12CD, 46F8PD and others. Discussion. Pensioners - women and 66M9PB. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

8 Bridgeton, Tape 3:2: 46F5PB, 46M3PB. Questionnaire. Dolphin Arts Centre, pensioners' club, side room. Beginning overlaid in error.

9 Bridgeton, Tape 3:2: 46F5PB, 46F4PB, 46M3PB, 46M4PB. Questionnaire. Private house.

10 Dennistoun, Tape 4:1: Various adults. Discussion. Gingerbread, Single parents' club.

11 Dennistoun, Tape 4:2: 26M5PS, 26M4PS. Questionnaire. Gingerbread, Single parents' club.

12 Barrowfield, Tape 5:1: Adults, including 16M2PB, 26M2CS. Conversation and discussion. Stamford Street, community flat, communal room.

13 Barrowfield, Tape 5, 6:1: 16M2PB, 26M2CS. Questionnaire. Stamford Street, community flat, side room.

14 Bridgeton, Tape 6:2: John Street Secondary School, first year class.

15 Bridgeton, Tape 6:2: 66F6PB, 66F8PS, another lady. Conversation and questionnaire. Dolphin Arts Centre, pensioners' club.

16i Bridgeton, Tape 7:1: 10F2PB, 10F3PB. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

16ii Bridgeton, Tape 7:1: 10F2PB and other girls. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

16iii Bridgeton, Tape 7:1: Wee girls. Discussion. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

17 Bridgeton, Tape 7:2: 66F1CC, 66F2PC, 46F8PD, 66F7PB and others. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

18 Dennistoun, Tape 8:1: 26M6-D, 46M10CD, 46M2PC and others. Discussion and questionnaire. Crown Bar.

19 Dennistoun, Tape 9: 66M5PB and another man. St. Rollox Bowling Club, side room. Discussion and questionnaire.

20 Dennistoun, Tape 9: 66M5PB, 46M8PS and another man. St. Rollox Bowling Club, side room. Questionnaire.

21 Dennistoun, Tape 9: 46M8PS. St. Rollox Bowling Club, side room. Questionnaire.

22 Bridgeton, Tape 10:1: 26F7PB, 26F5CB. Questionnaire. Savoy Street, side room, mothers and toddlers group.

23 Bridgeton, Tape 10, 11:1: 66F8PS. Questionnaire. Private house.

24 Bridgeton, Tape 11:2: 66F6PB, 66F12CD, 66F8PS, 46F5PB and others. Conversation and questionnaire. Dolphin Arts Centre, pensioners' club.

25 Dennistoun, Tape 12: 26M4PS, 26M5PS. Questionnaire. Gingerbread, single parents club.

26 Barrowfield, Tape 13:1: 26F1CF. Questionnaire. Stamford Street, community flat, side room. Beginning of interview overlaid in error.

27 Bridgeton, Tape 13:2: 66F6PB. Questionnaire. Private house.

28 Bridgeton, Tape 14, 15: 46F5PB, 46F4PB, 46M3PB, 46M4PB. Questionnaire. Private house.

29 Bridgeton, Tape 15:2: 26F7PB, 26F12CB, 26F6CC and others. Questionnaire. Savoy Street, mothers and toddlers group.

30 Bridgeton, Tape 16:1: 66F1CC, 66F2PC, 46F8PD, 66F10PC and others. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

31 Dennistoun, Tape 16, 17, 18: 46M5PB, 46M7PS. St. Rollox Bowling Club, latterly in side room. Questionnaire.

32i Bridgeton, Tape 18:1: 10M7PB, 10M5CB and very young boy. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

32ii Bridgeton, Tape 18:1: 10M7PB. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

33 Barrowfield, Tape 18:2: 46M1CC, 46F6PS and otehrs. Questionnaire. Stamford Street, community flat.

34 Barrowfield, Tape 18:2, 19:1: 46M1CC. Questionnaire. Stamford Street, community flat, side room.

35 Bridgeton, Tape 20:1: 66F1CC, 66F2PC, 46F8PD, 66F3PC, 66F10PC, 66F7PB, 66F11PB amd others. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

36 Dennistoun, Tape 20:1: 46M2PC, 46F7PD and others. Discussion and questionnaire. Crown Bar.

37 Bridgeton, Tape 20:2: 66F3PC, 66F2PC, 66F11PB, 66F7PB and others. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

38 Dennistoun, Tape 21:1: 16F7CD, 16F4PS, 16M/CD. Questionnaire. Gingerbread, single parents club.

39 Barrowfield, Tape 21:2, 22:1: 46F6PS and others, including 16M2PB briefly. Questionnaire. Stamford Street, community flat.

40 Townhead, Tape 22:1,2: 46M11 and others. Questionnaire and conversation. Royal Bar.

41 Bridgeton, Tape 22:2: 10M11-B, 10M12 and very young boy. Questionnaire and carry on. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

42 Bridgeton, Tape 22:2: 10M5CB, 10M6CB, 10M4CB, 10M9CB. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

43 Bridgeton, Tape 23:1: 16F2CB, 16F10. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

44 Dennistoun, Tape 23:2: 46F8PD, 66F2PC, 66F10PC and others. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

45 Dennistoun, Tape 23:2, 24: 16F7CD, 16F6CD, 16F4PS. Gingerbread, single parents club.

46 Bridgeton, Tape 19: 26F7PB, 26F6CC, 26F11CD, 26F12CB, 16F9PB and others. Questionnaire. Savoy Street, mothers and toddlers group.

47 The Calton, Tape 25:2: 66M7PD, 66M1CC. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

48 The Calton, Tape 26:11: 66F15-C. Discussion. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

49 The Calton, Tape 26:1: 66M3CC. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

50 Bridgeton, Tape 26:1: 66F3PC, 46F8PD, 66F7PB and others. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

51 Dennistoun, Tape 26:2: 46F7PD. Discussion and questionnaire. Crown Bar.

52 The Calton, Tape 27:1: 66M7PD and other men. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

53 Bridgeton, Tape 28:1: 10F1-F, 10F4PB. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

54 Bridgeton, Tape 28:2: 26M1CB, 16M3PB. Questionnaire. Community Work Office, Bridgeton Unemployed Group. Equipment malfunction, interview cut short.

55 The Calton, Tape 28:2: 66M4CB, 66M2CC, 66M1CC, other men, a lady. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

56 The Calton, Tape 29:1,2: 66M3CC. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

57 Rutherglen, Tape 29:2: evening out with 66M8PB and a student.

58 The Calton, Tape 30:1: 26F4CC, 46F1CC and others. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club. Noisy background.

59 Bridgeton, Tape 31:2, 33:1: 46M9PS, other men, a lady briefly. Questionnaire. Bus station office.

60 Bridgeton, Tape 31:2, 32:1,2: 66M6PB and wife. Questionnaire. Private house.

61 Bridgeton, Tape 24:2: 26F11CD, 26F8PB, 26F10, brief appearances of 26F7PB, 26F9 and others. Savoy Street, mothers and toddlers group.

62 Bridgeton, Tape 33:1: Discussion. Citizens' Advice Bureau, Mrs. Pam Harper.

63 Barrowfield, Tape 33:1,2: 26F3CF, 16F5PS, 16F1PC, 26F2CF, 26M3CS briefly, and others. Discussion and questionnaire. Stamford Street, family flat.

64 Bridgeton, Tape 34:1: 46F2CB, 46F3PB popping in and out, 46M6PB, 26M7-B comes in. Questionnaire. Florist's.

65 Bridgeton, Tape 35:1: 66M6PB and wife. Questionnaire. Private house.

66 Bridgeton, Tape 35:2: 46F8PD, 66F2PC, 66F3PC, 66F10PC and others. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

67 Bridgeton, Tape 35:2: 10M5CB, 10M6CB, 10M4CB, 10M3CB, 10M9CB. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

68 Bridgeton, Tape 36:1: Very young girls. Questionnaire and carry on. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

69 Barrowfield, Tape 36:2: Police sergeant. Discussion. Police station.

70 Bridgeton, Tape 36:2: 10M1CC, 16M4CS, 16M1PF, 10M2CC. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club. Equipment problem, very poor recording.

71 Bridgeton, Tape 37:1: 66M6PB and wife. Questionnaire. Private house.

72 Barrowfield, Tape 37:2: 26F3CF, 26F2CF, 16F5PS, 26M3CS and others. Discussion and questionnaire. Stamford Street, family flat.

73 Bridgeton, Tape 38:1: 46F3PB, 46F2CB, 46M6PB. Questionnaire. Florist's.

74 Bridgeton, Tape 38:1: 16M6CS, 16M5CS, other young men. Questionnaire. Dolphin Arts Centre, Insect zoo.

75 Bridgeton, Tape 38:2, 39: 10M8PB, 16F8CD, latterly also 16F3PS. Questionnaire. Dolphin Arts Centre, theatre group. Very poor interview.

76 Bridgeton, Tape 39:2: 16F3PS. Questionnaire. Dolphin Arts Centre, theatre group.

77 Bridgeton, Tape 40:1: 66F7PB, 46F8PD, background female voices. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, bingo club.

78 Barrowfield, Tape 40:2: 66F4PC, 46F10CS. Questionnaire. Private house.

79 Bridgeton, Tape 41:1: 10M3CB, 10M4CB, joined by 10M9CB and 10M5CB. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

80 Bridgeton, Tape 41:2: 10F5PB, 10F6PB, joined by 16F2CB. Questionnaire. Queen Mary Street, youth club.

81 Barrowfield, Tape 42:1: 66F4PC, 46F10CS. Questionnaire. Private house.

82 Bridgeton, Tape 43:1: 46F3PB, 46M6PB, 26F13. Questionnaire. Florist's.

83 Springburn, Tape 44:1: 26M4PS and couple. Discussion. Private house.

84 The Calton, Tape 44:2: 66F1/PX, 66F5CB, 66M3CC briefly. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

85 The Calton, Tape 45:2: 66F19CD, 46F11CC. Questionnaire. Orr Street, pensioners' club.

Figure 3.1 Females' claimed use of two bob, ten bob

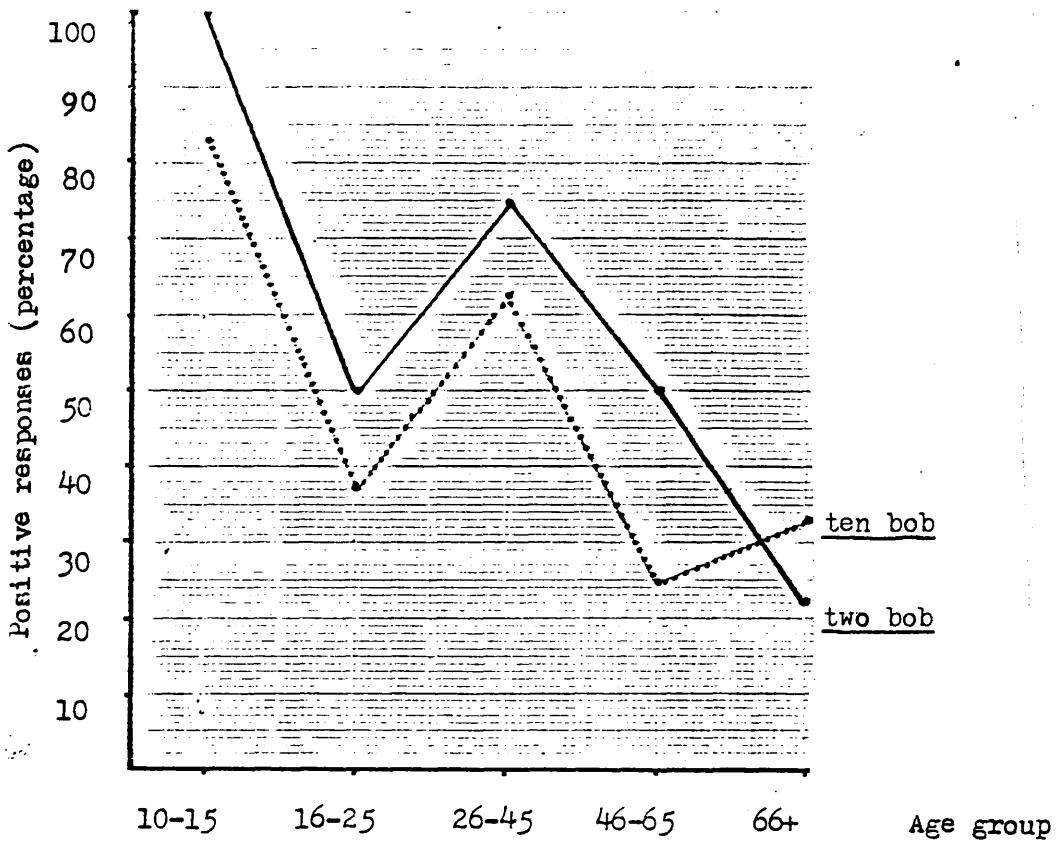


Figure 3.2 Males' claimed use of two bob, ten bob

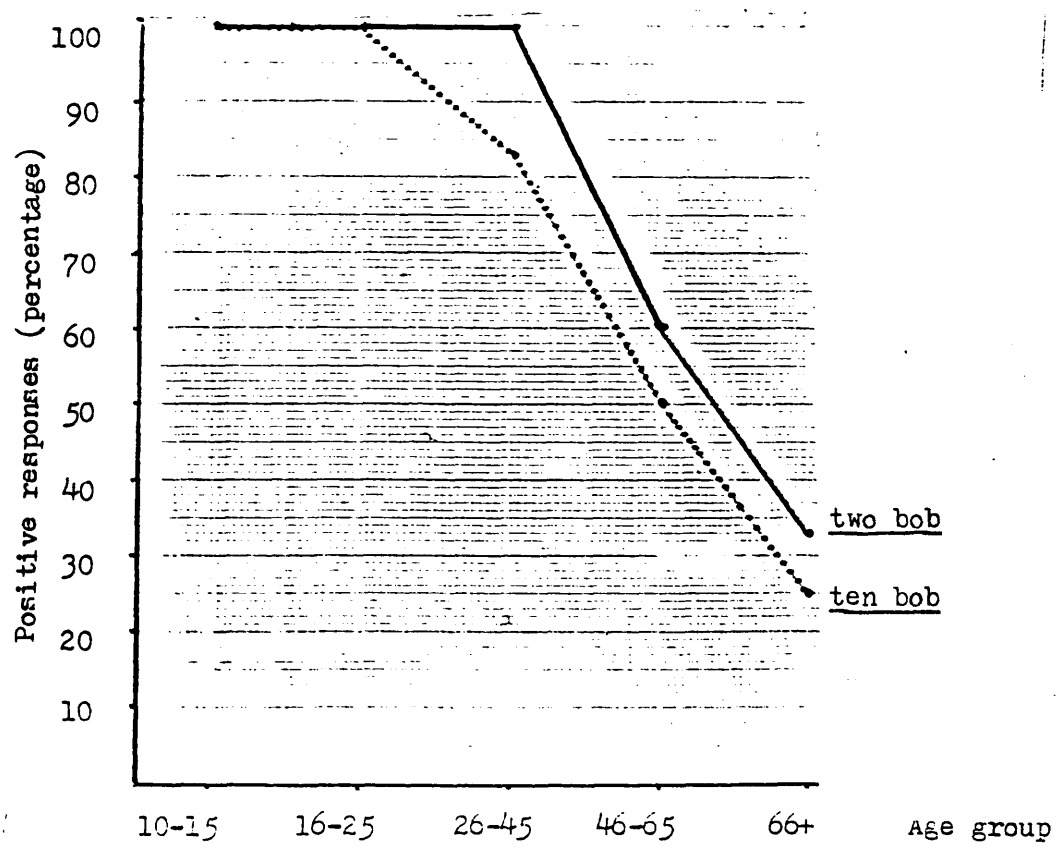


Figure 3.3 Females' claimed knowledge and use of tanner

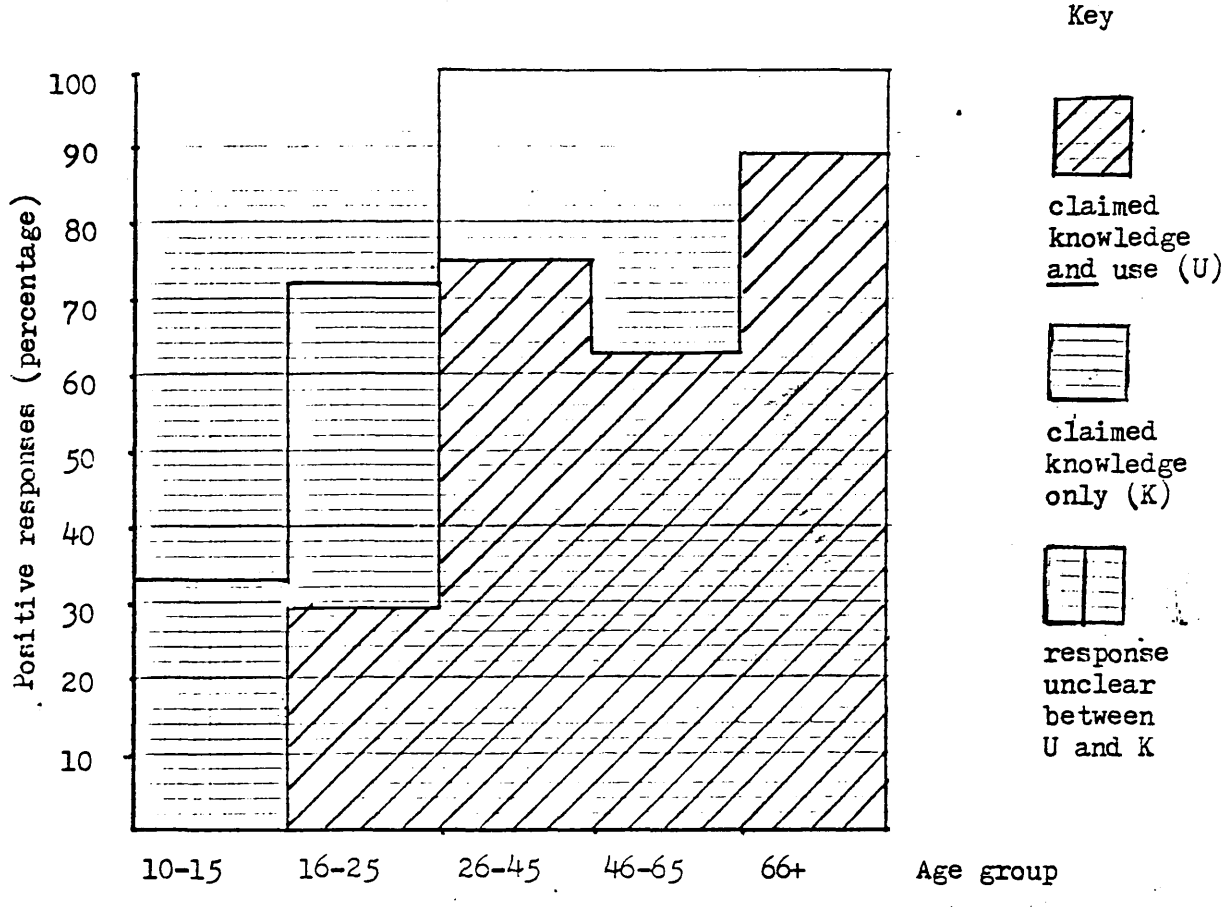


Figure 3.4 Males' claimed knowledge and use of tanner

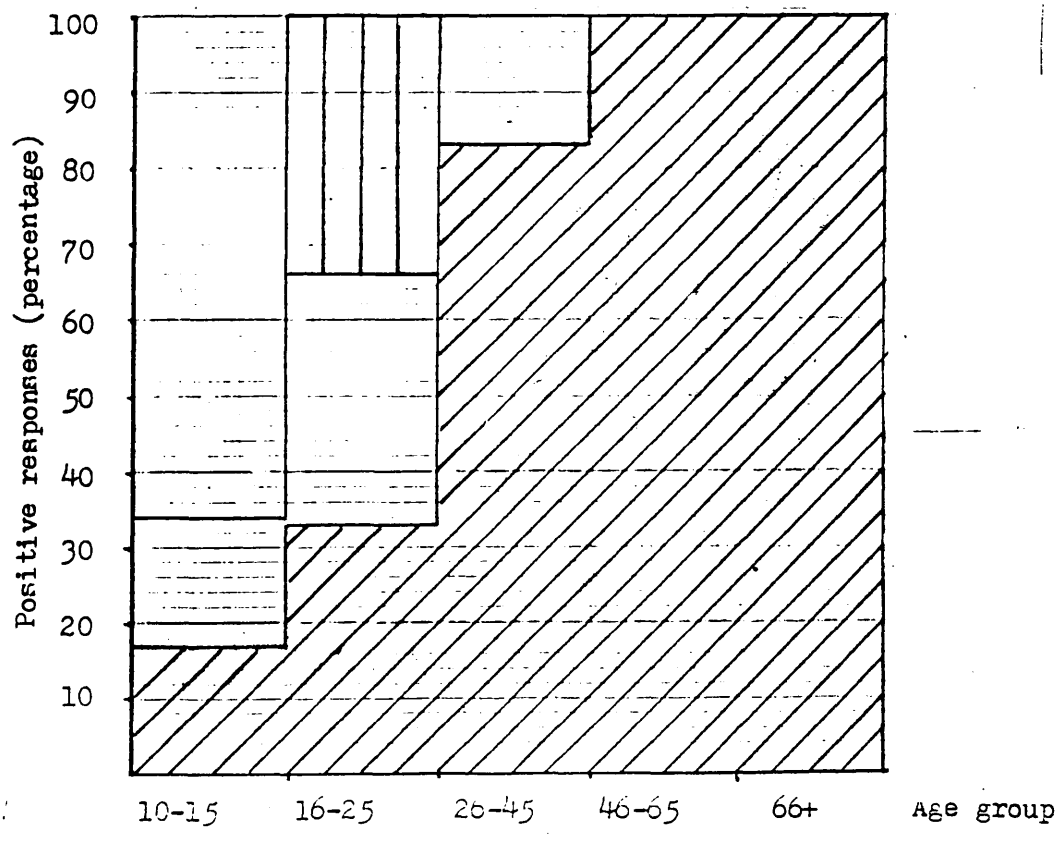


Figure 3. 5 Females' claimed knowledge and use of tishyroon

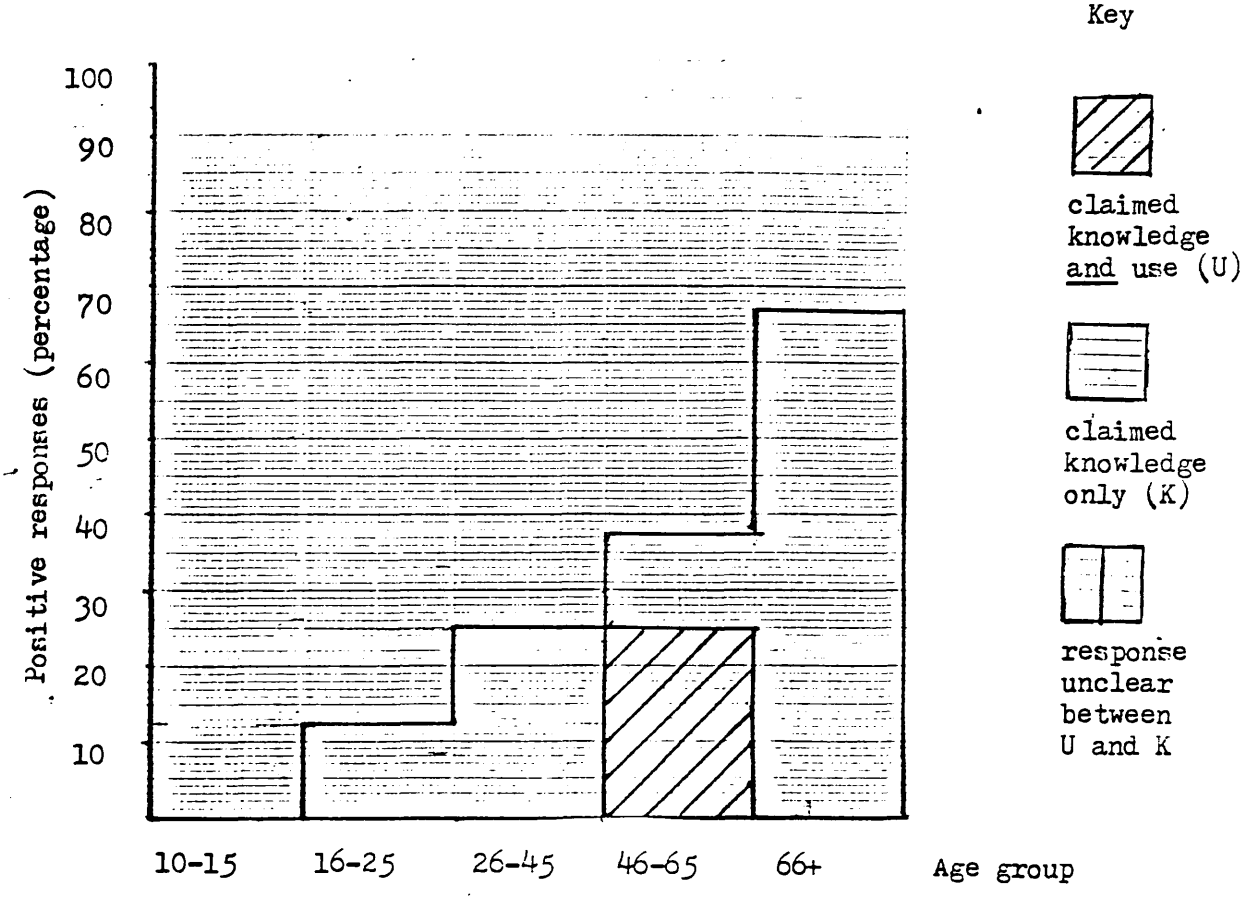


Figure 3. 6 Males' claimed knowledge and use of tishyroon

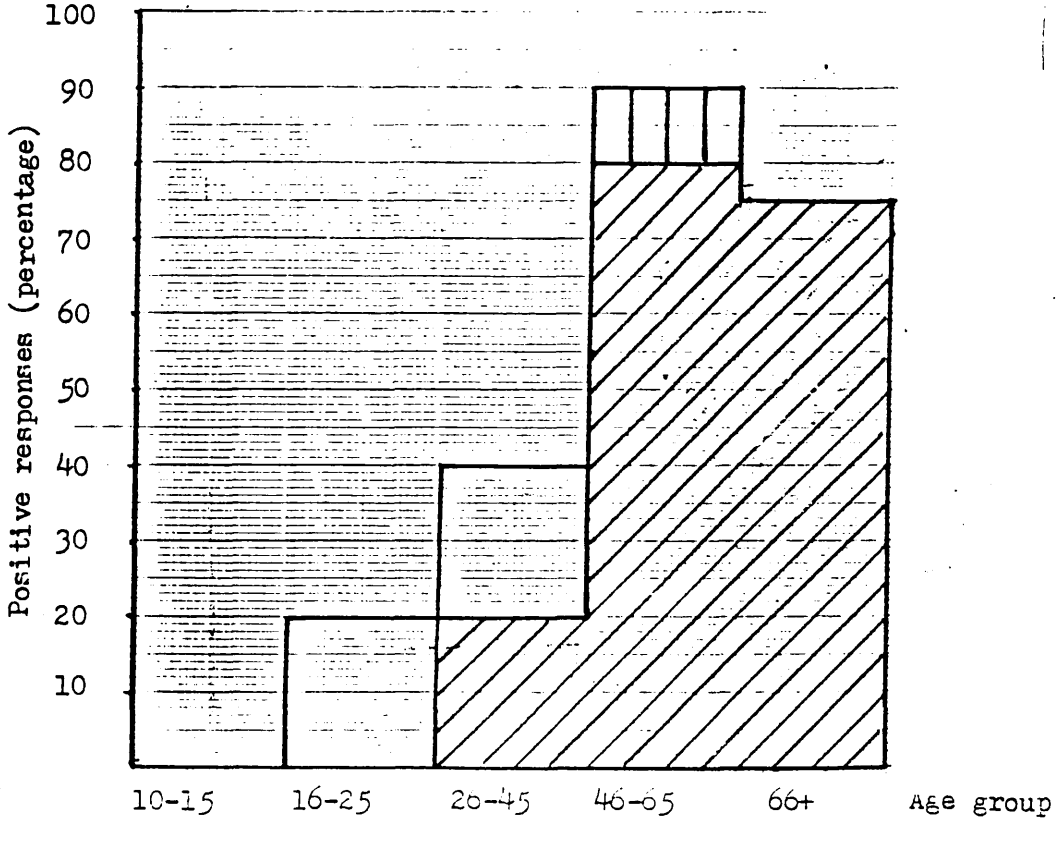


Figure 3.7 Females' claimed knowledge and use of gelt

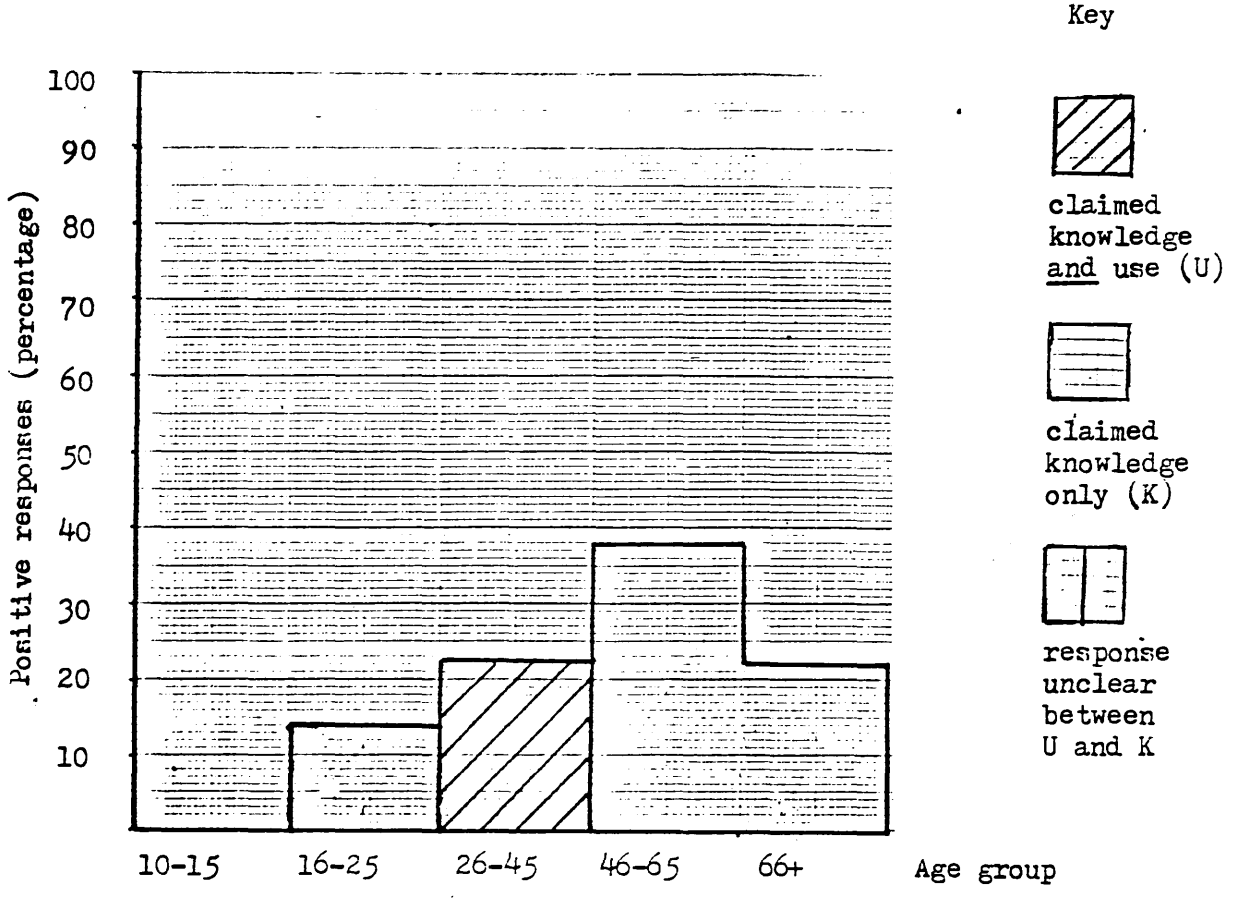


Figure 3.8 Males' claimed knowledge and use of gelt

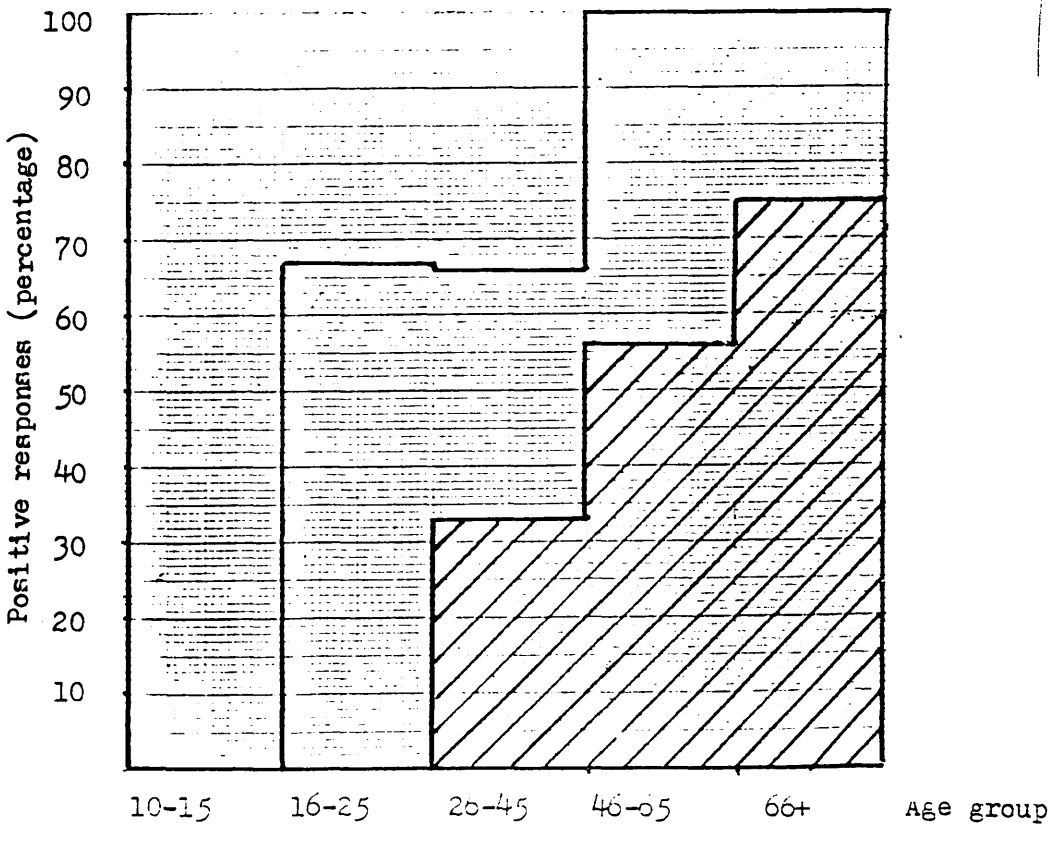


Figure 3. 9 Females' claimed knowledge and use of buckshee

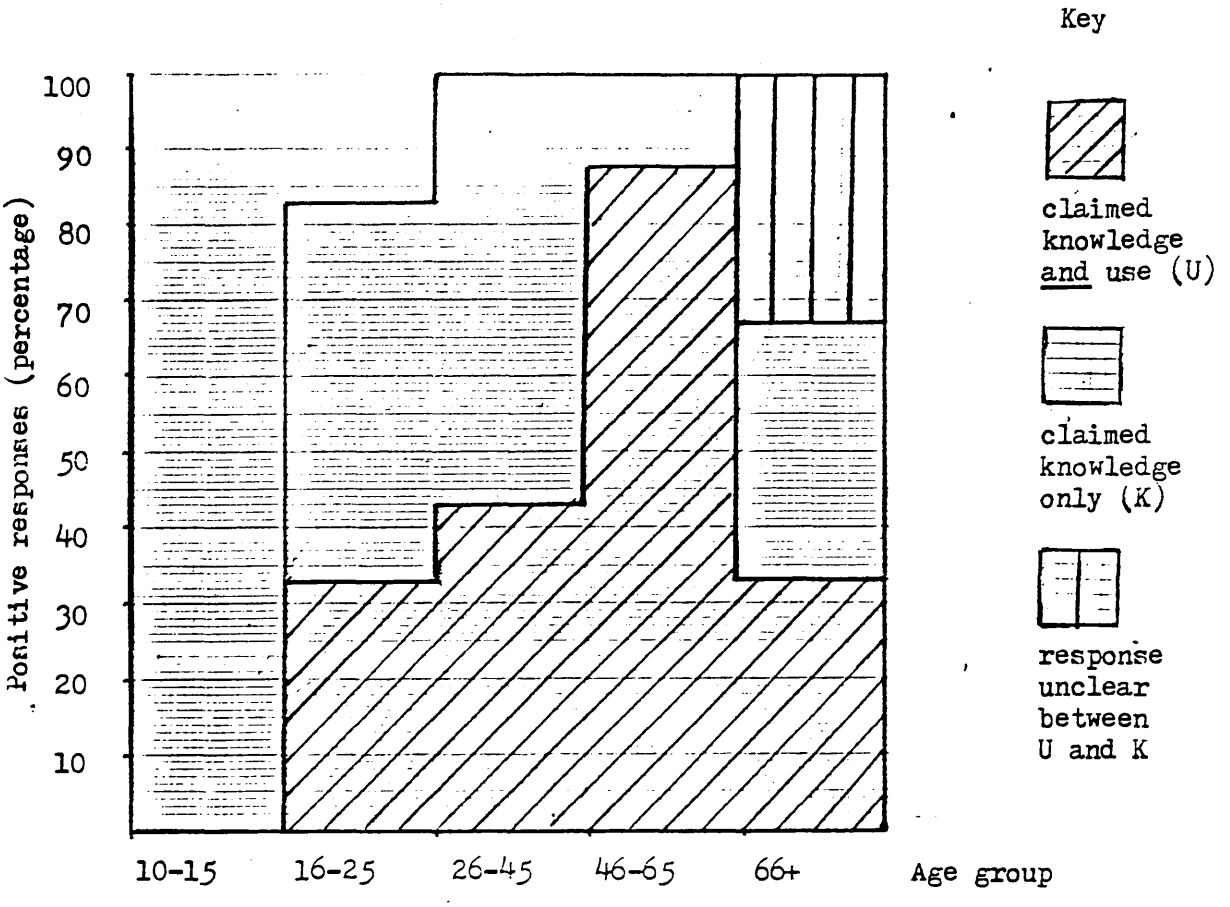


Figure 3. 10 Males' claimed knowledge and use of buckshee

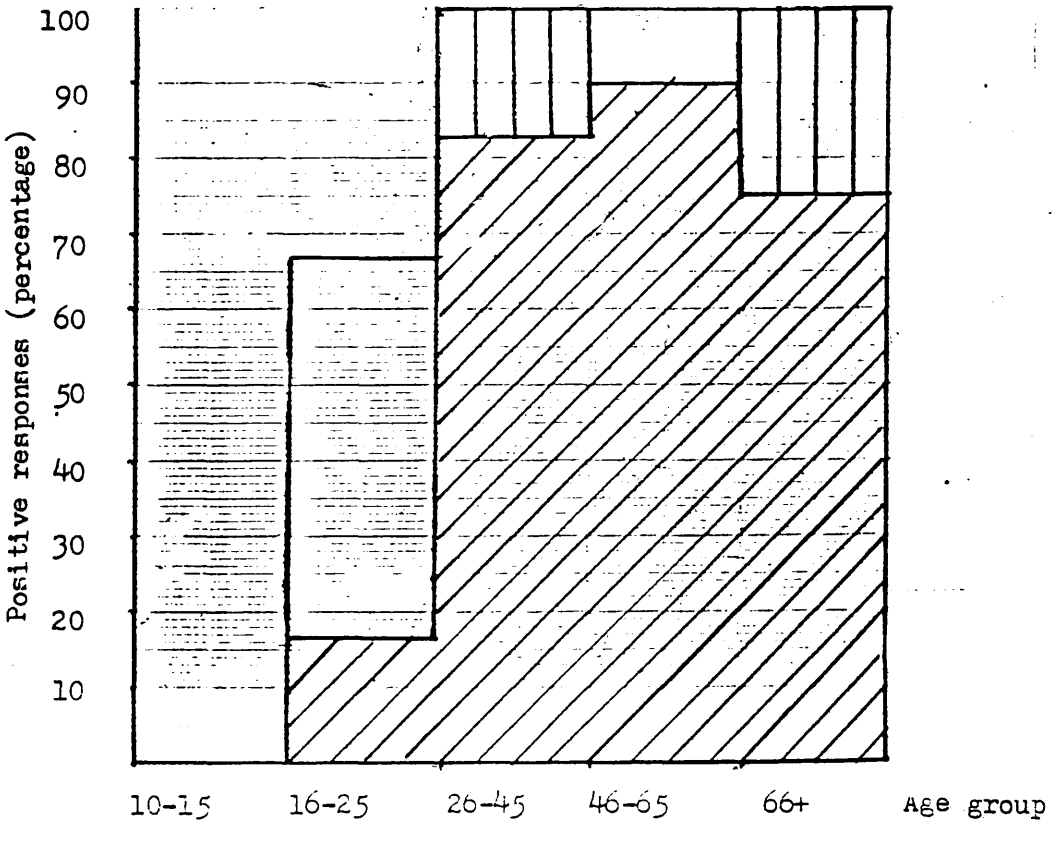


Figure 3.11 Females' claimed knowledge and use of hunch cuddy hunch

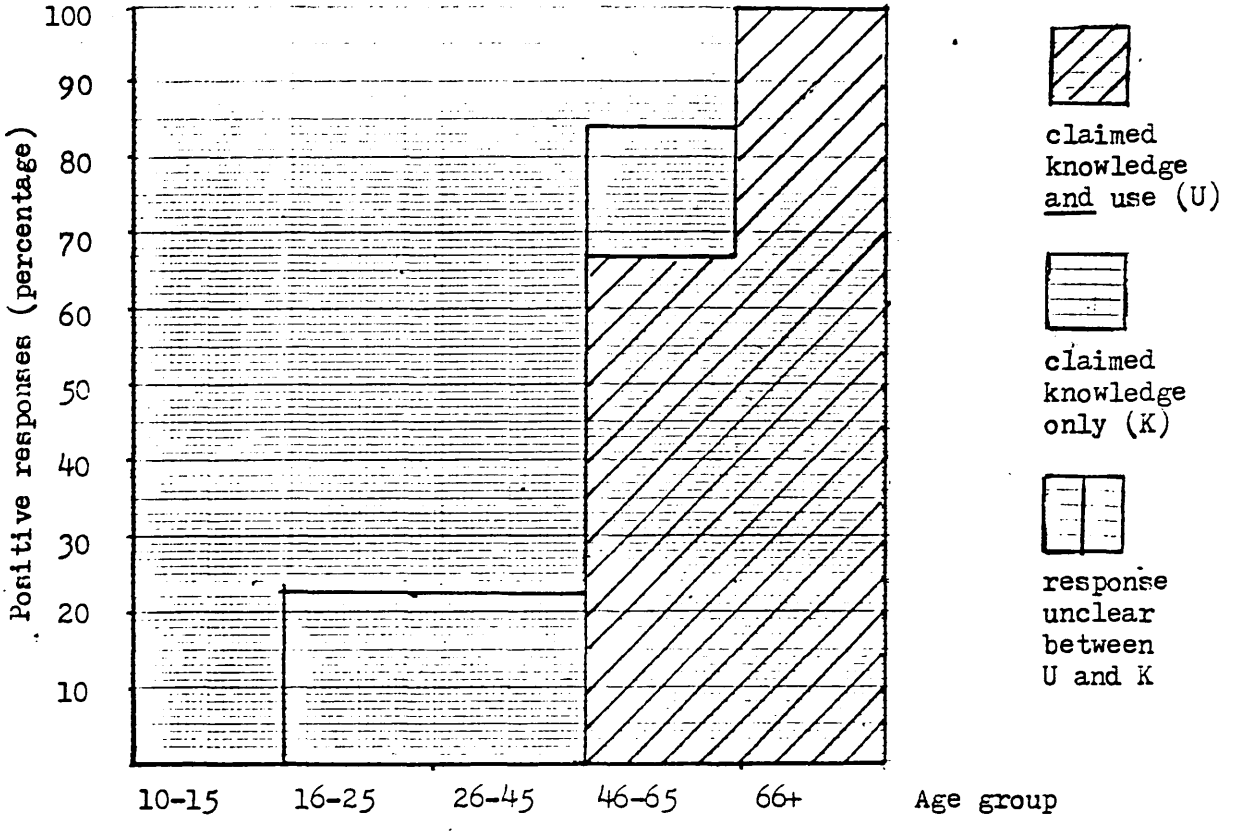


Figure 3.12 Males' claimed knowledge and use of hunch cuddy hunch

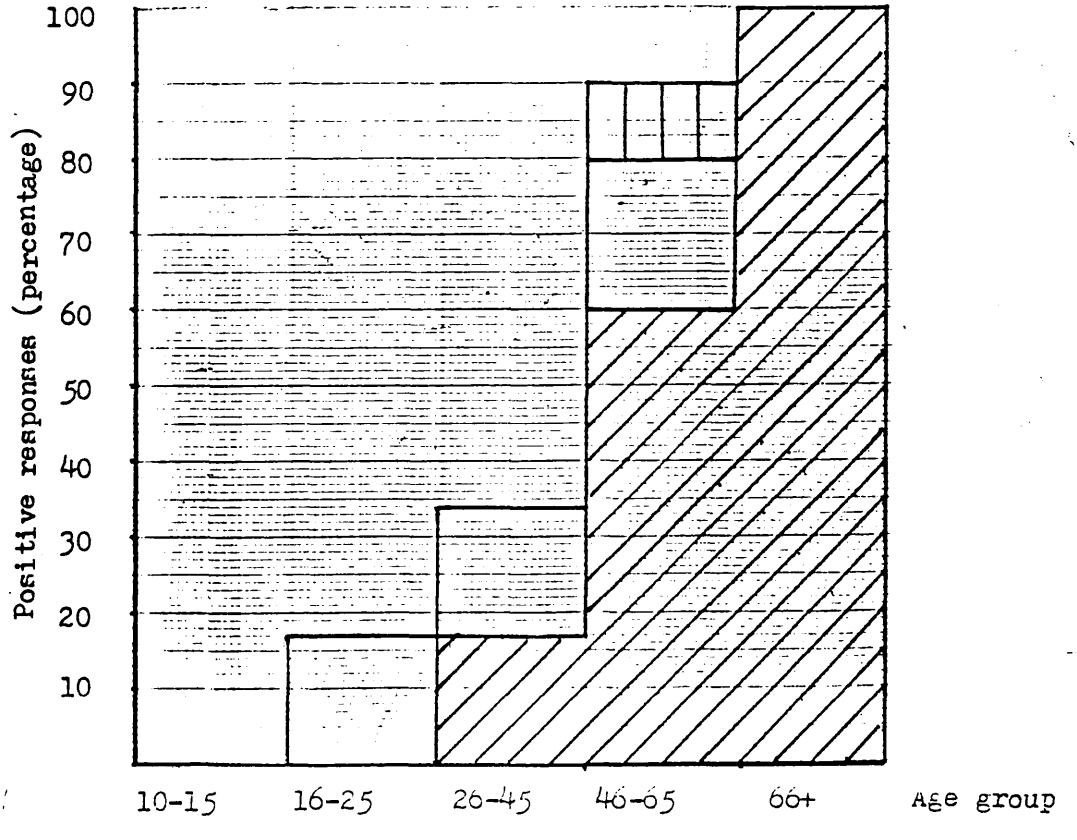


Figure 3.13 Females' claimed knowledge and use of elastics

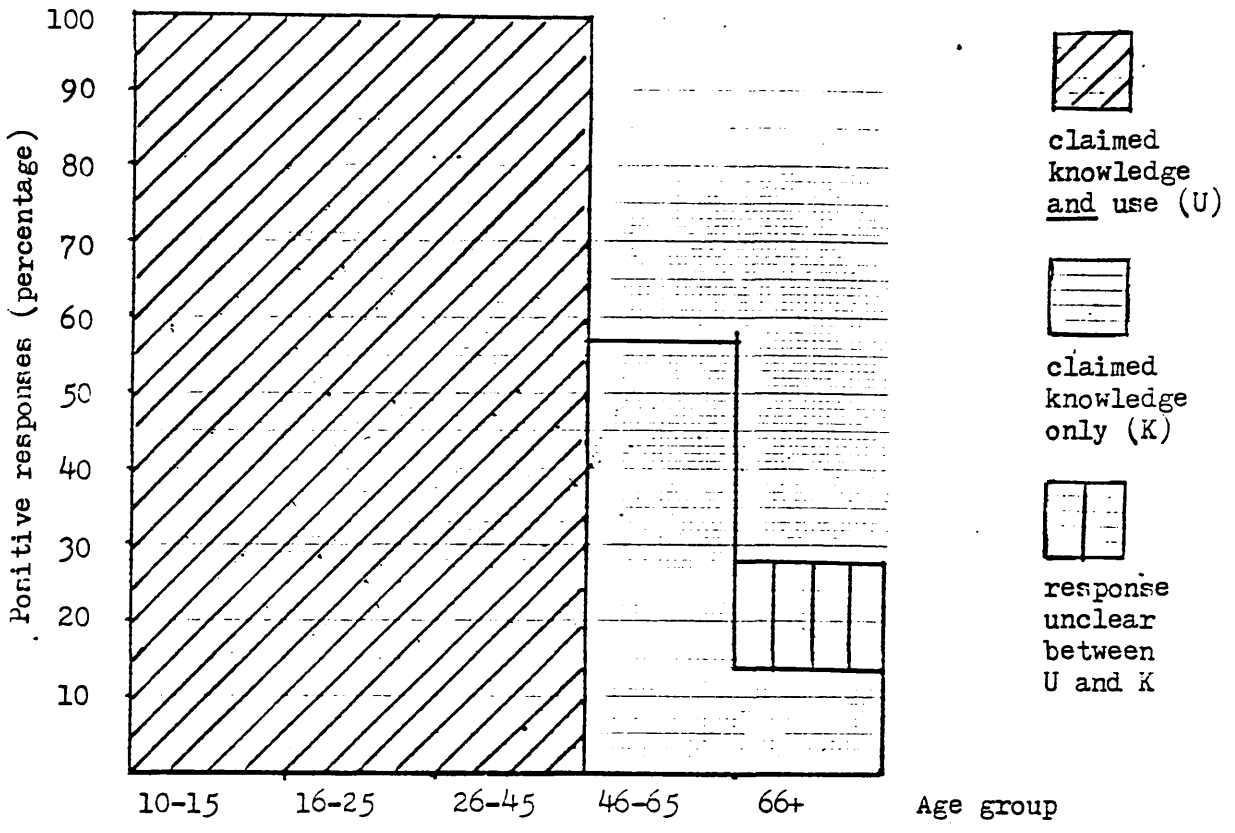


Figure 3.14 Males' claimed knowledge and use of elastics

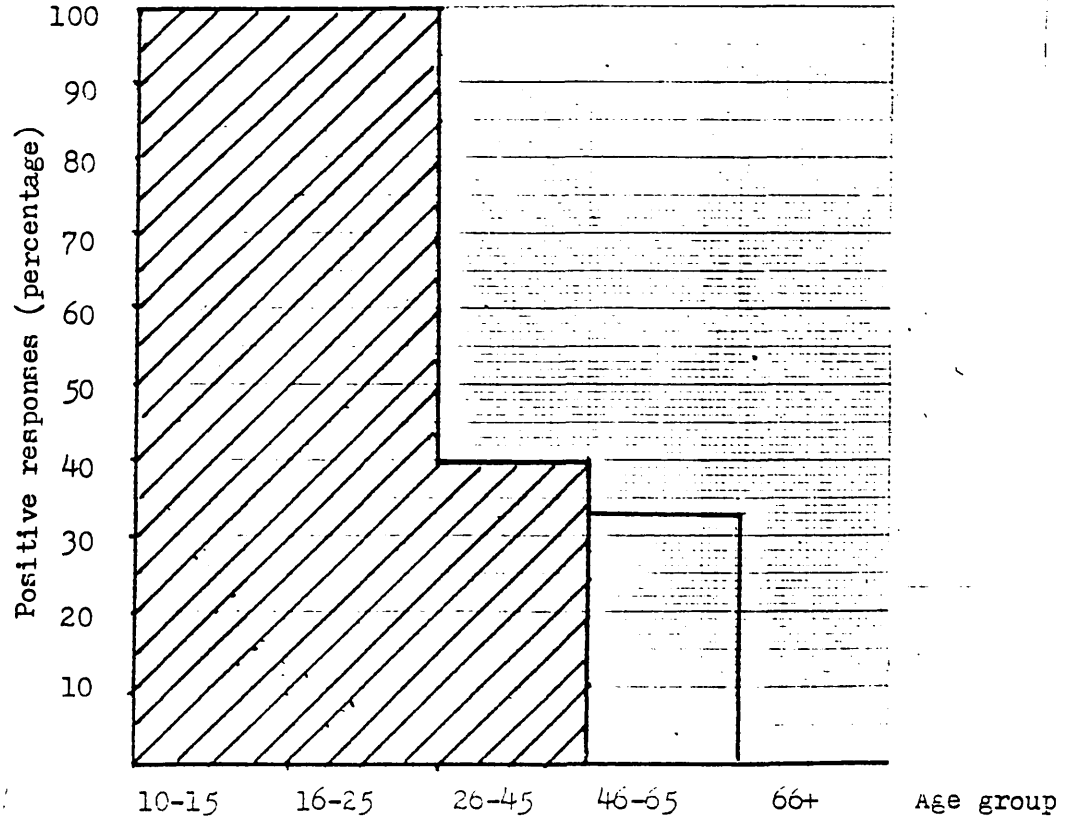


Figure 3.15 Females' claimed knowledge and use of chinks

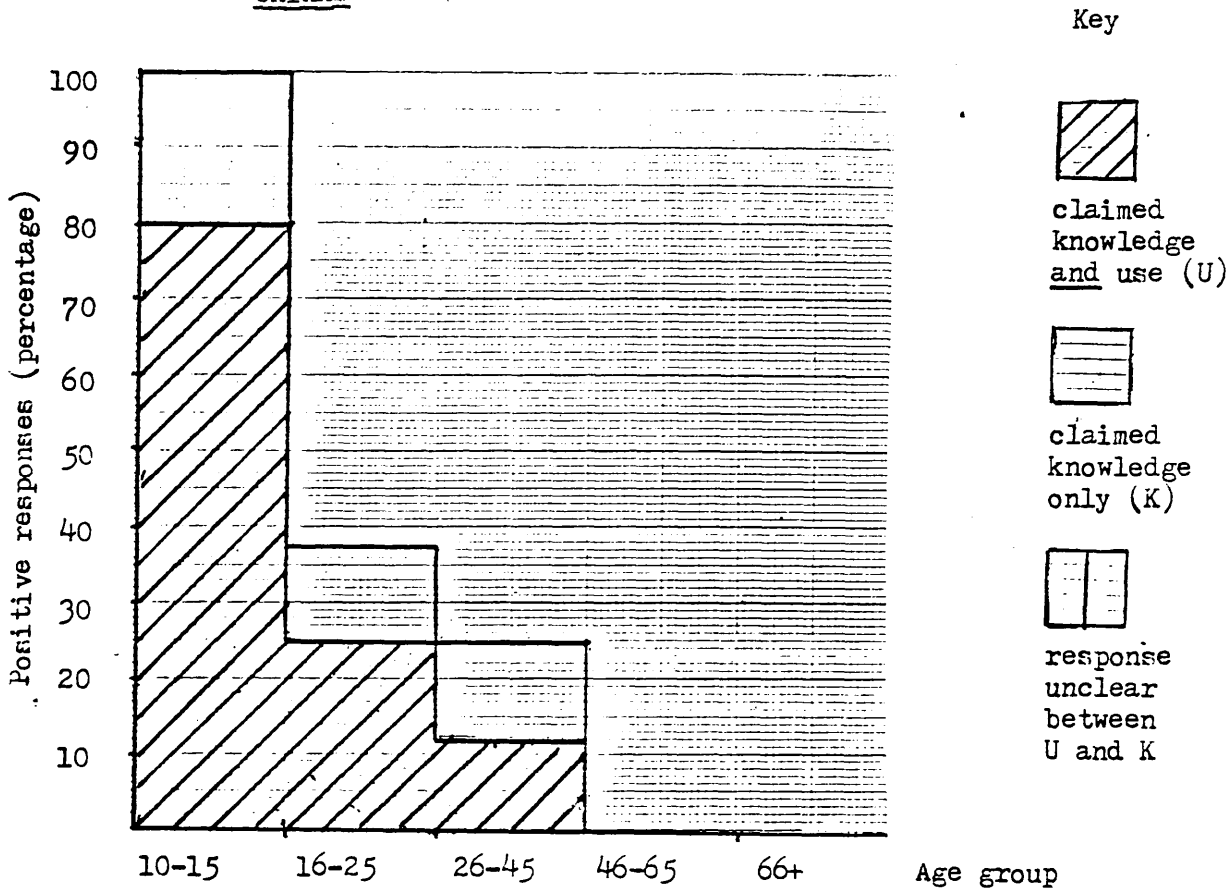


Figure 3.16 Males' claimed knowledge and use of chinks

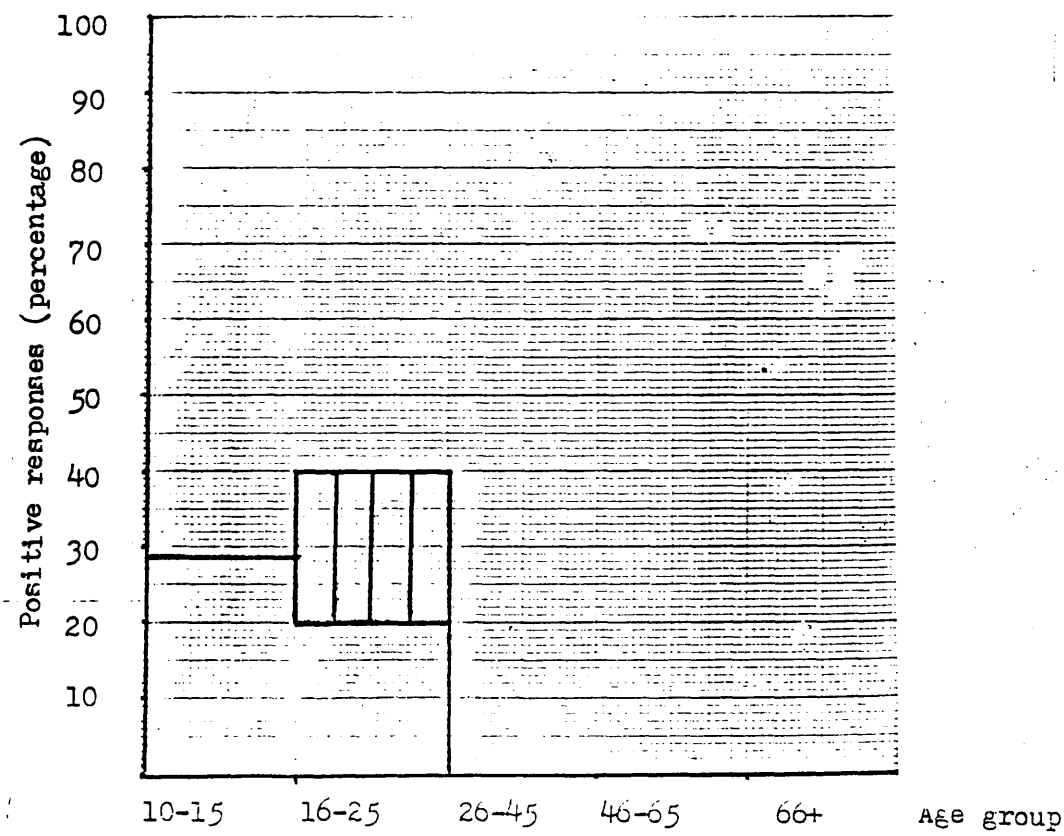


Figure 3.17 Females' claimed knowledge and use of Chinese ropes

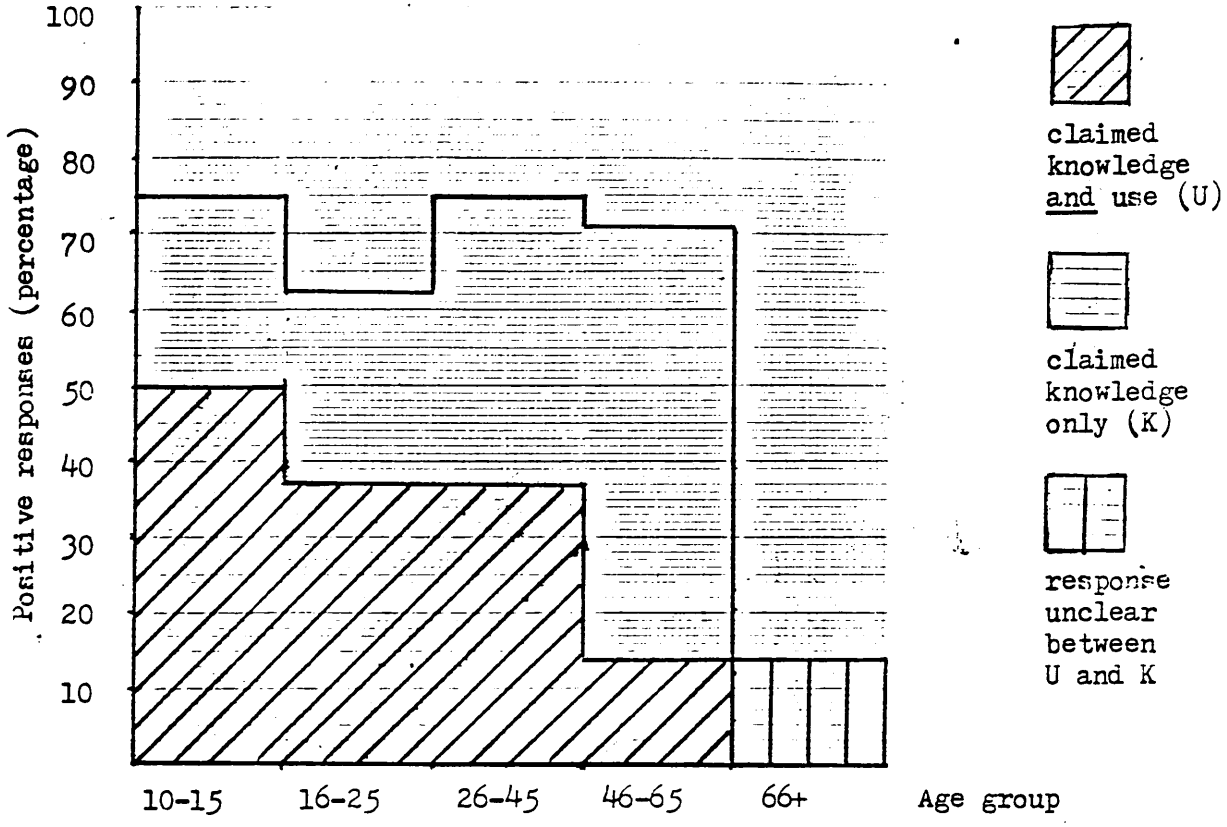


Figure 3.18 Males' claimed knowledge and use of Chinese ropes

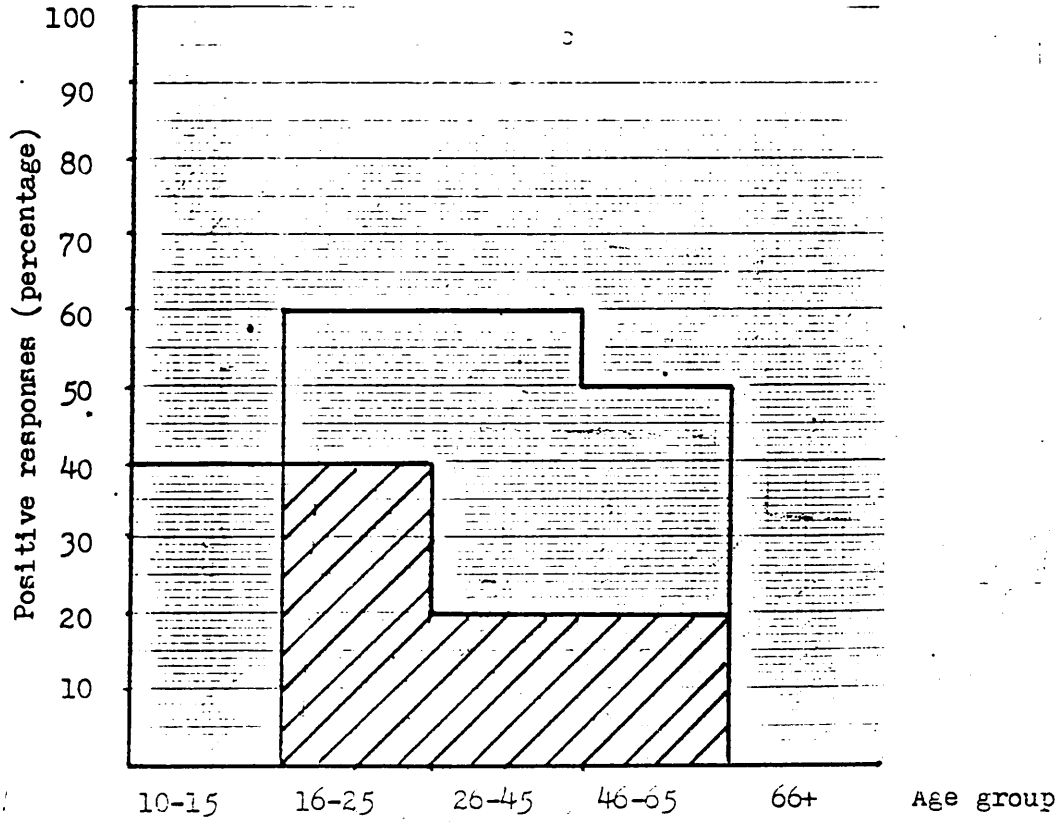


Figure 3.19 Females' claimed knowledge and use of five stanes

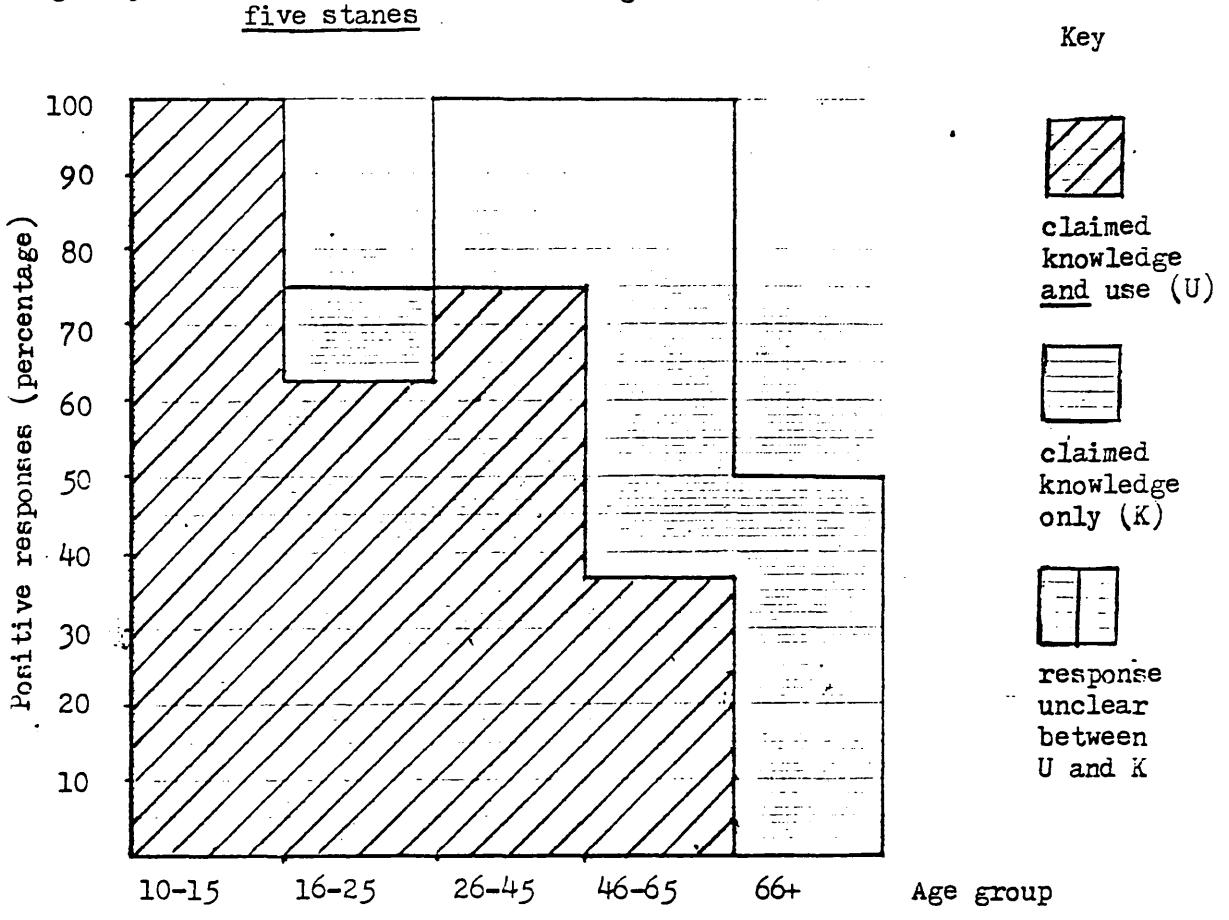


Figure 3.20 Males' claimed knowledge and use of five stanes

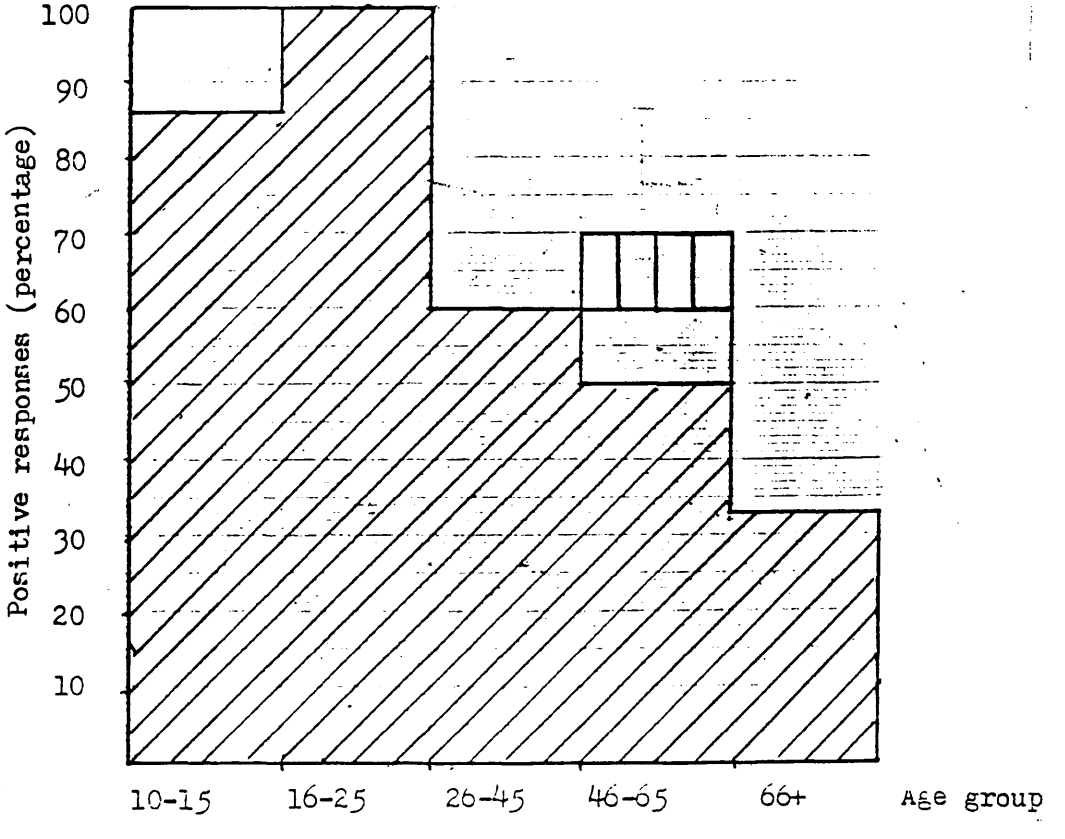


Figure 3.21 Both sexes' claimed knowledge and use of keys

Figure 3.22 Both sexes' claimed knowledge and use of baurlay

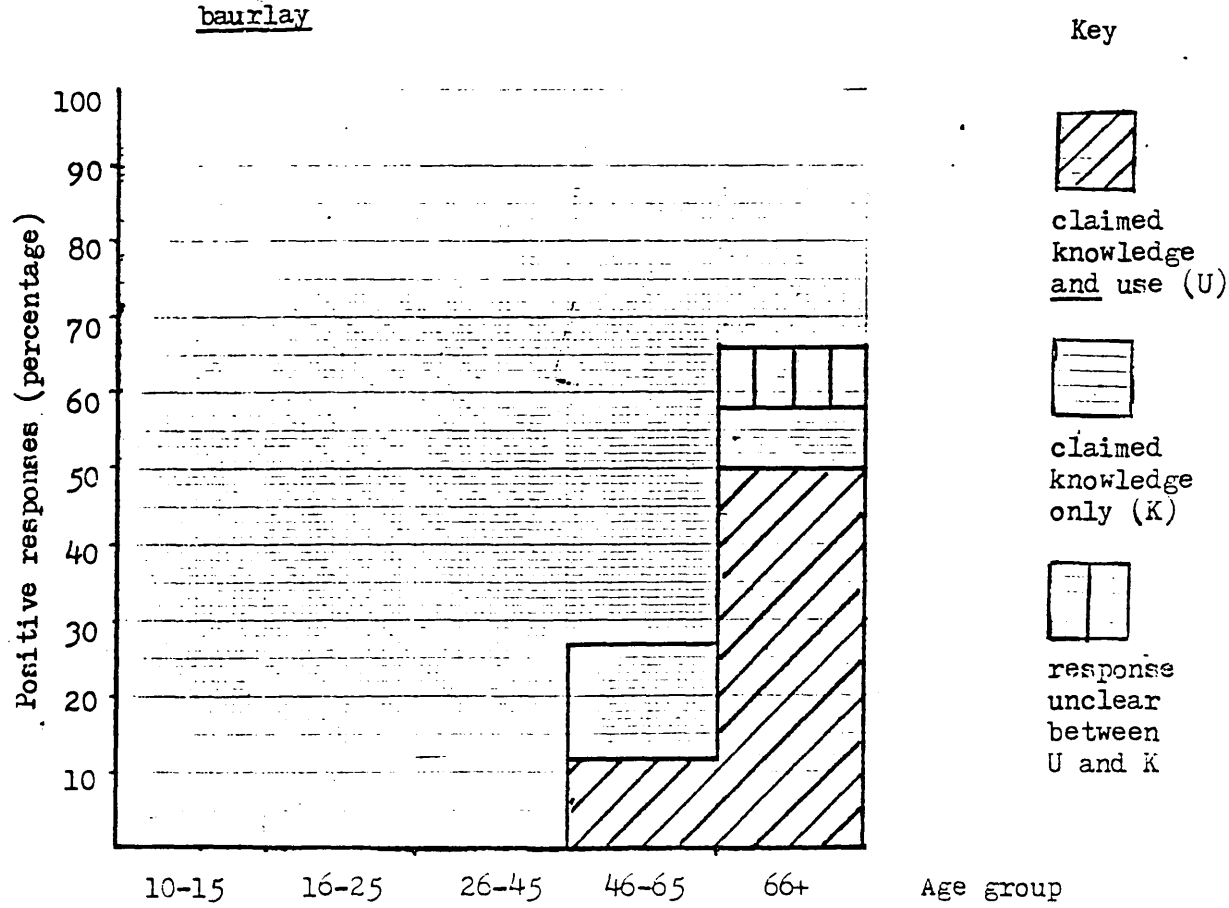


Figure 3.23 Females' claimed knowledge and use of guisers

Figure 3.24 Males' claimed knowledge and use of guisers

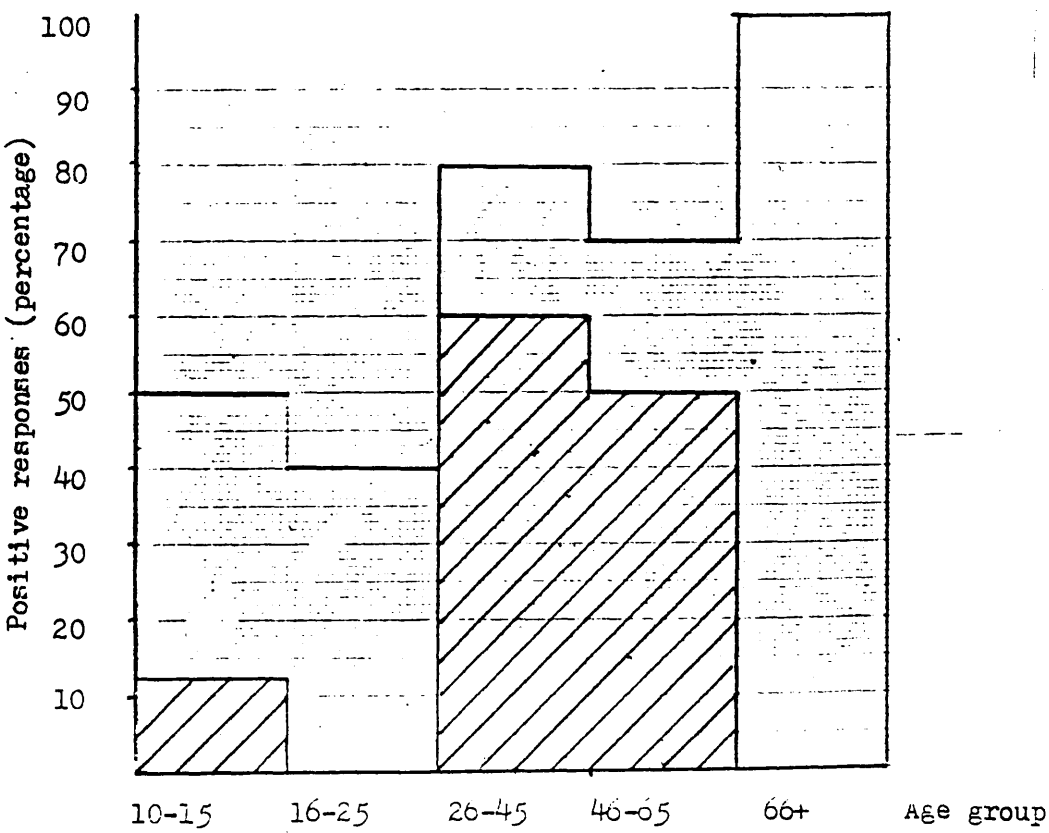


Figure 3.25 Females' claimed knowledge and use of kinderspiel

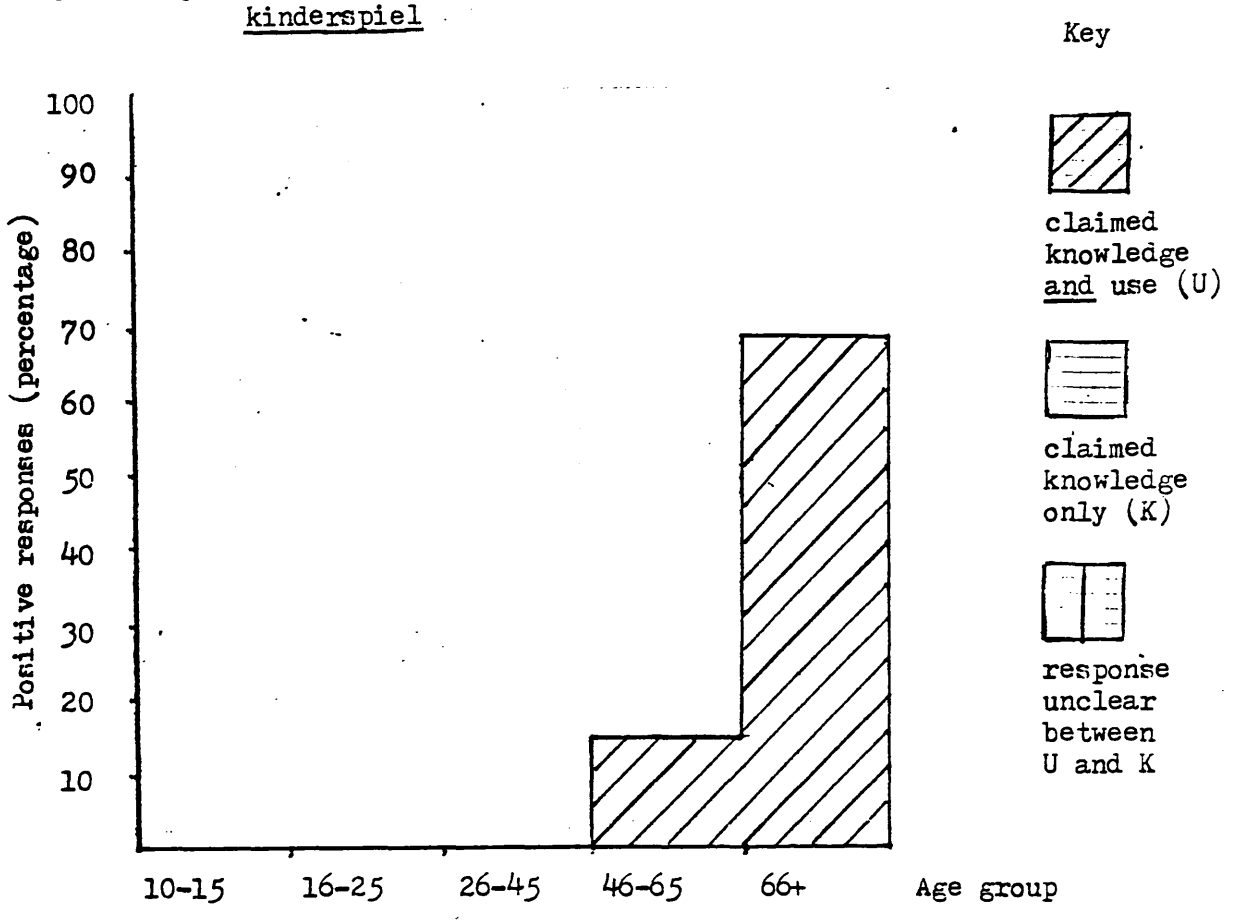


Figure 3.26 Males' claimed knowledge and use of kinderspiel

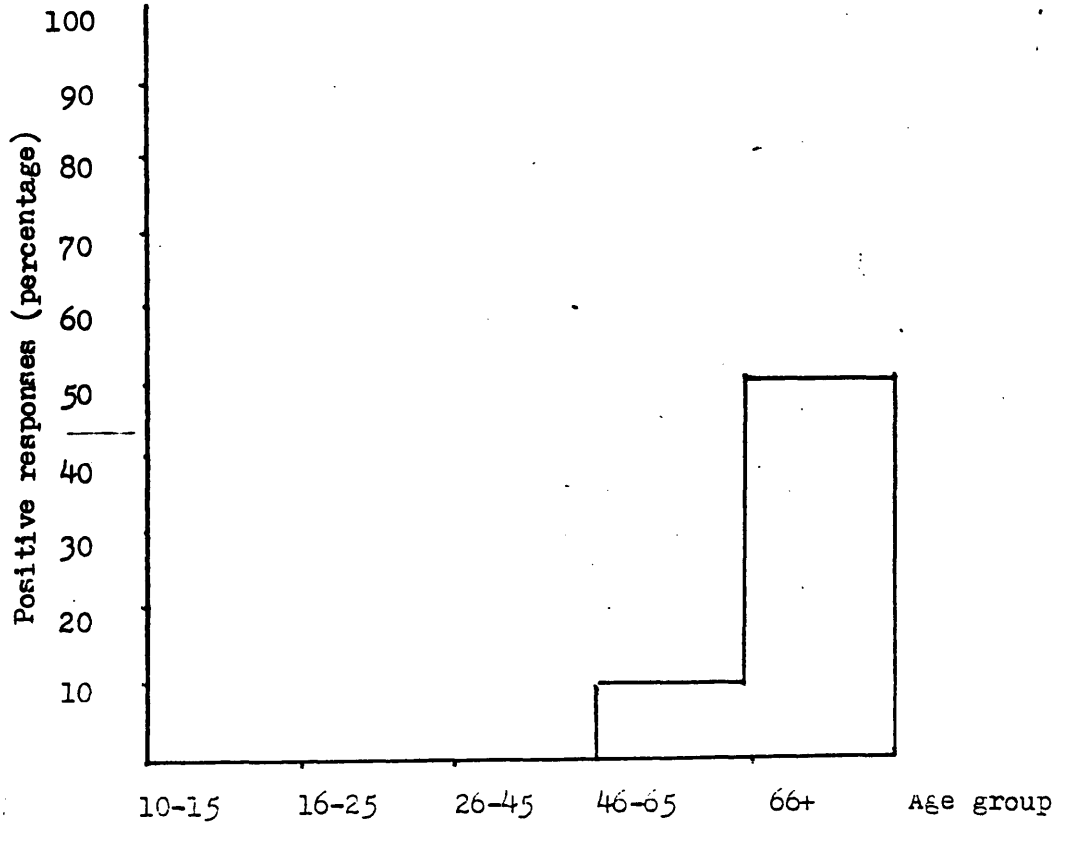


Figure 3.27 Females' claimed knowledge and use of tossing school

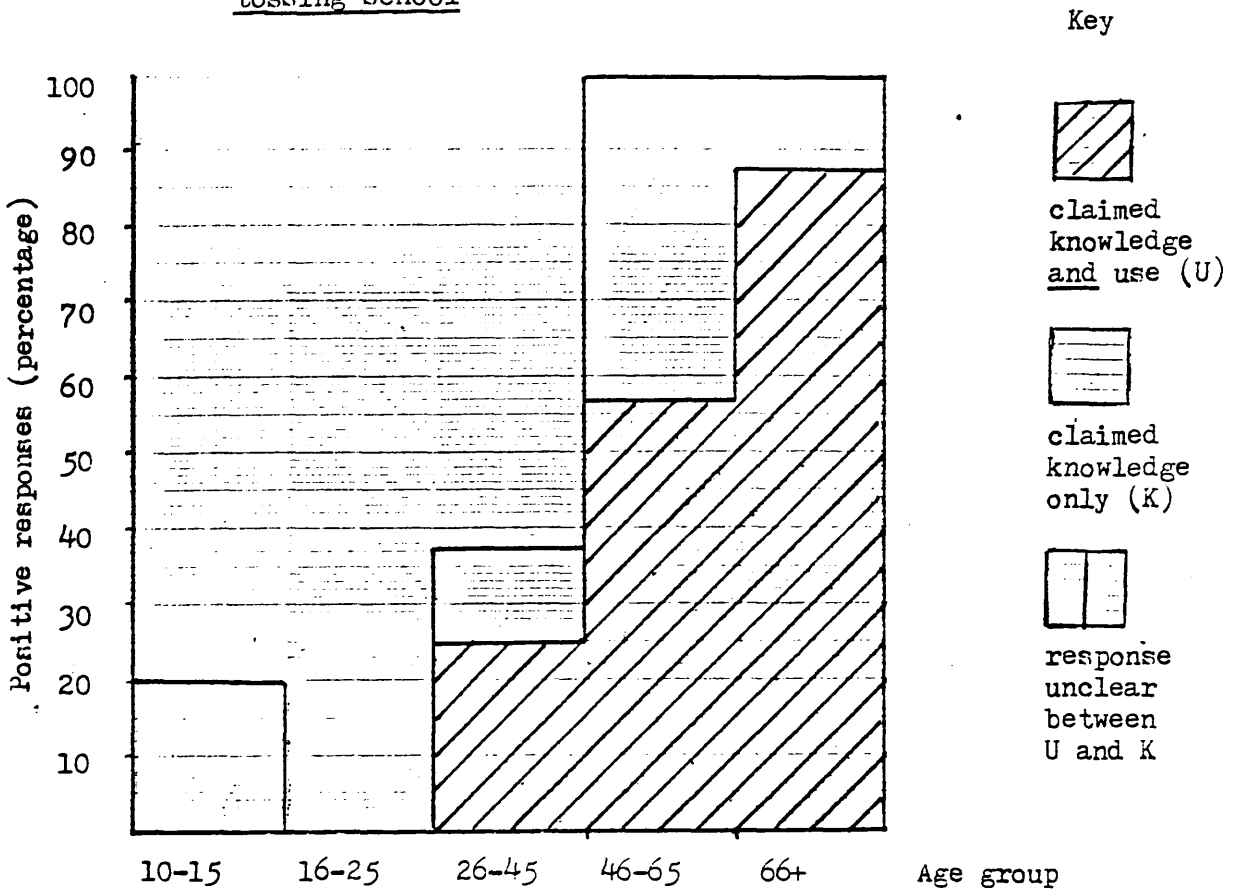


Figure 3. 28 Males' claimed knowledge and use of tossing school

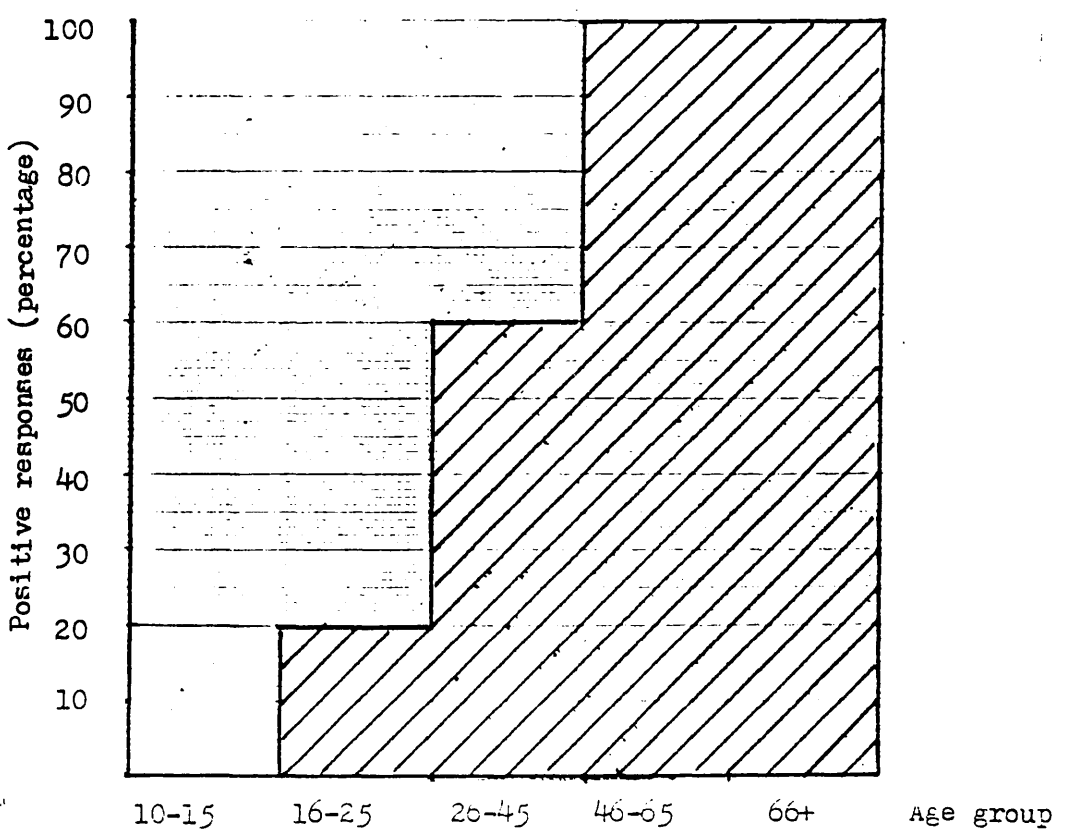


Figure 3.29 Females' claimed knowledge and use of toller

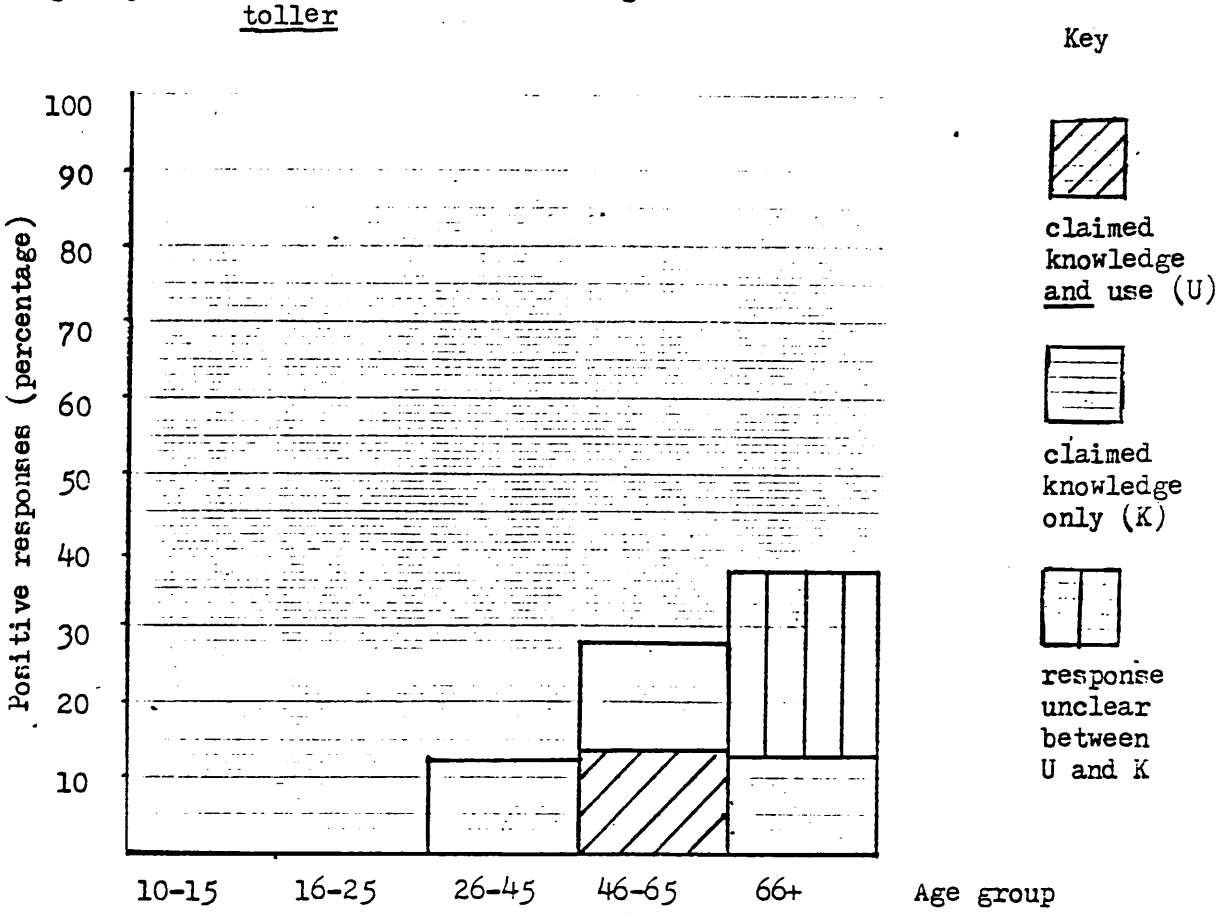


Figure 3.30 Males' claimed knowledge and use of toller

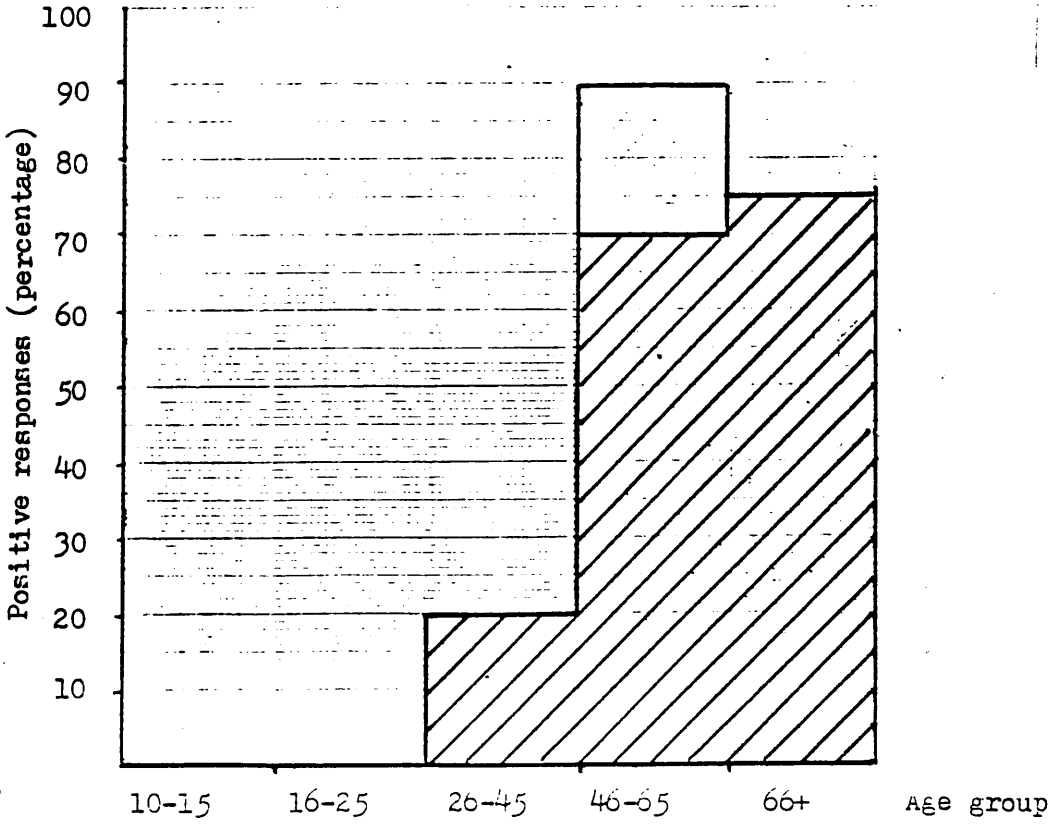


Figure 3.31 Females' claimed knowledge and use of stookie

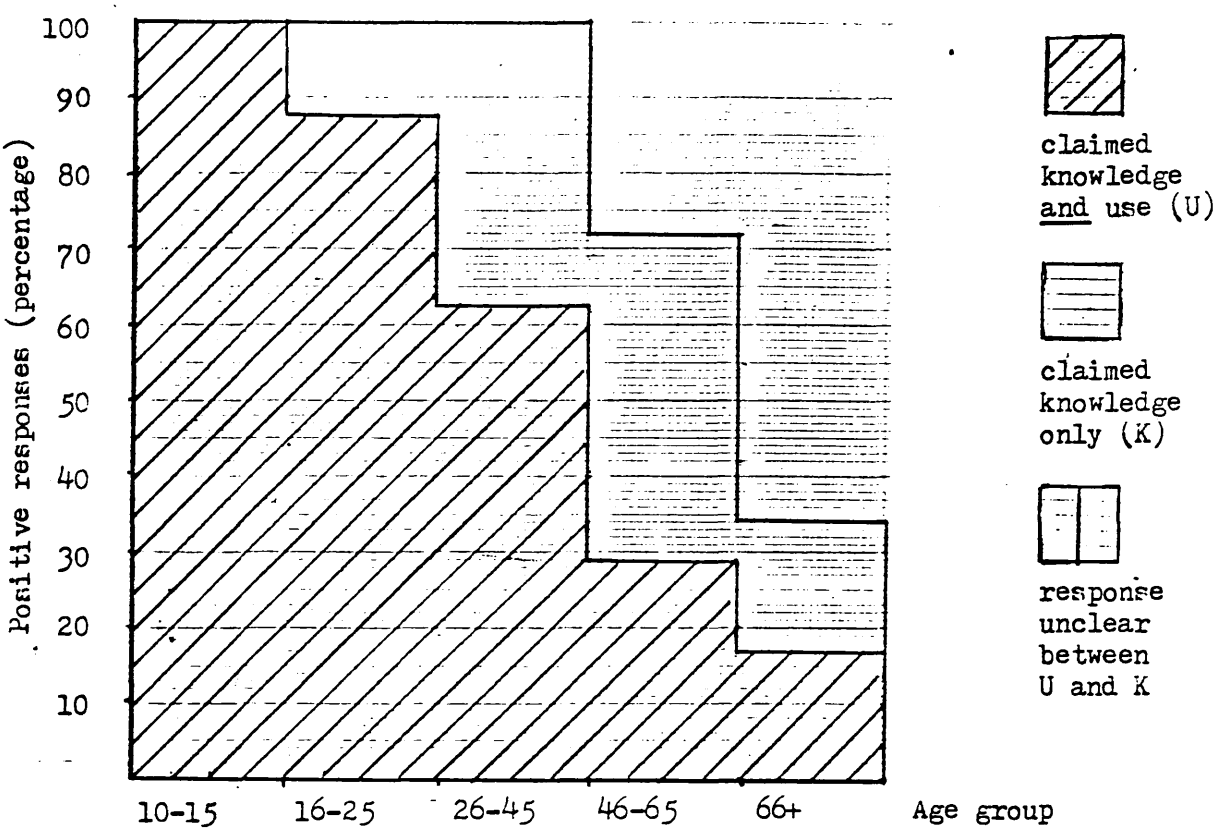


Figure 3.32 Males' claimed knowledge and use of stookie

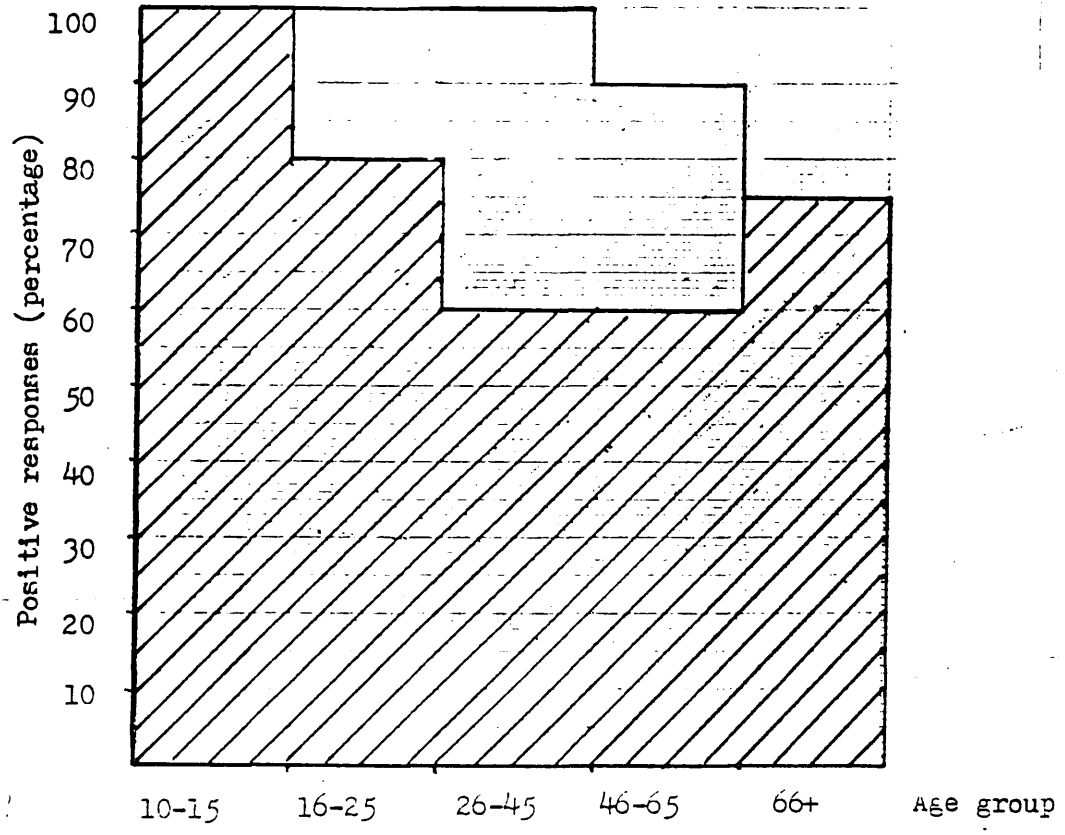


Figure 3. 33 Females' claimed knowledge and use of swedger

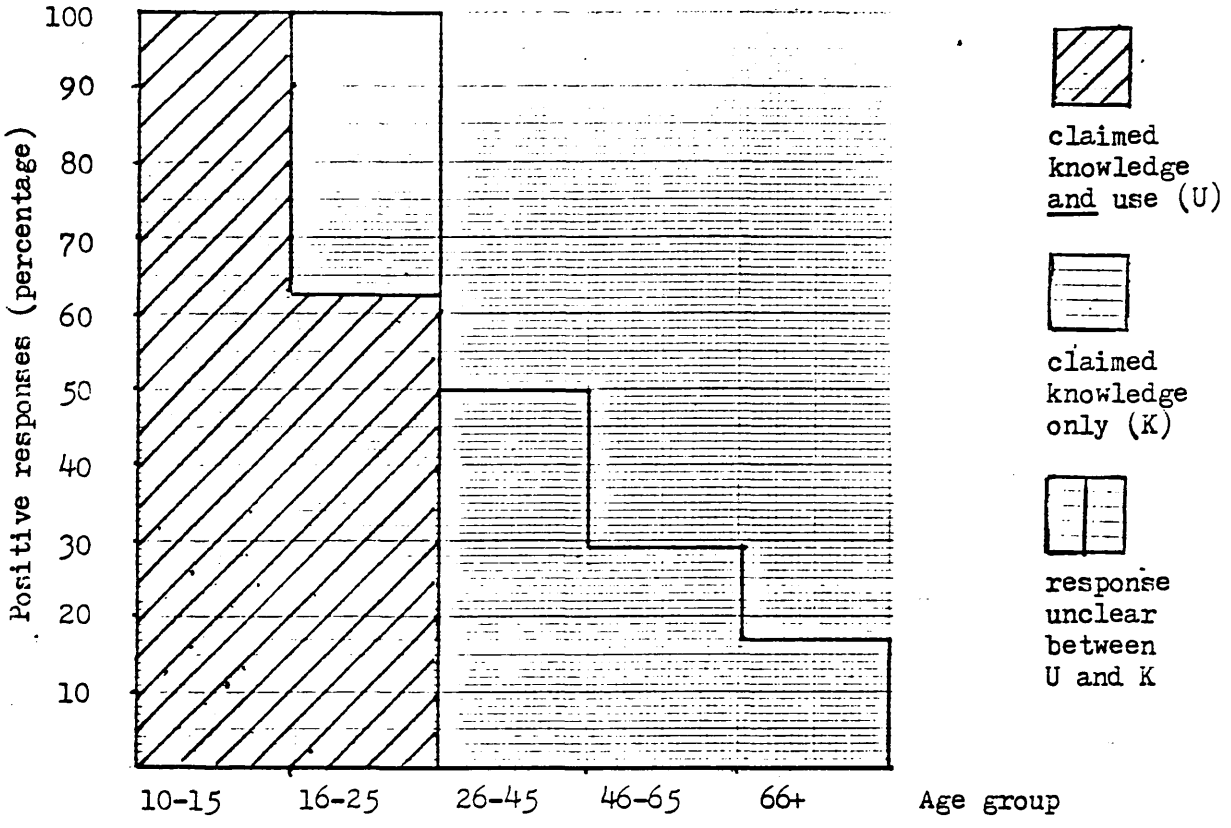


Figure 3. 34 Males' claimed knowledge and use of swedger

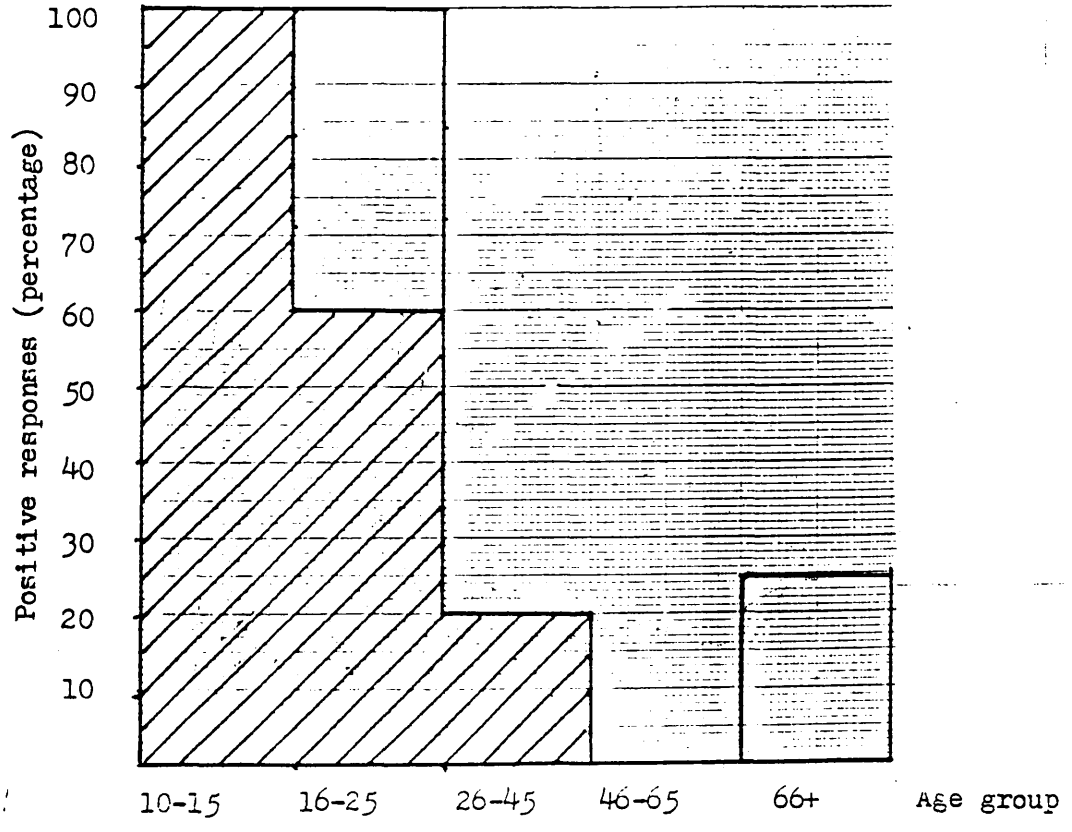


Figure 3.35 Females' claimed knowledge and use of poky hat

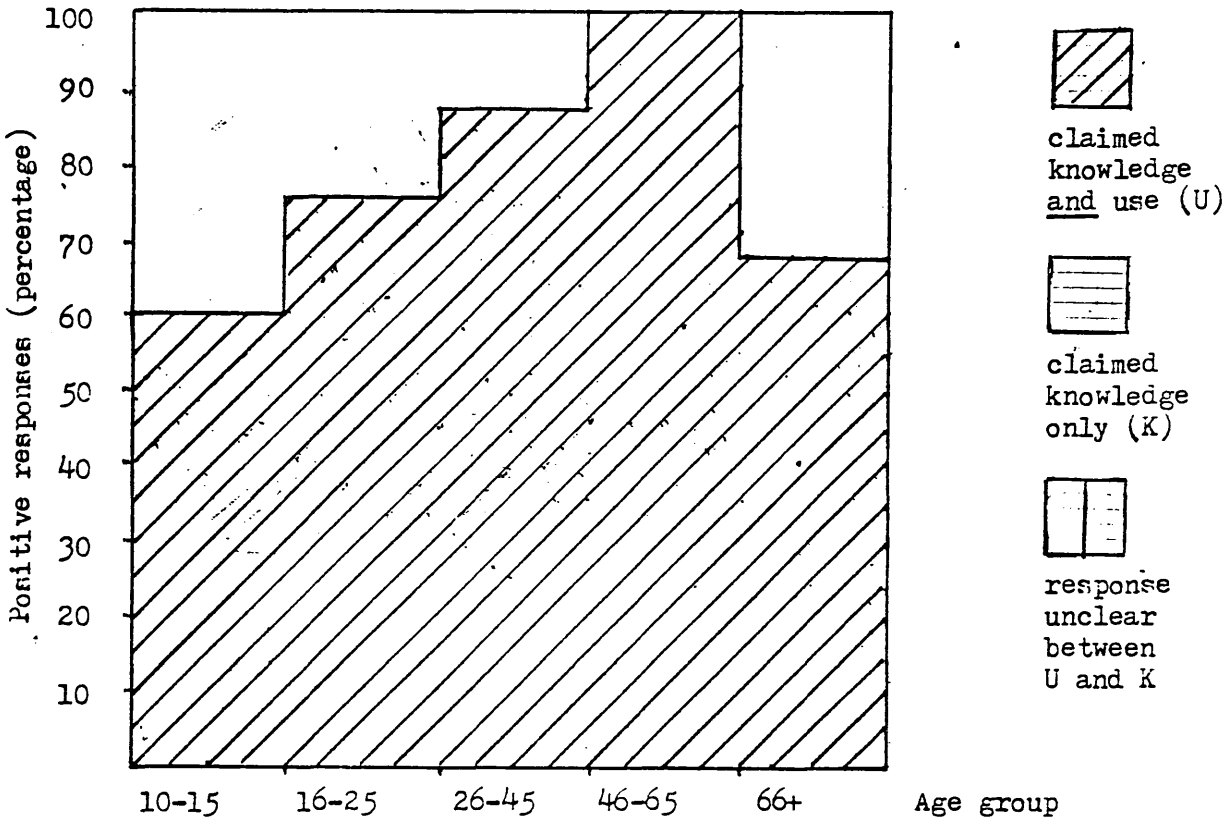
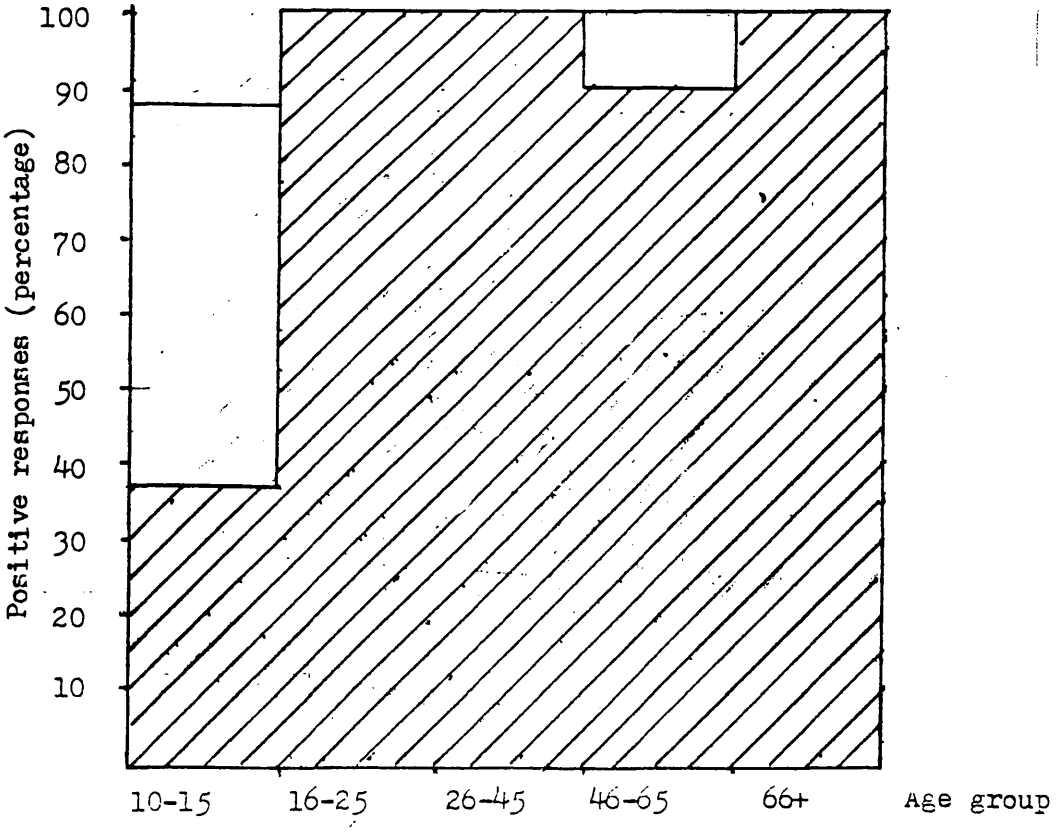


Figure 3.36 Males' claimed knowledge and use of poky hat



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493-82
527-494

Figure 3.37 Females' claimed knowledge and use of sugarallie

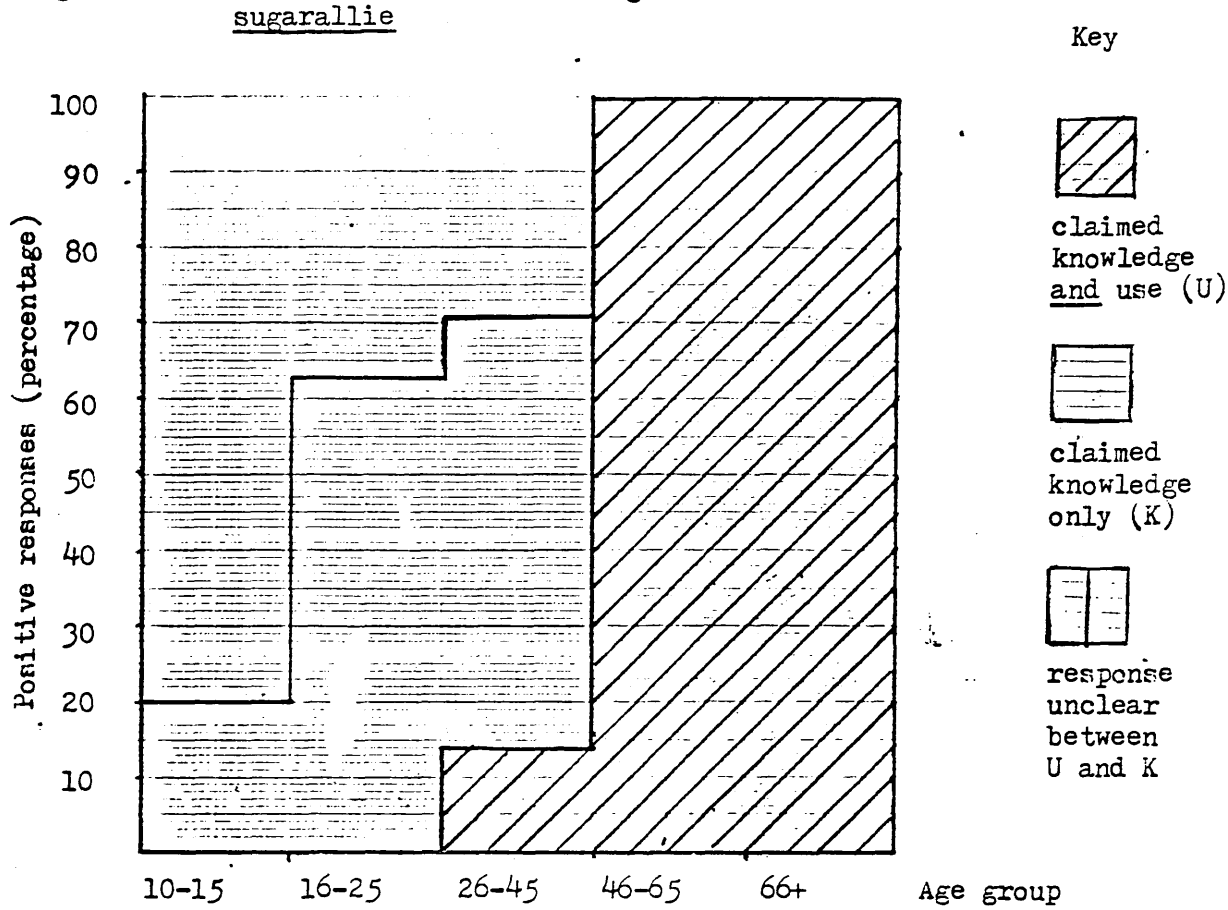


Figure 3.38 Males' claimed knowledge and use of sugarallie

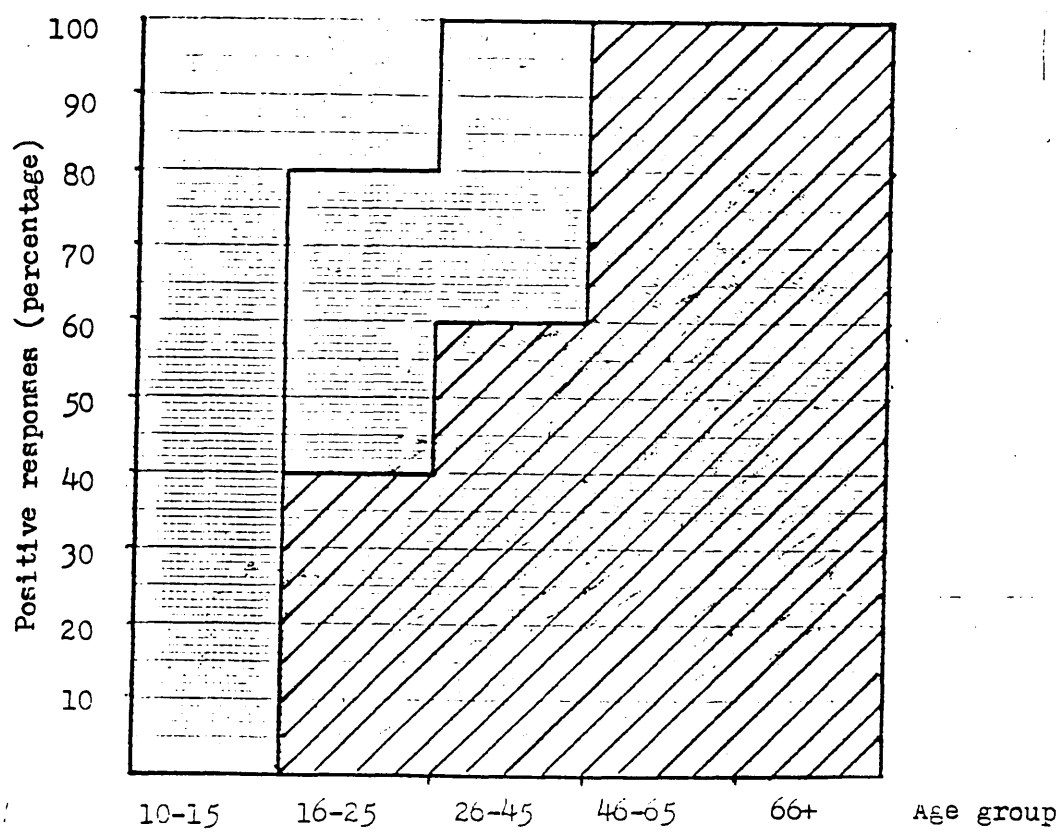


Figure 3. 39 Females' claimed knowledge and use of scratch

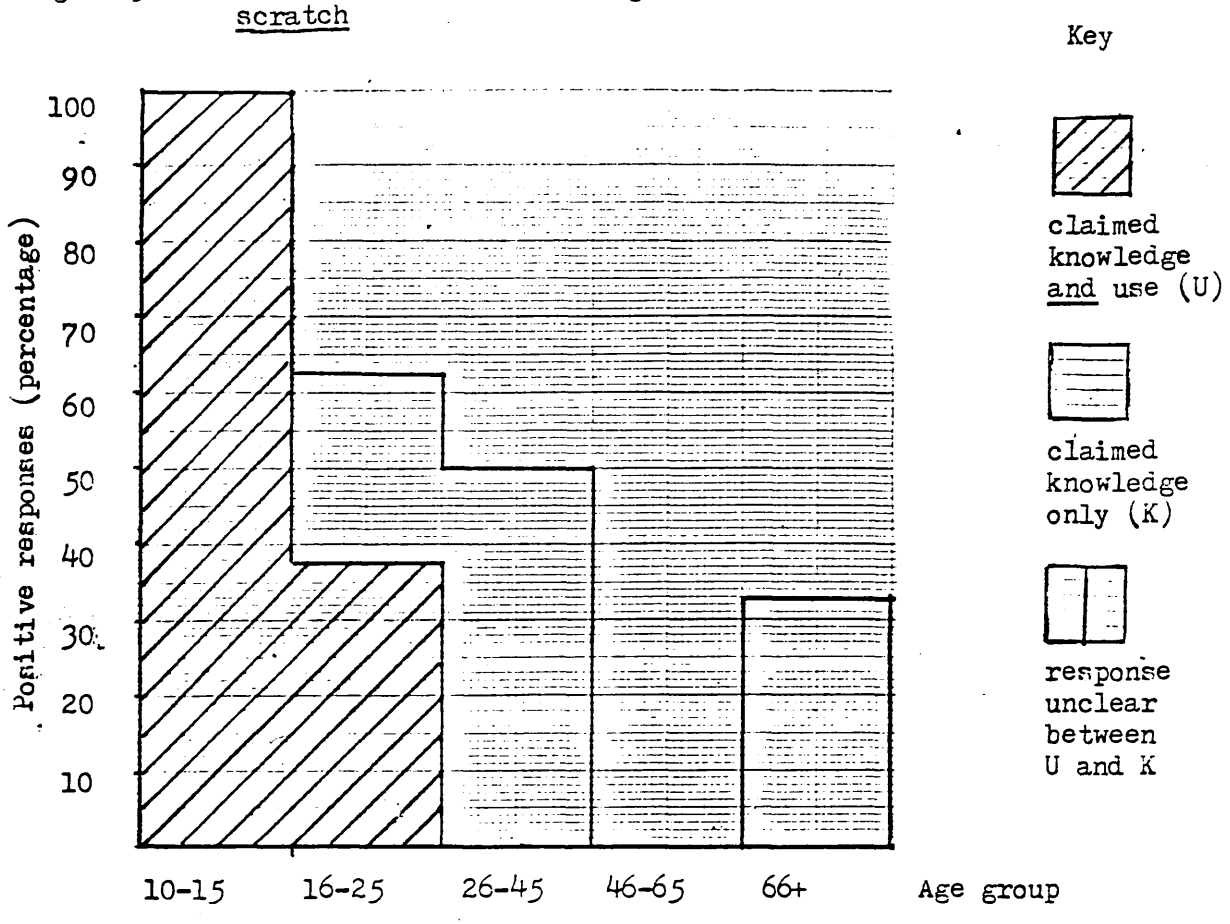


Figure 3. 40 Males' claimed knowledge and use of scratch

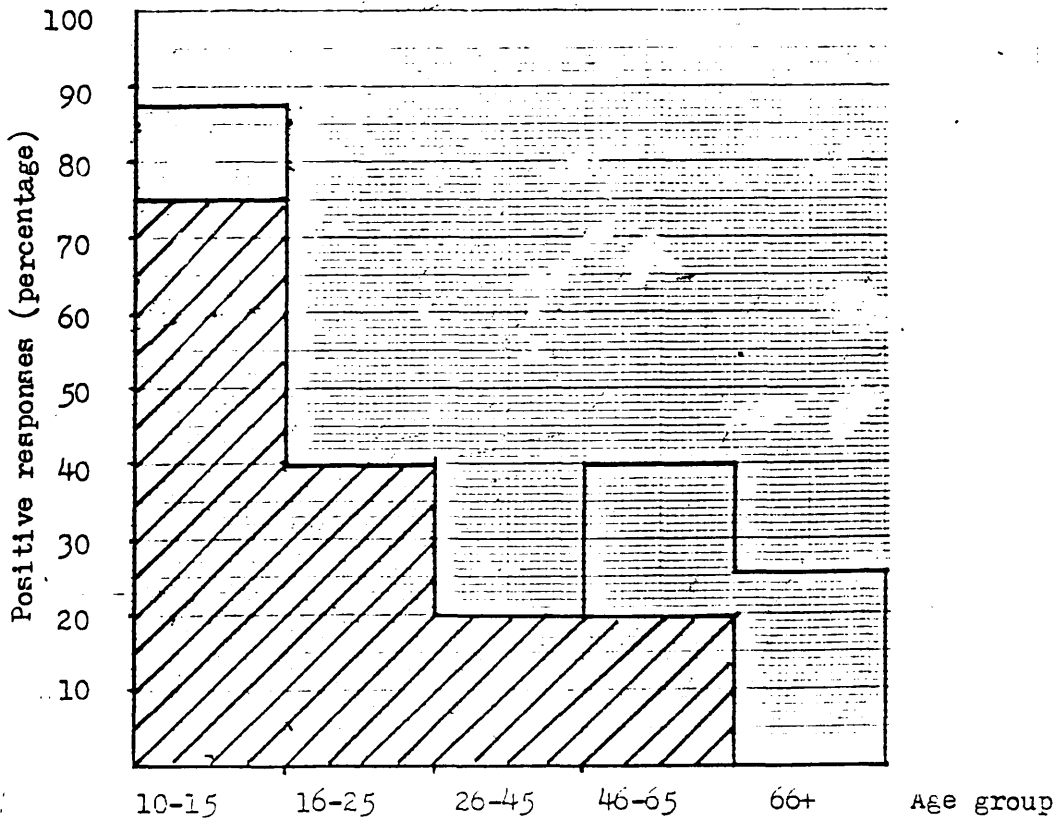


Figure 3.41 Females' claimed knowledge and use of brammed up

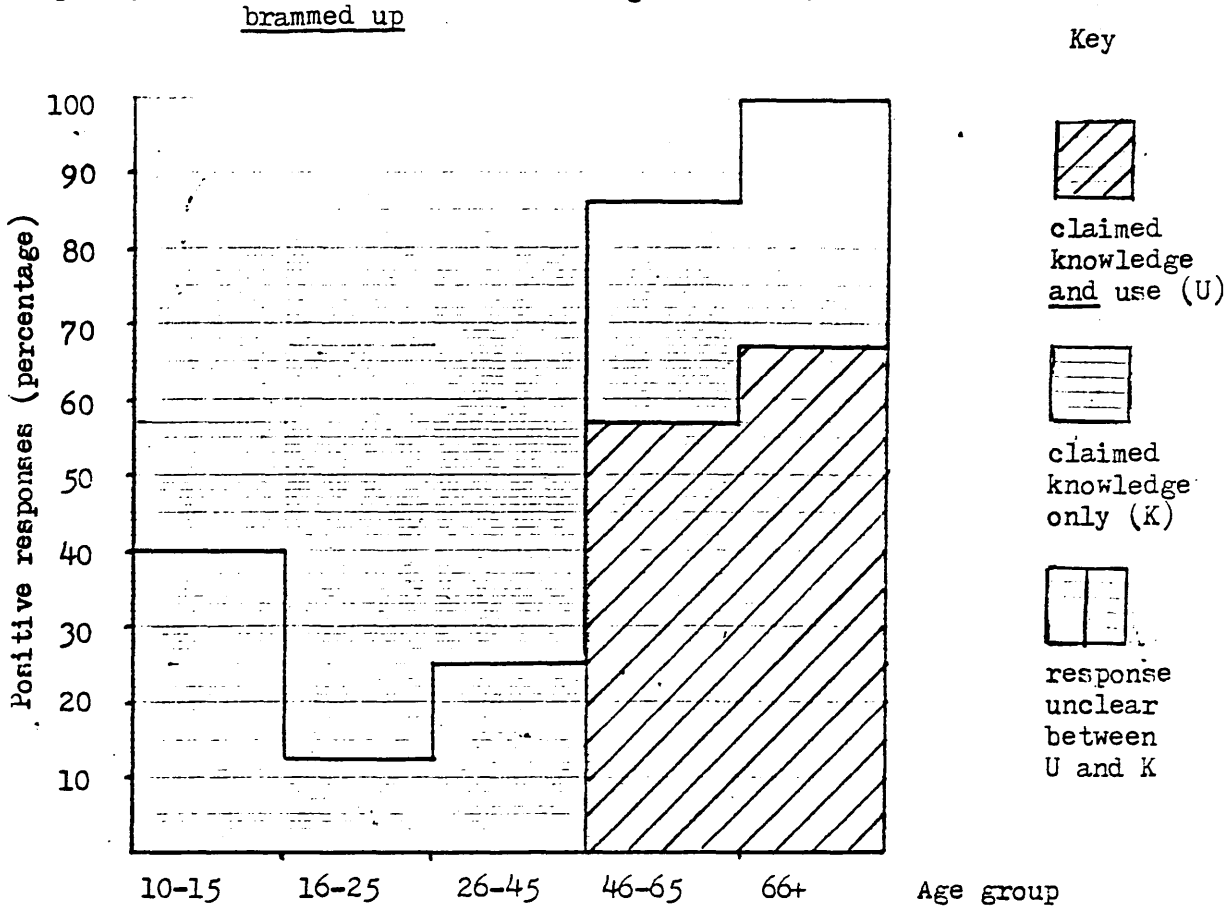


Figure 3.42 Males' claimed knowledge and use of brammed up

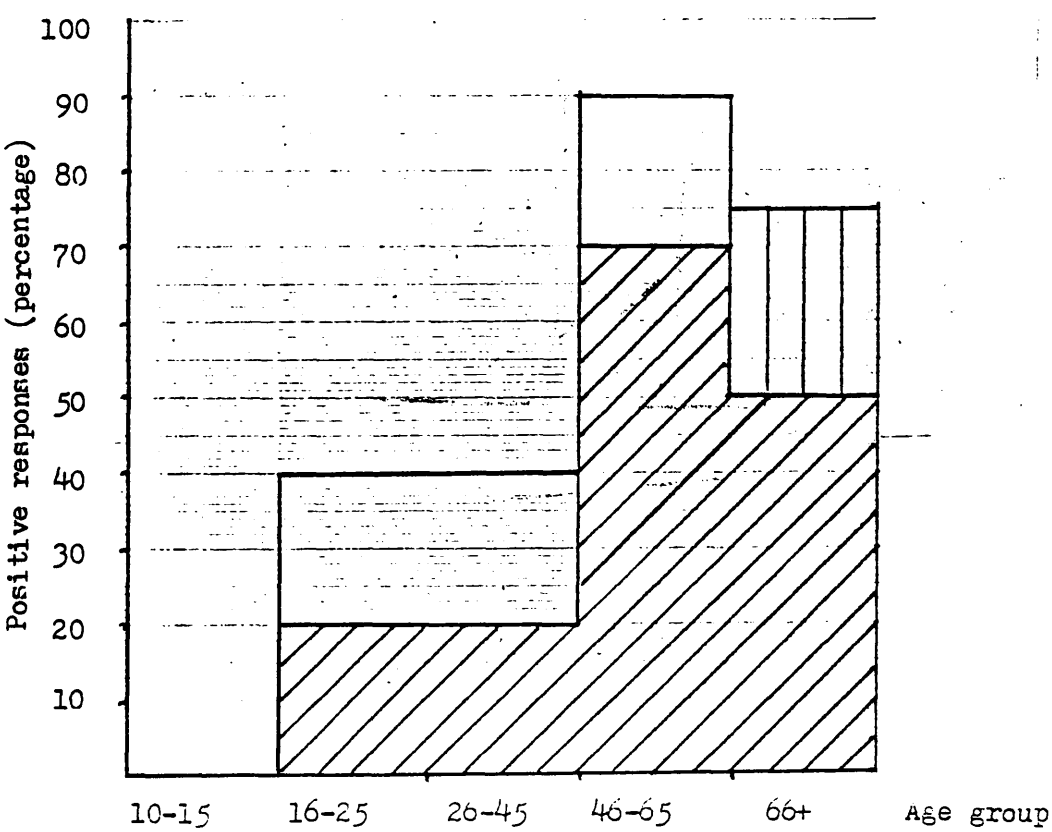


Figure 3. 43 Females' claimed knowledge and use of peenie

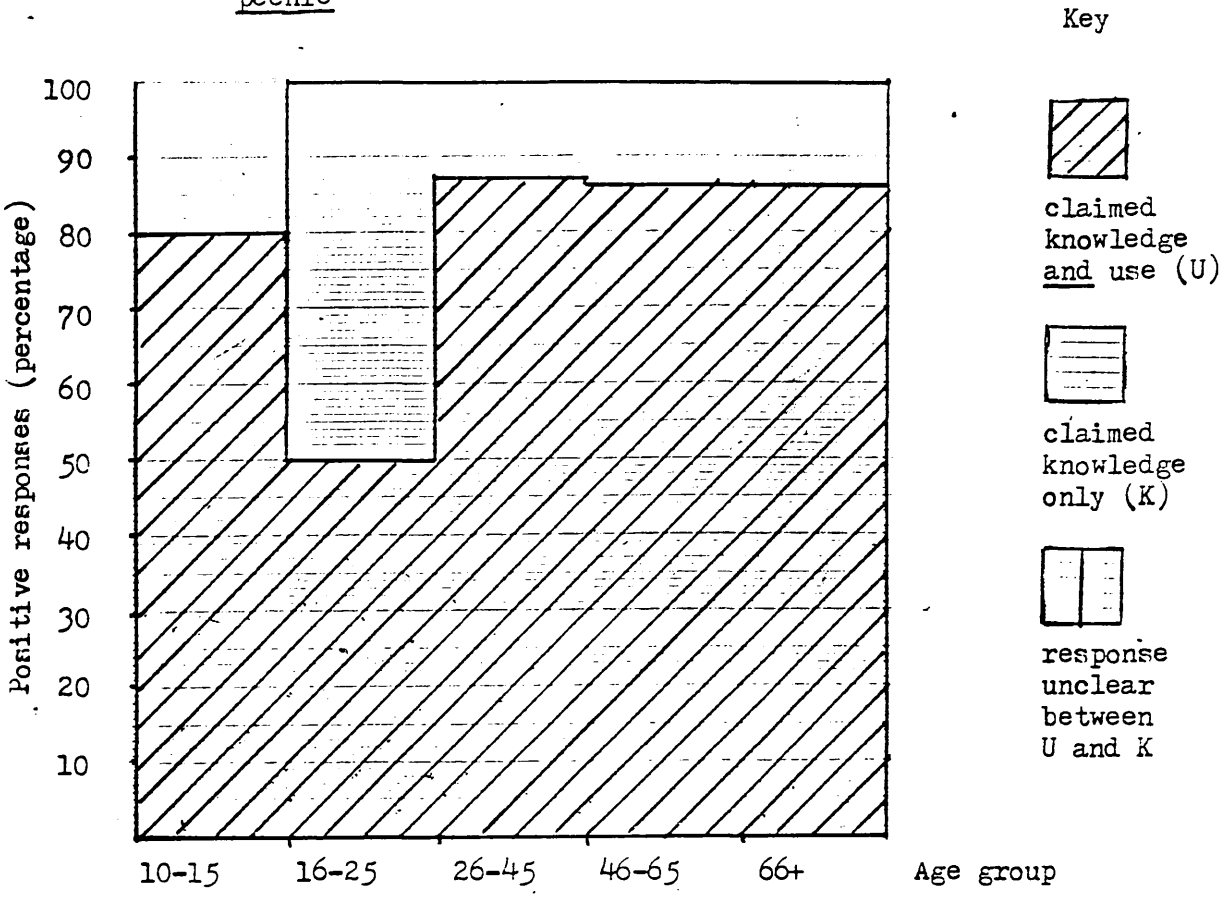


Figure 3.44 Males' claimed knowledge and use of peenie

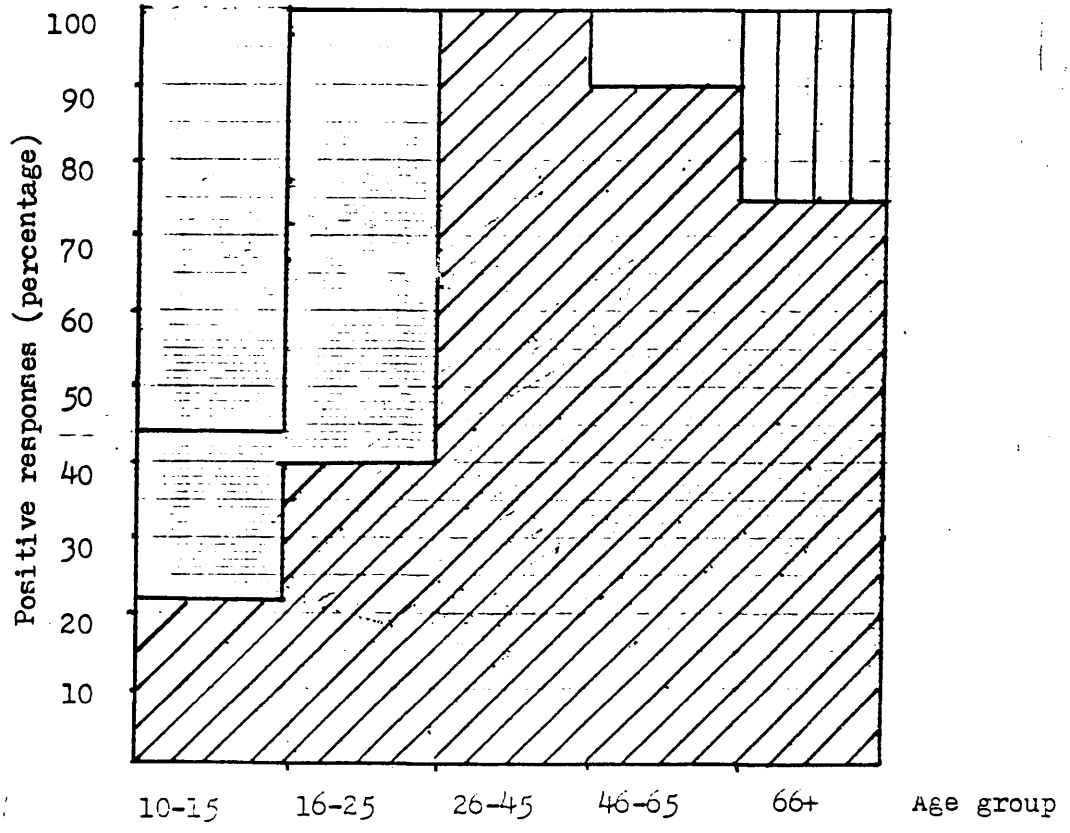


Figure 3.45 Females' claimed knowledge and use of daidlie

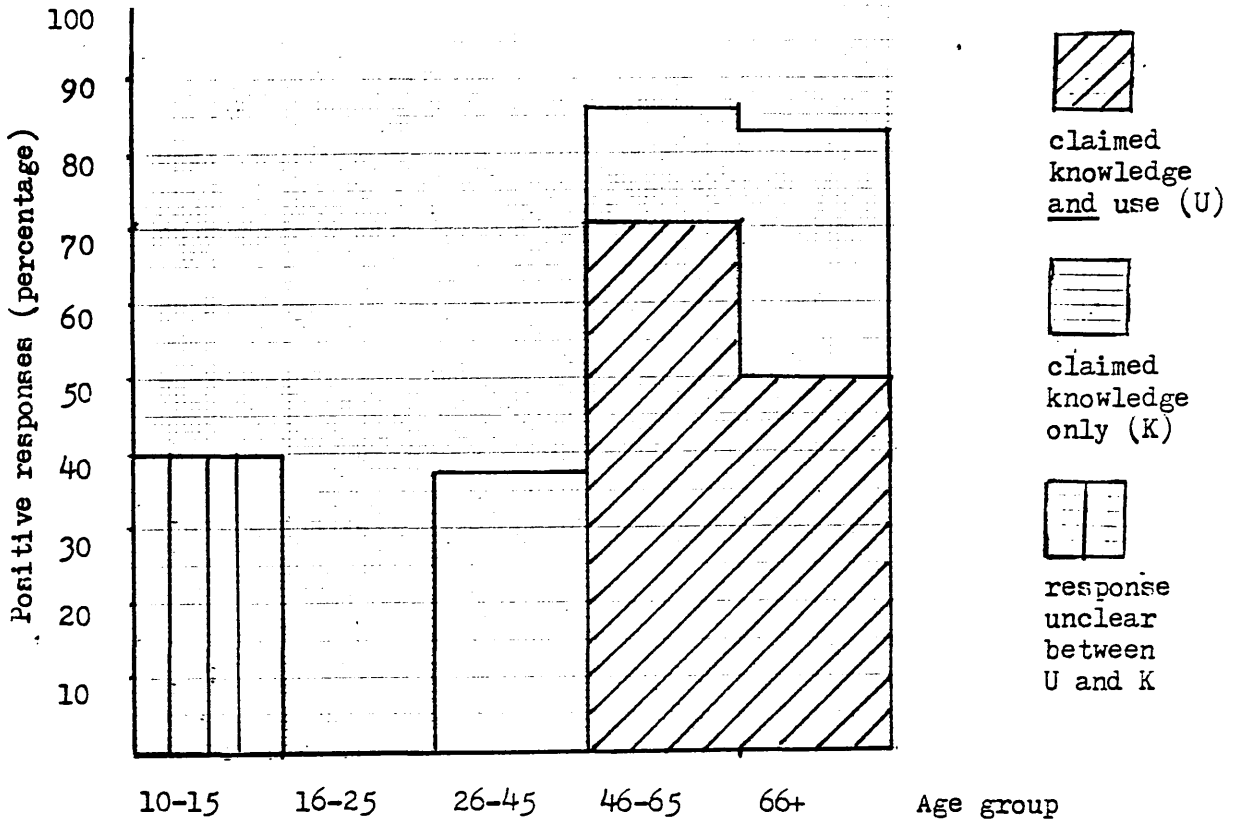


Figure 3.46 Males' claimed knowledge and use of daidlie

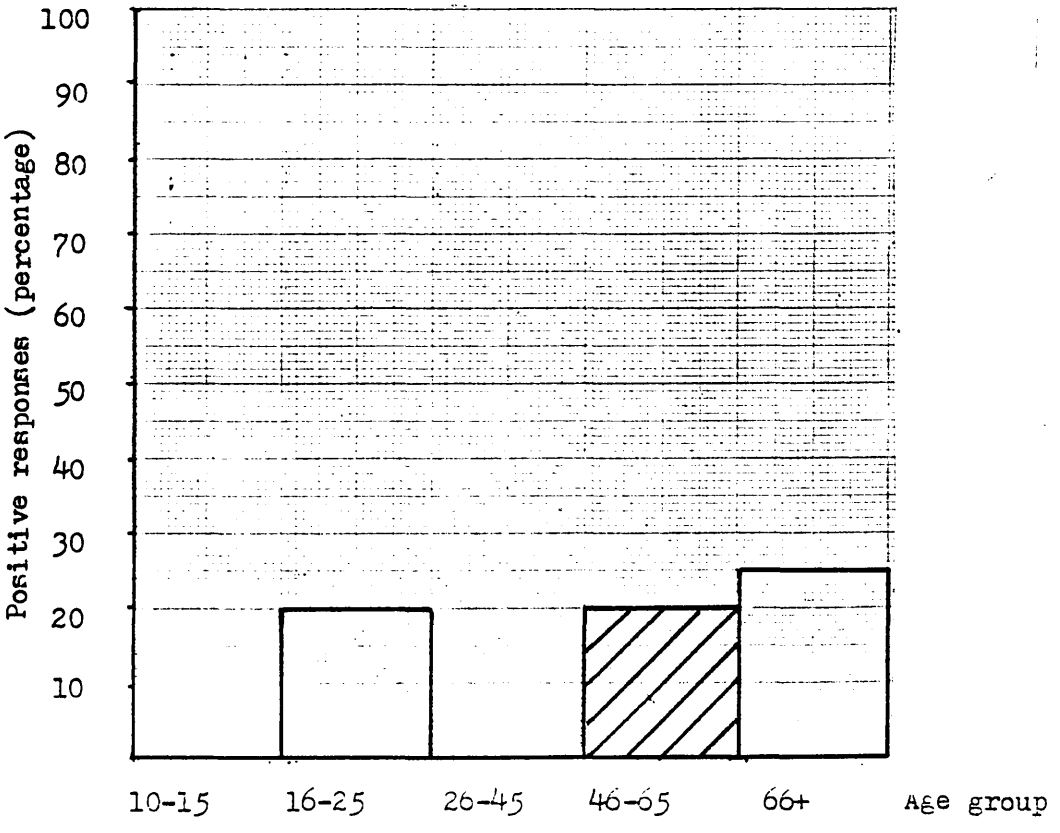


Figure 3.47 Females' claimed knowledge and use of hippen

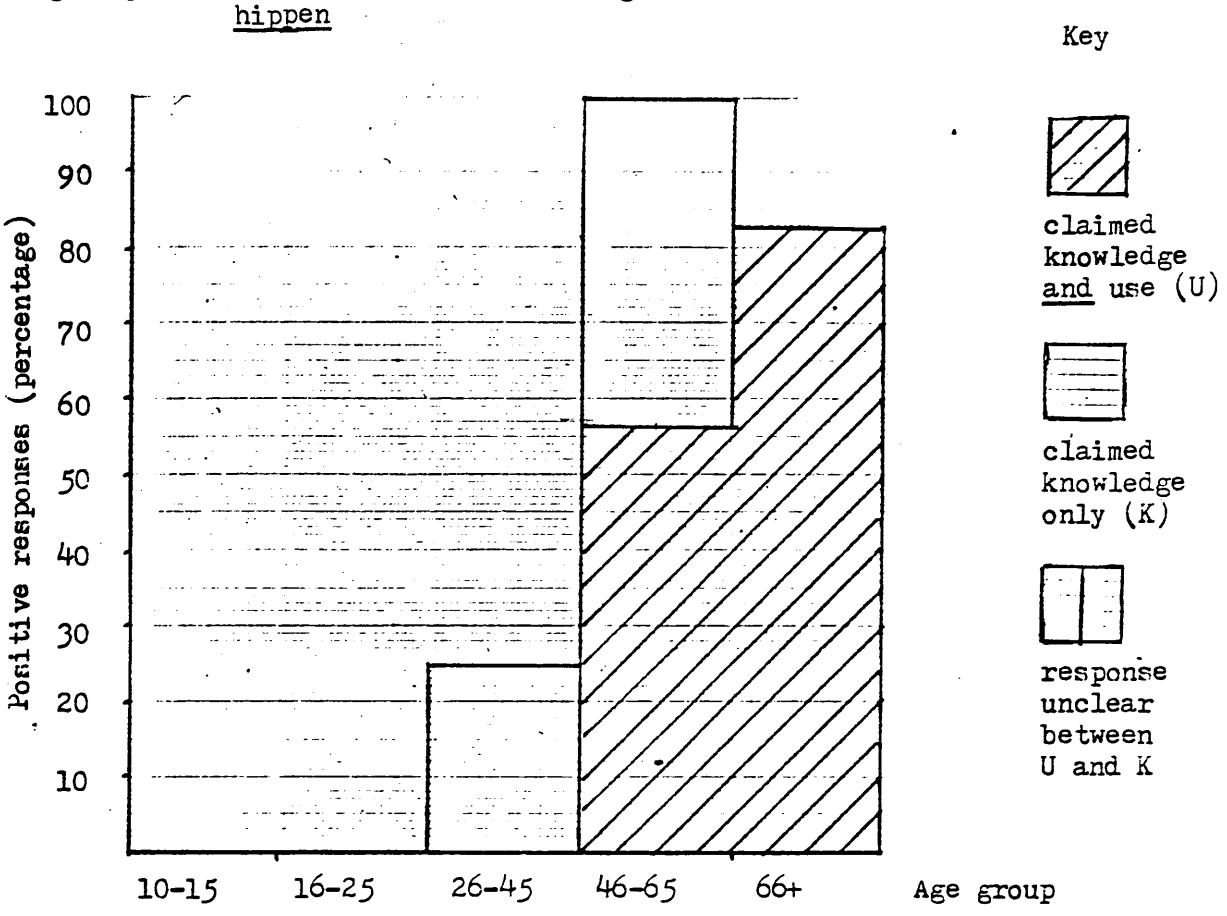


Figure 3. 48 Males' claimed knowledge and use of hippen

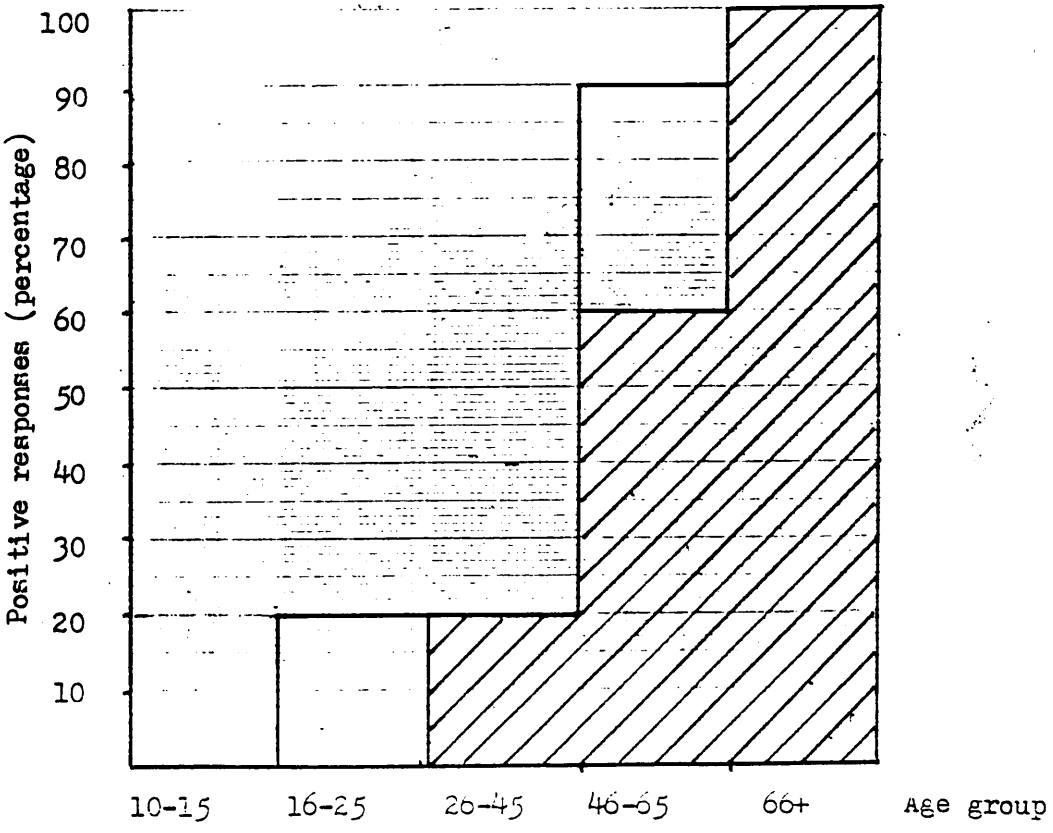


Figure 3.49 Females' claimed knowledge and use of knoack

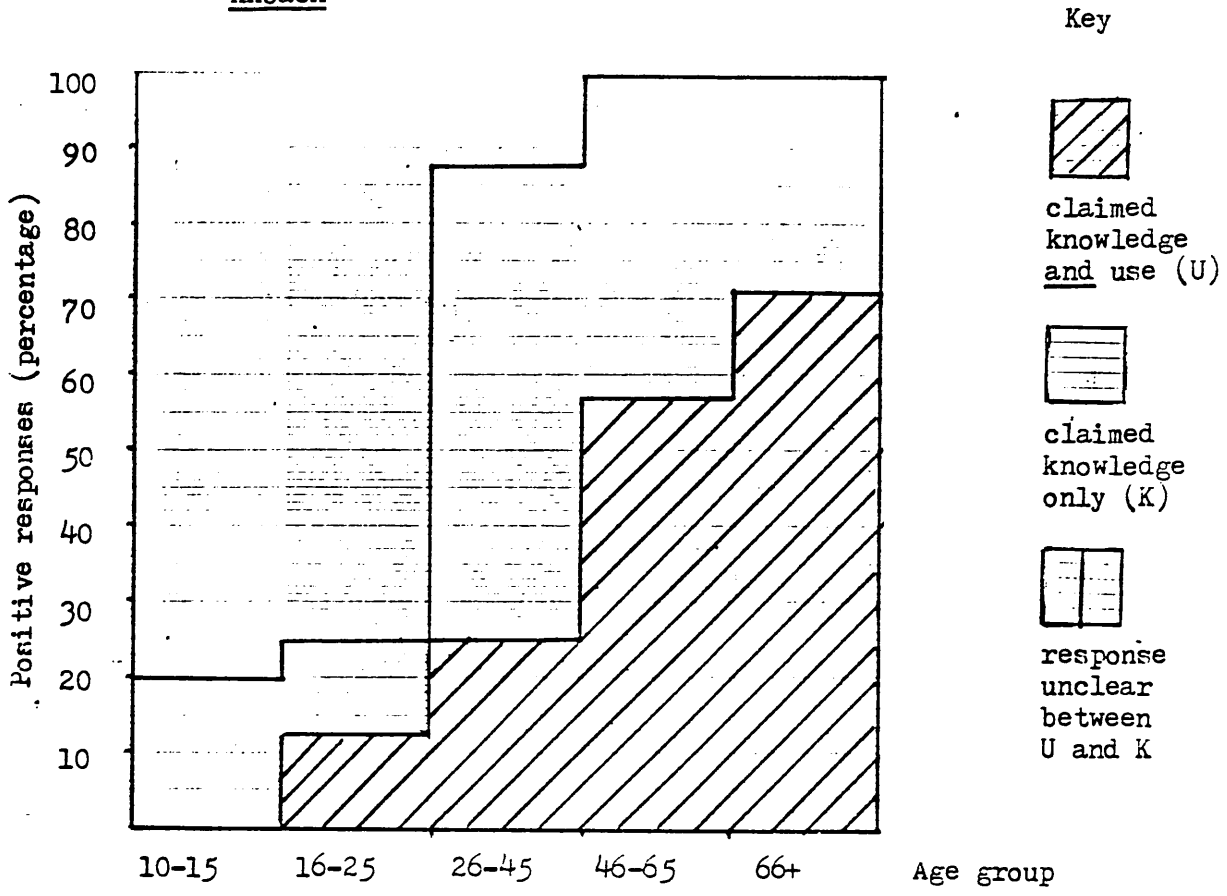


Figure 3.50 Males' claimed knowledge and use of knoack

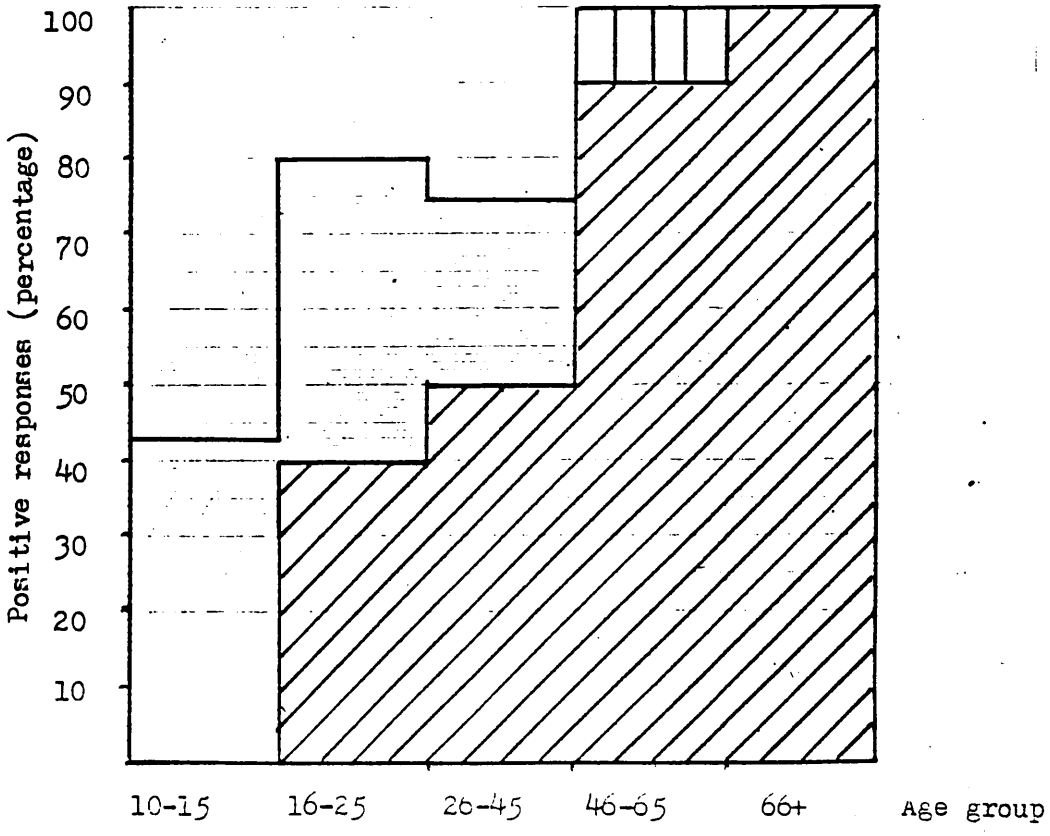


Figure 3.51 Females' claimed knowledge and use of waggity-wa

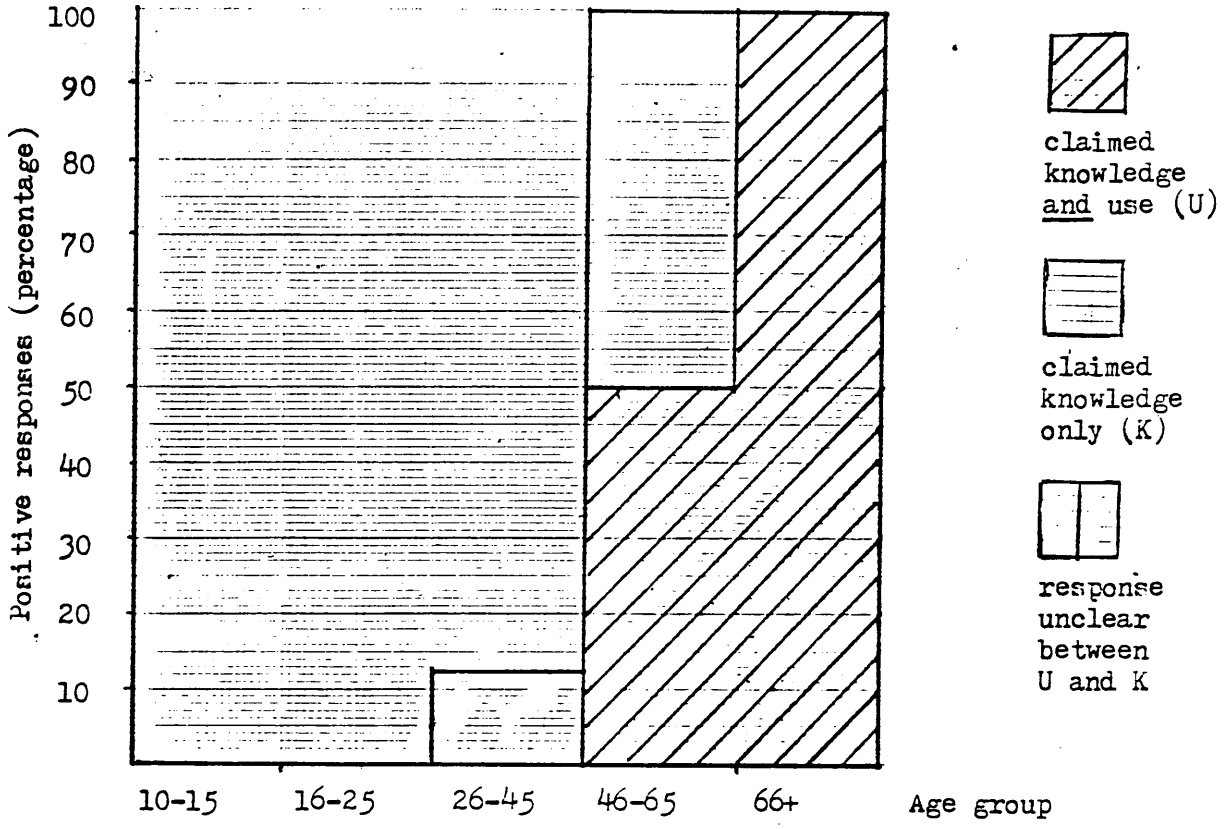


Figure 3.52 Males' claimed knowledge and use of waggity-wa

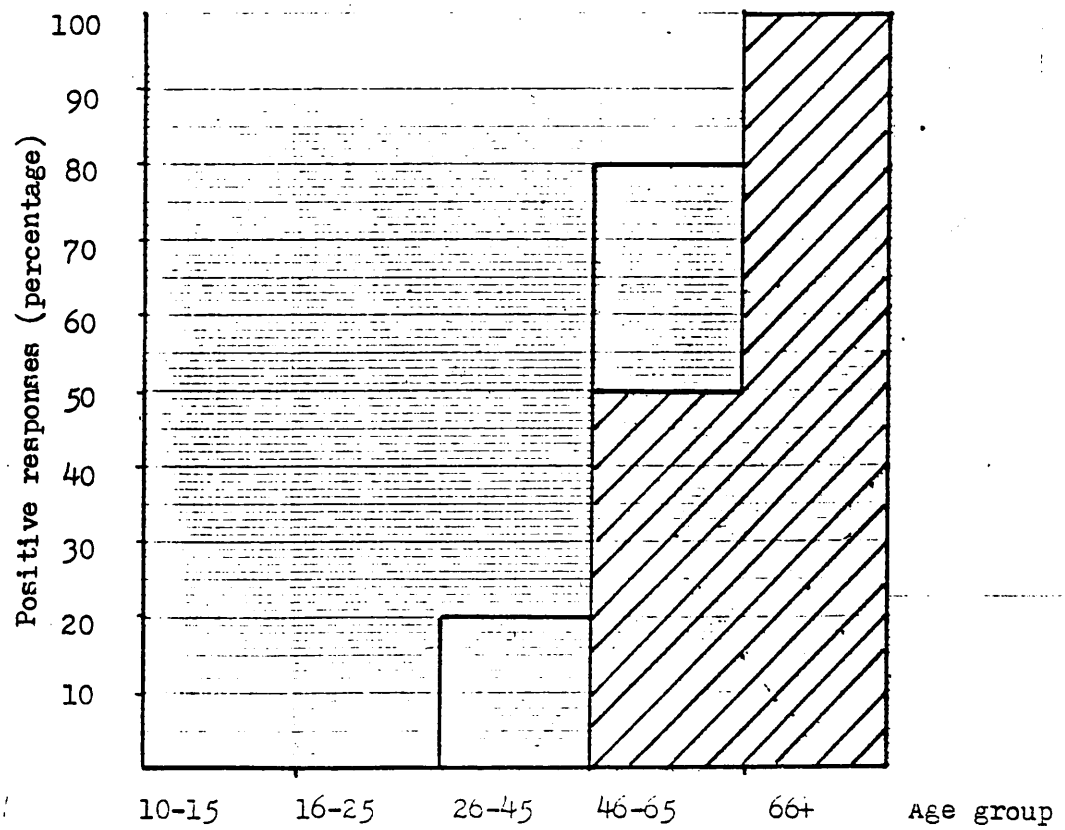


Figure 3. 53 Females' claimed knowledge and use of brace

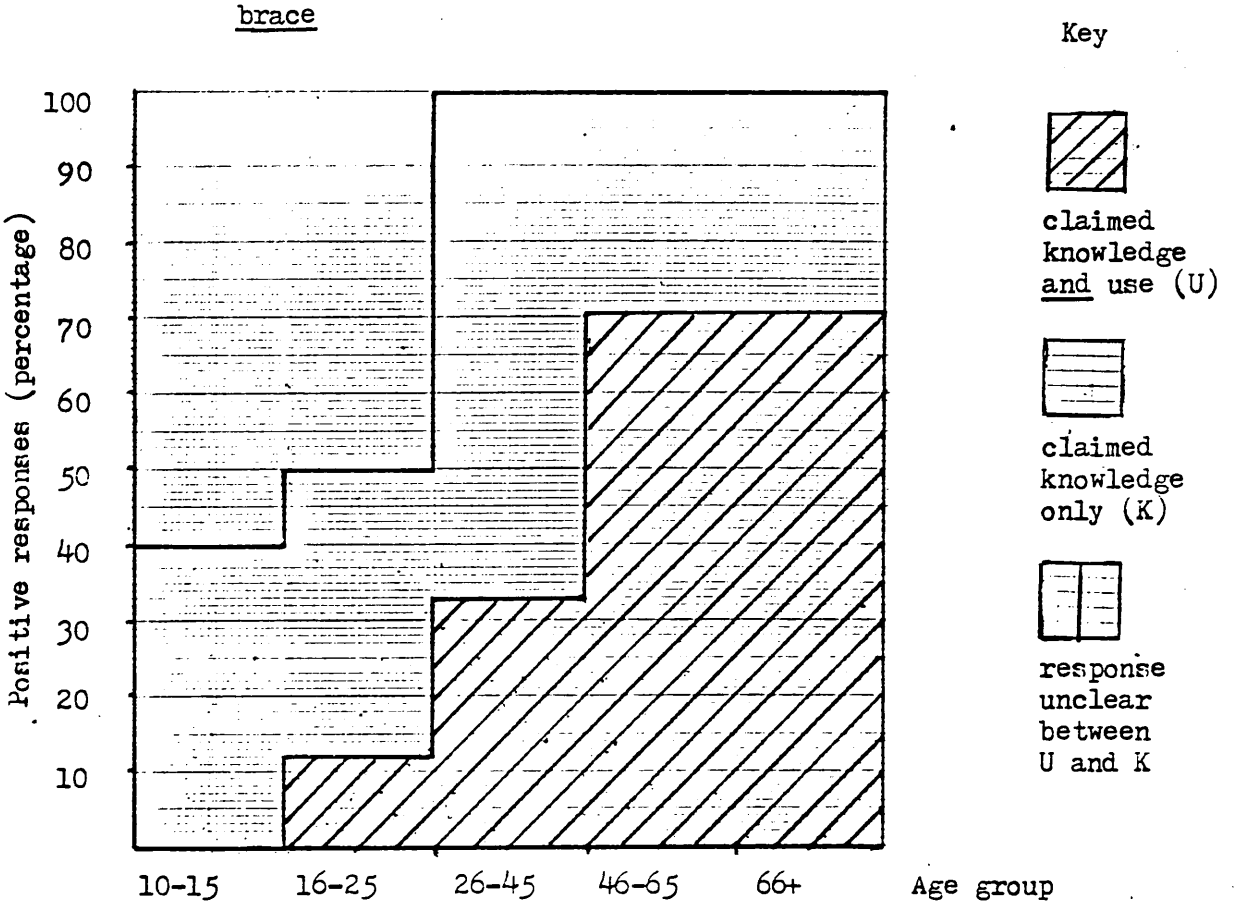


Figure 3.54 Males' claimed knowledge and use of brace

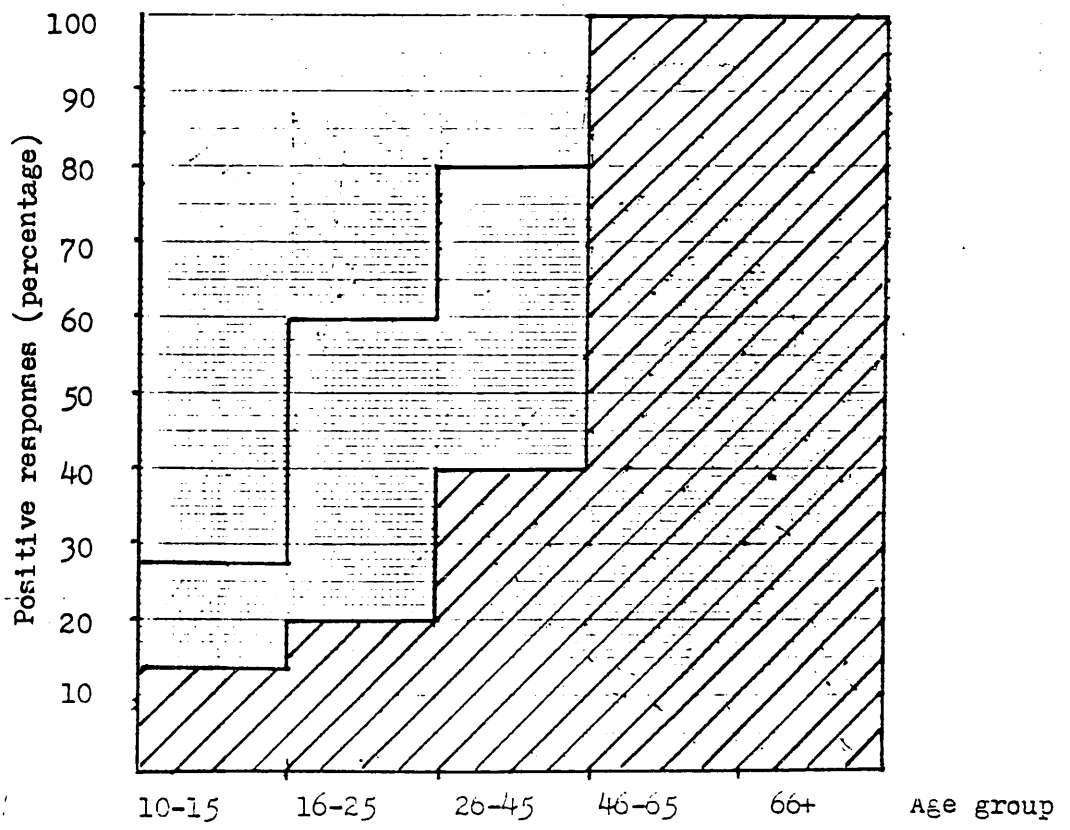


Figure 3. 55 Females' claimed knowledge and use of closet

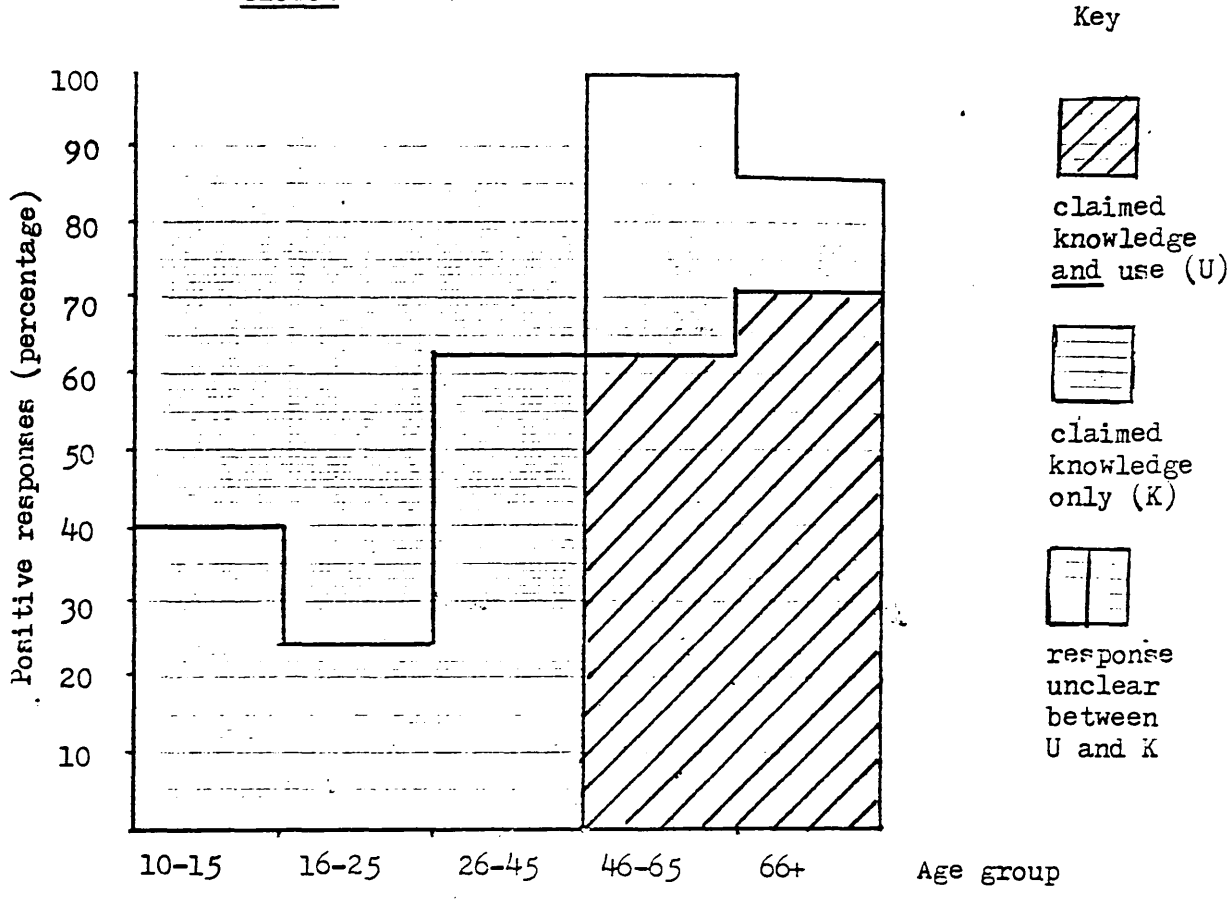


Figure 3. 56 Males' claimed knowledge and use of closet

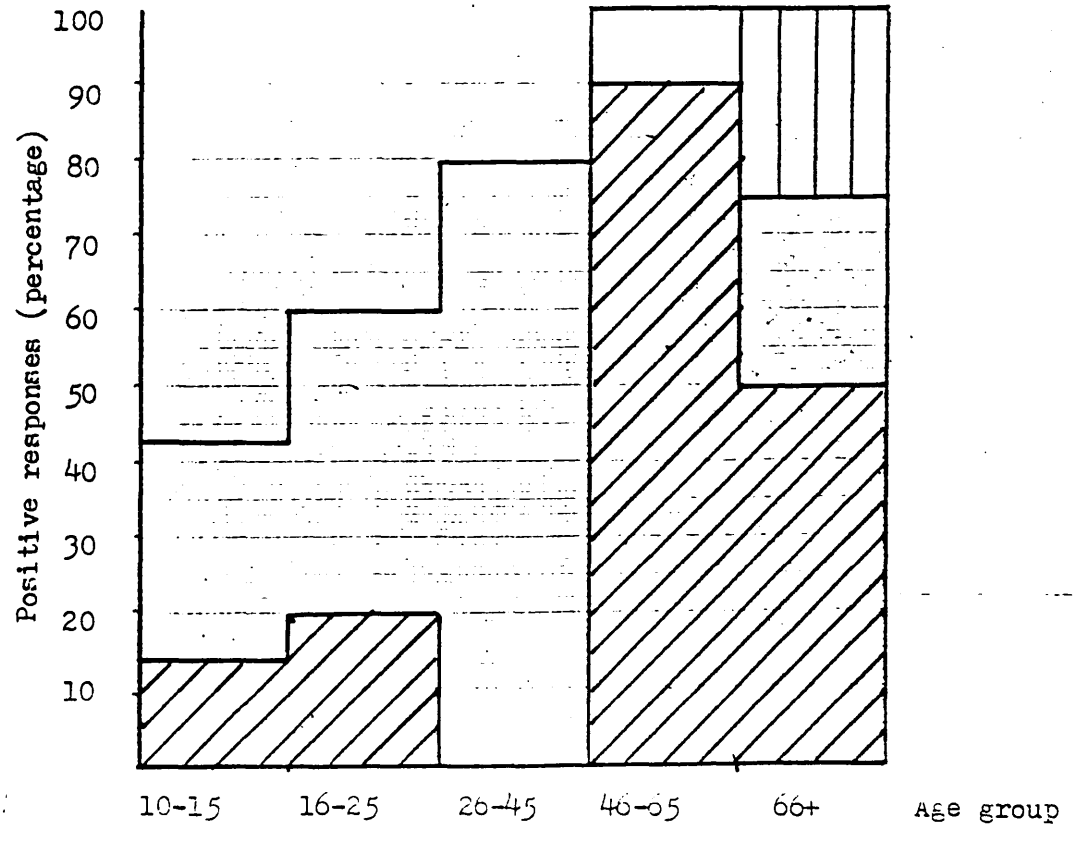


Figure 3. 57 Females' claimed knowledge and use of cludgie

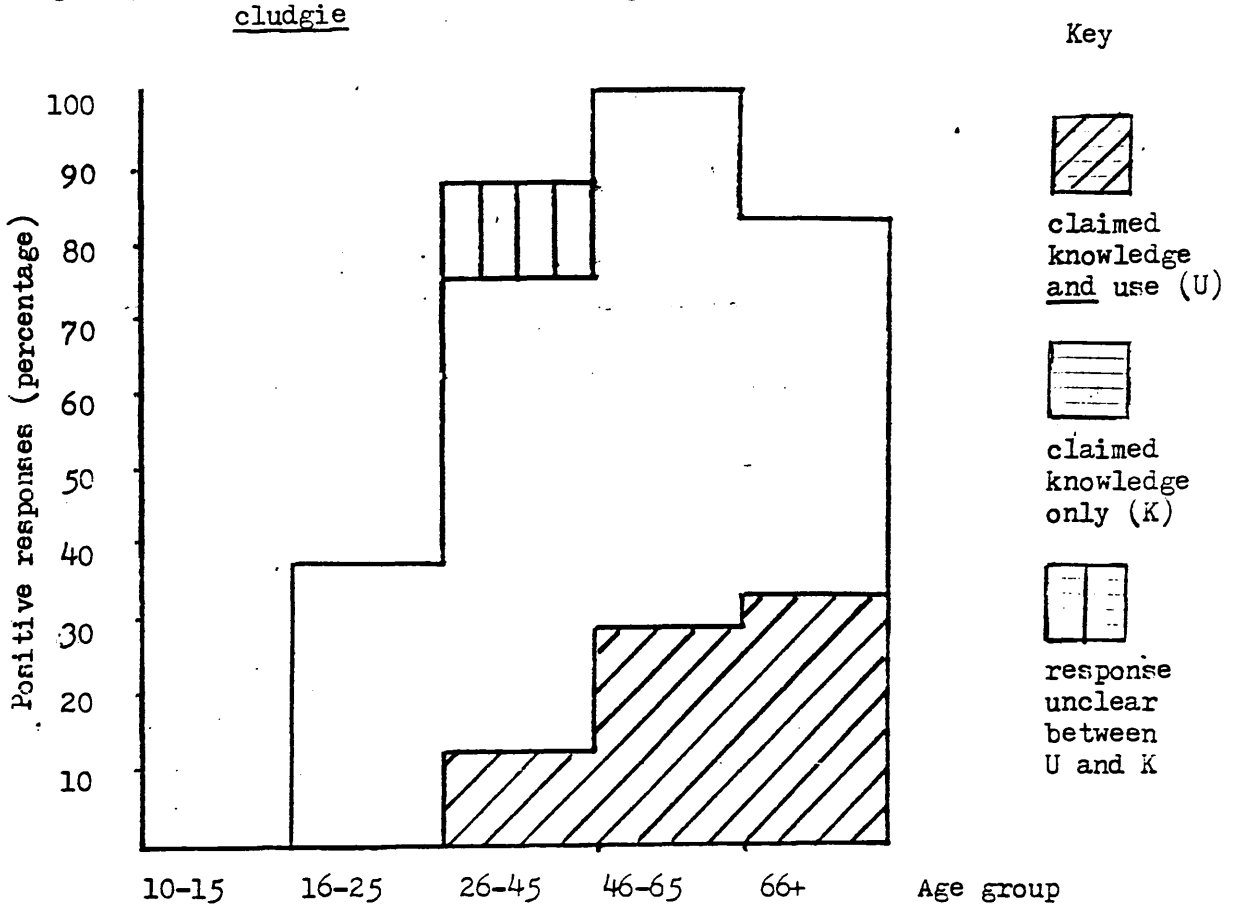


Figure 3. 58 Males' claimed knowledge and use of cludgie

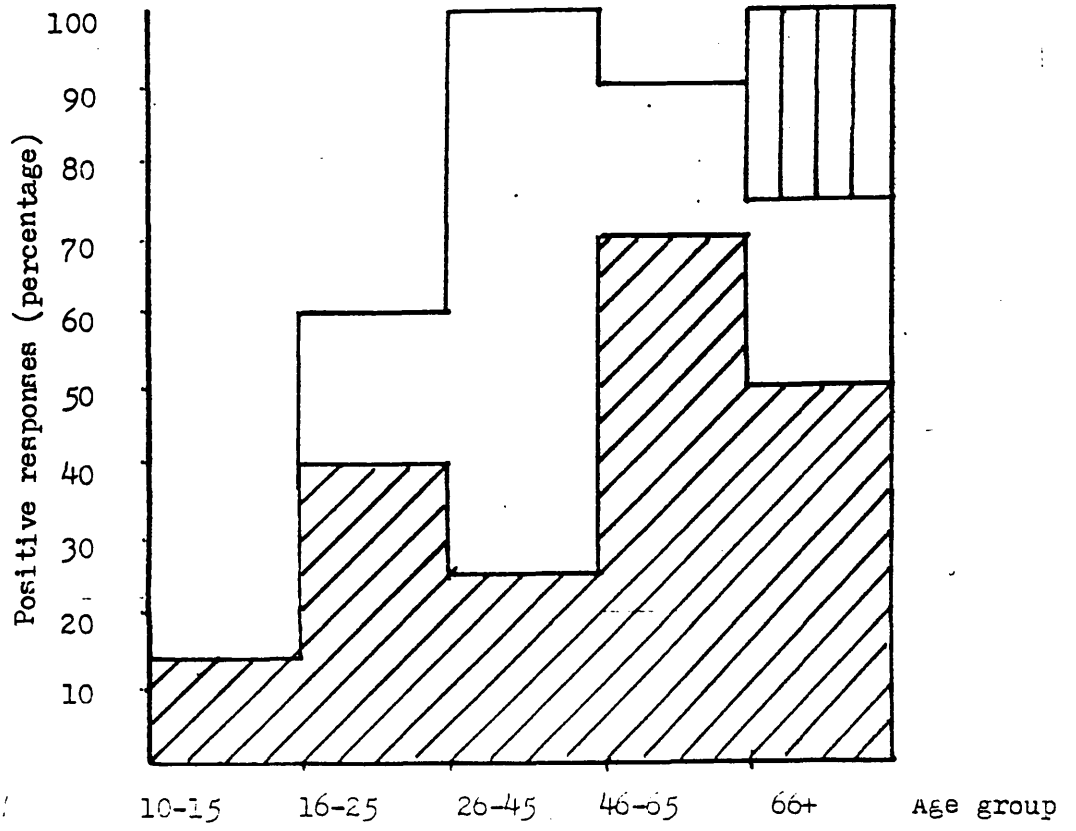


Figure 3. 59 Females' claimed knowledge and use of back / buggy laun

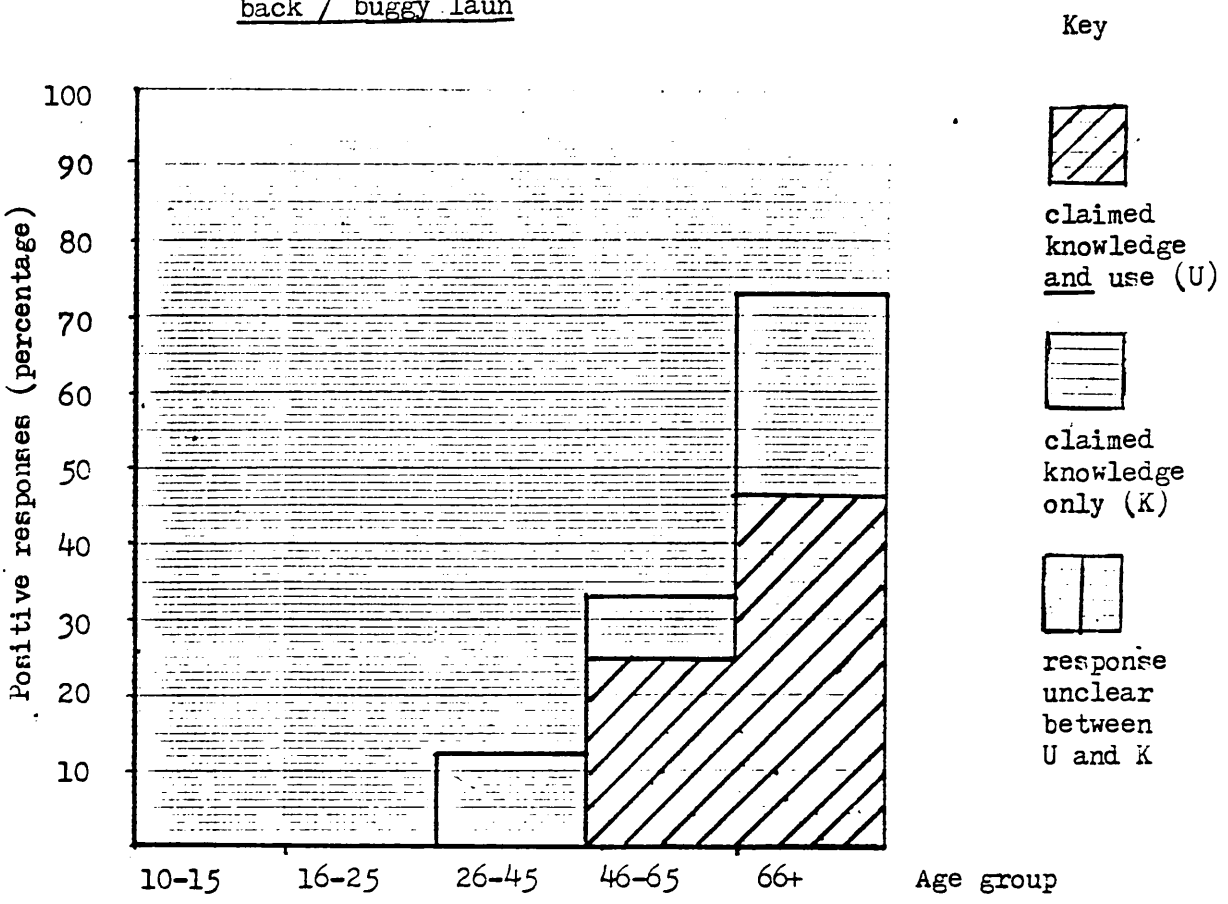


Figure 3.60 Males' claimed knowledge and use of back / buggy laun

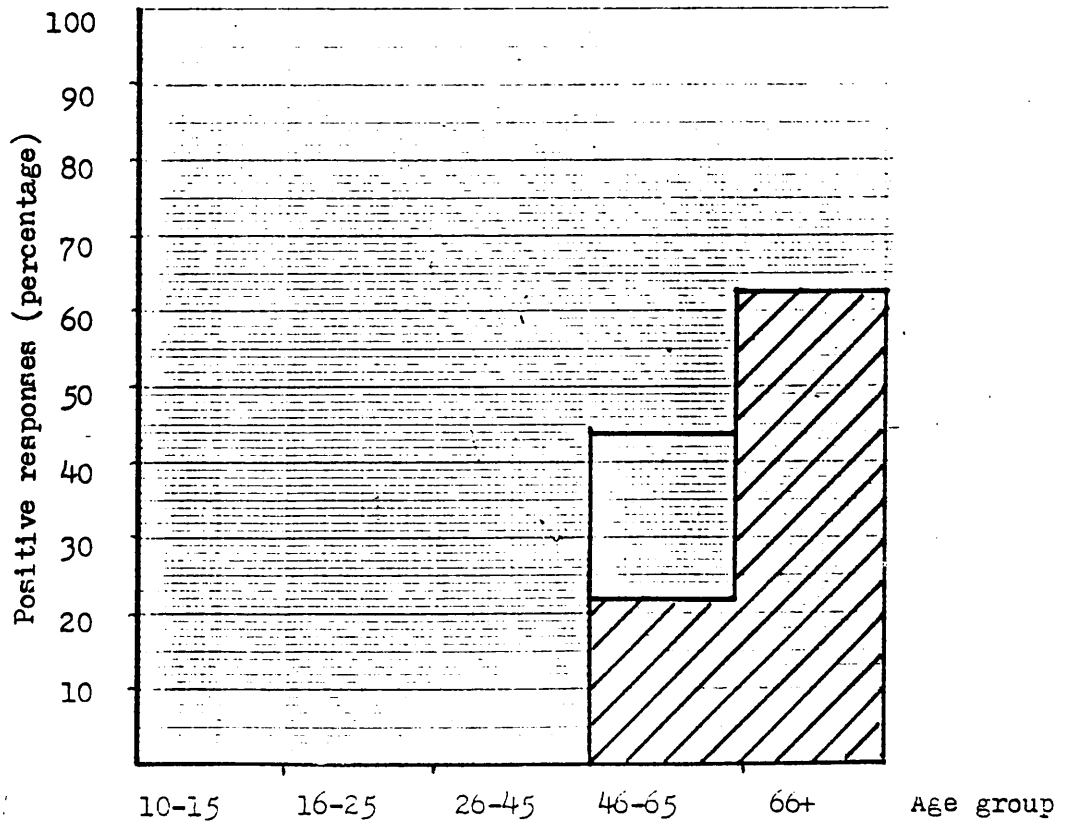


Figure 3. 61 Females' claimed knowledge and use of pen

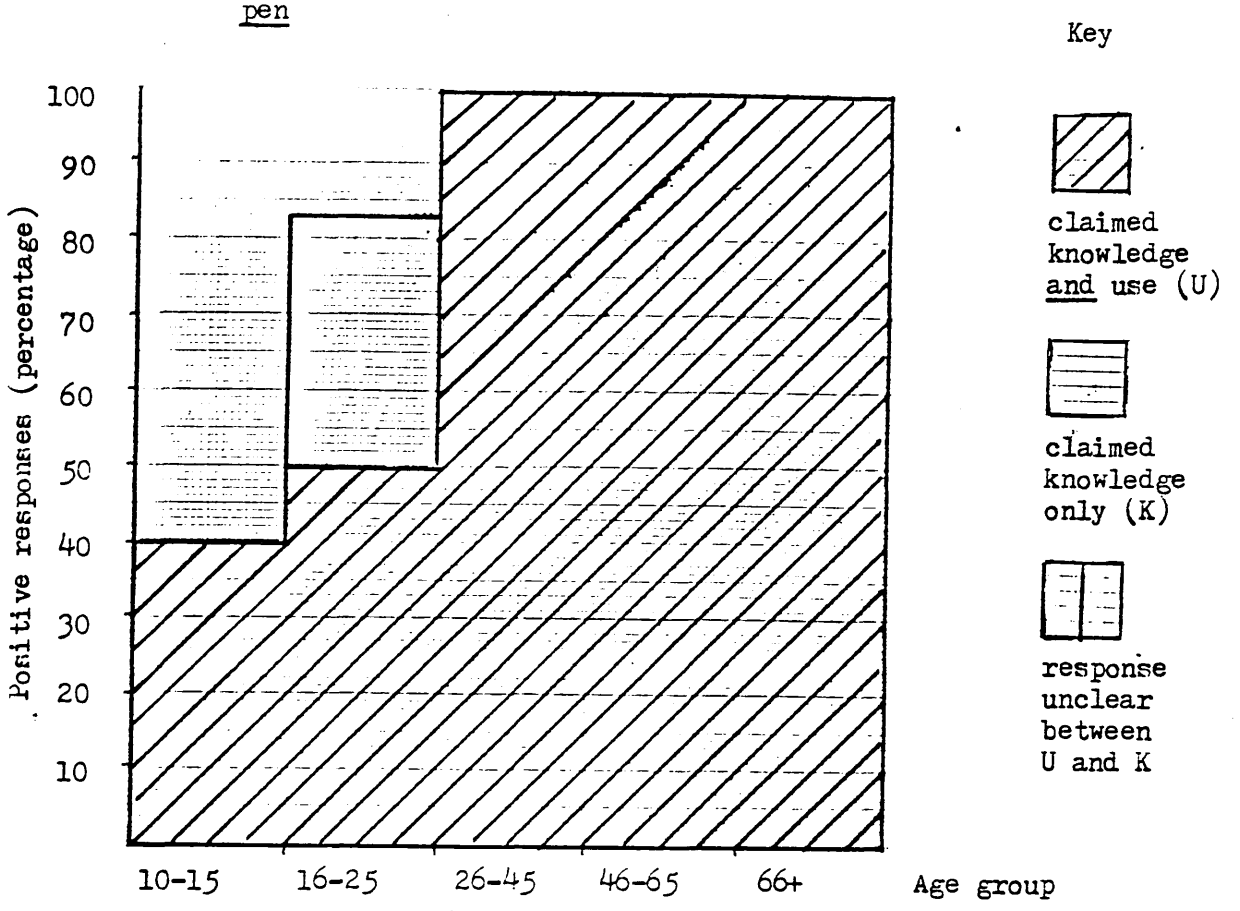


Figure 3. 62 Males' claimed knowledge and use of pen

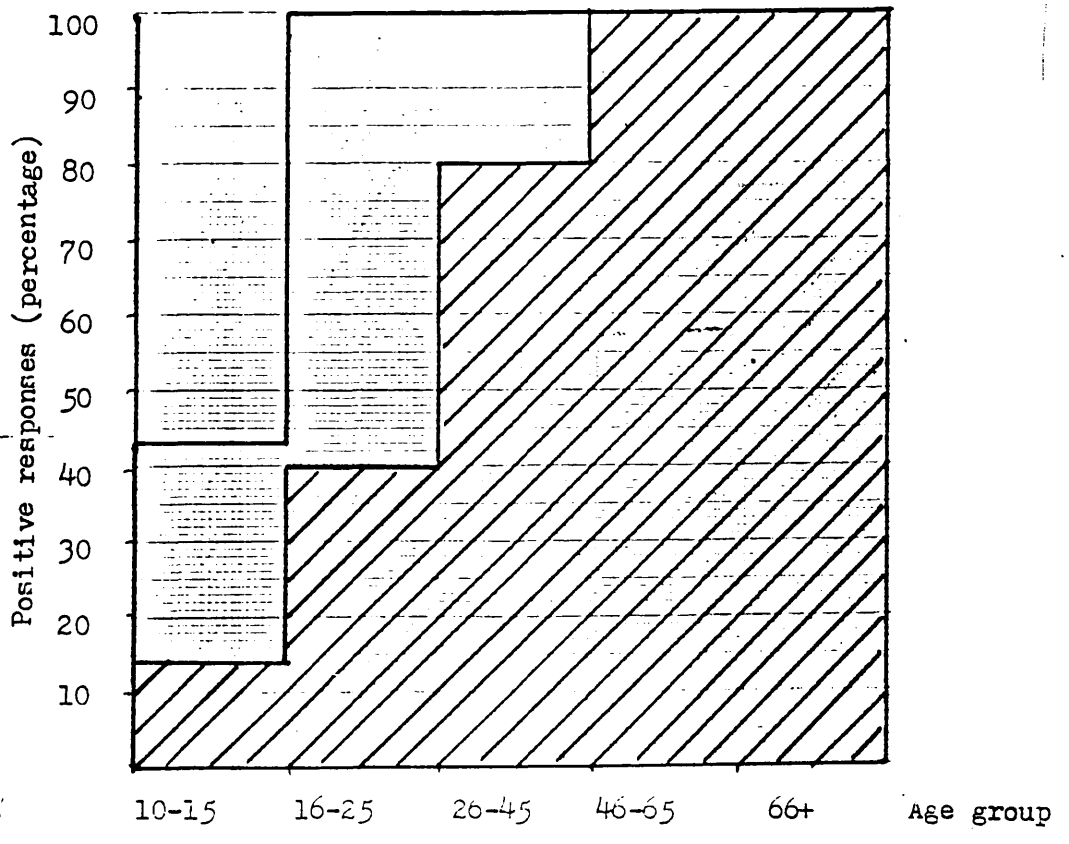


Figure 3. 63 Females' claimed knowledge and use of jawboax

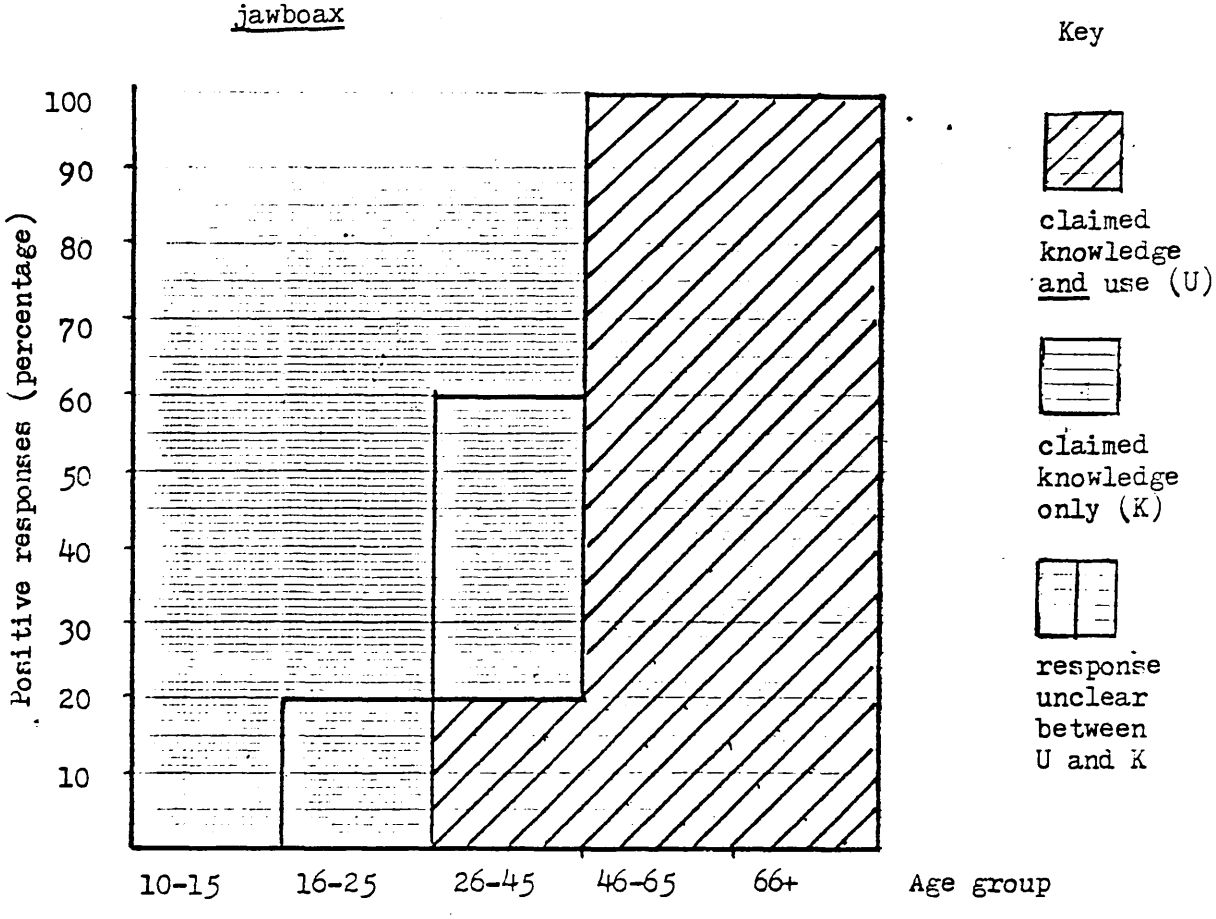


Figure 3. 64 Males' claimed knowledge and use of jawboax

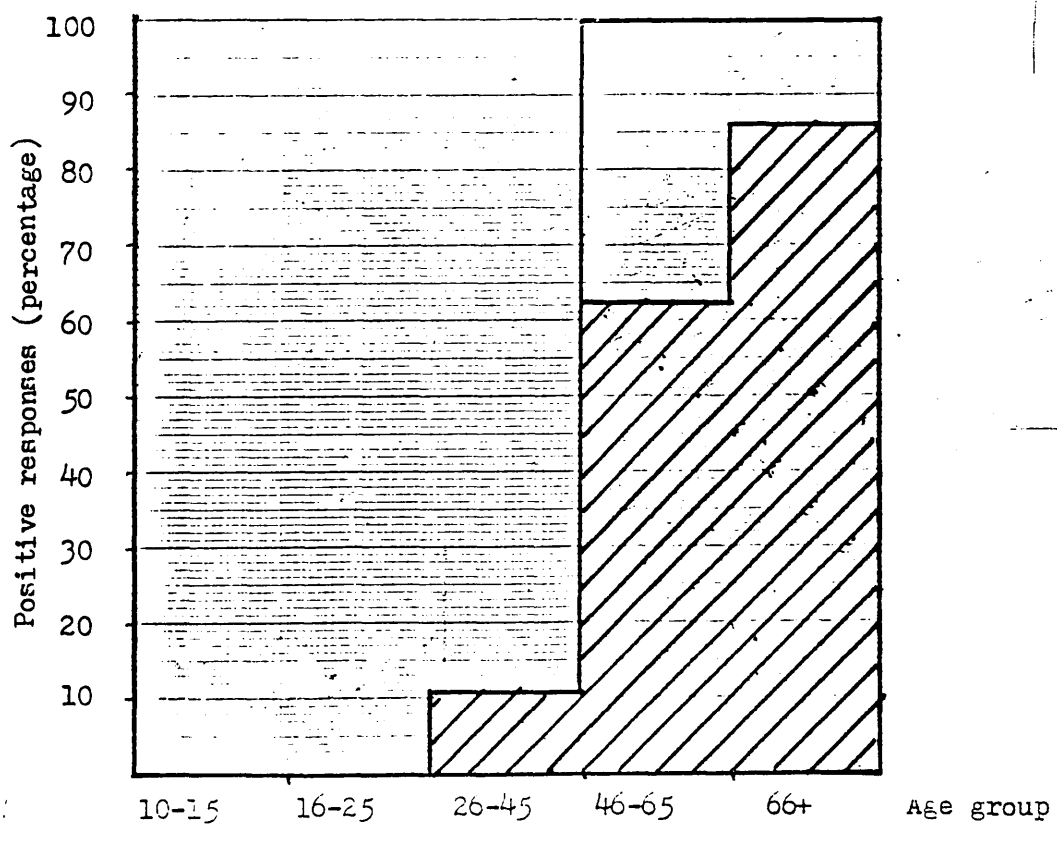


Figure 3.65 Females' claimed knowledge and use of well

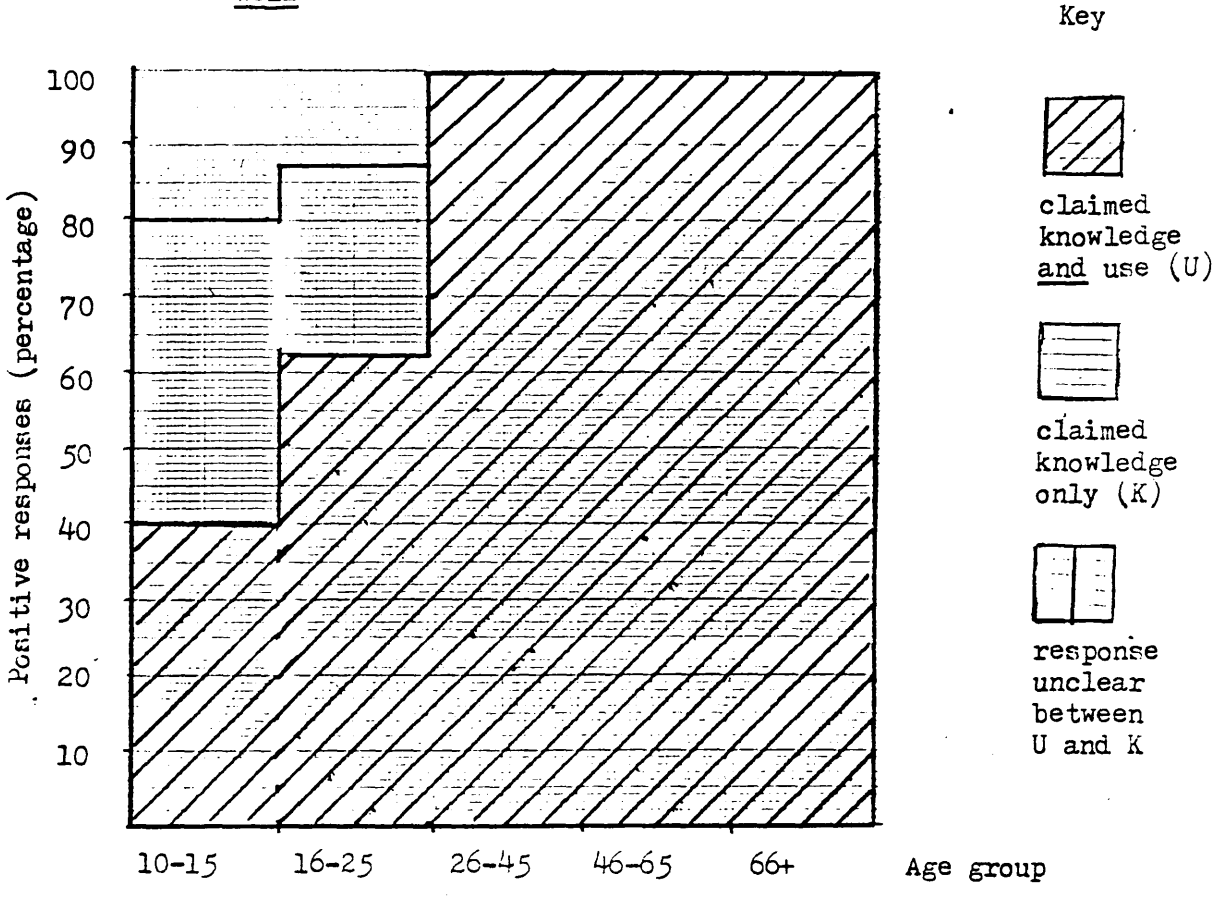


Figure 3.66 Males' claimed knowledge and use of well

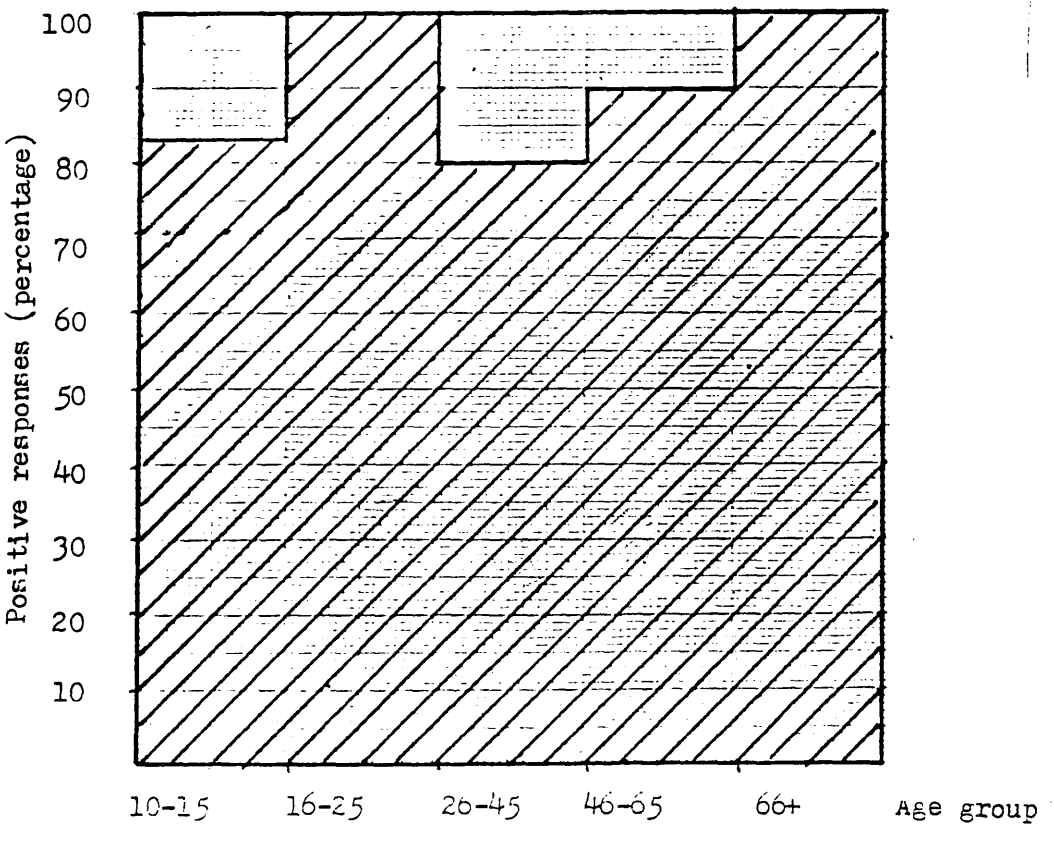


Figure 3.67 Females' claimed knowledge and use of wall

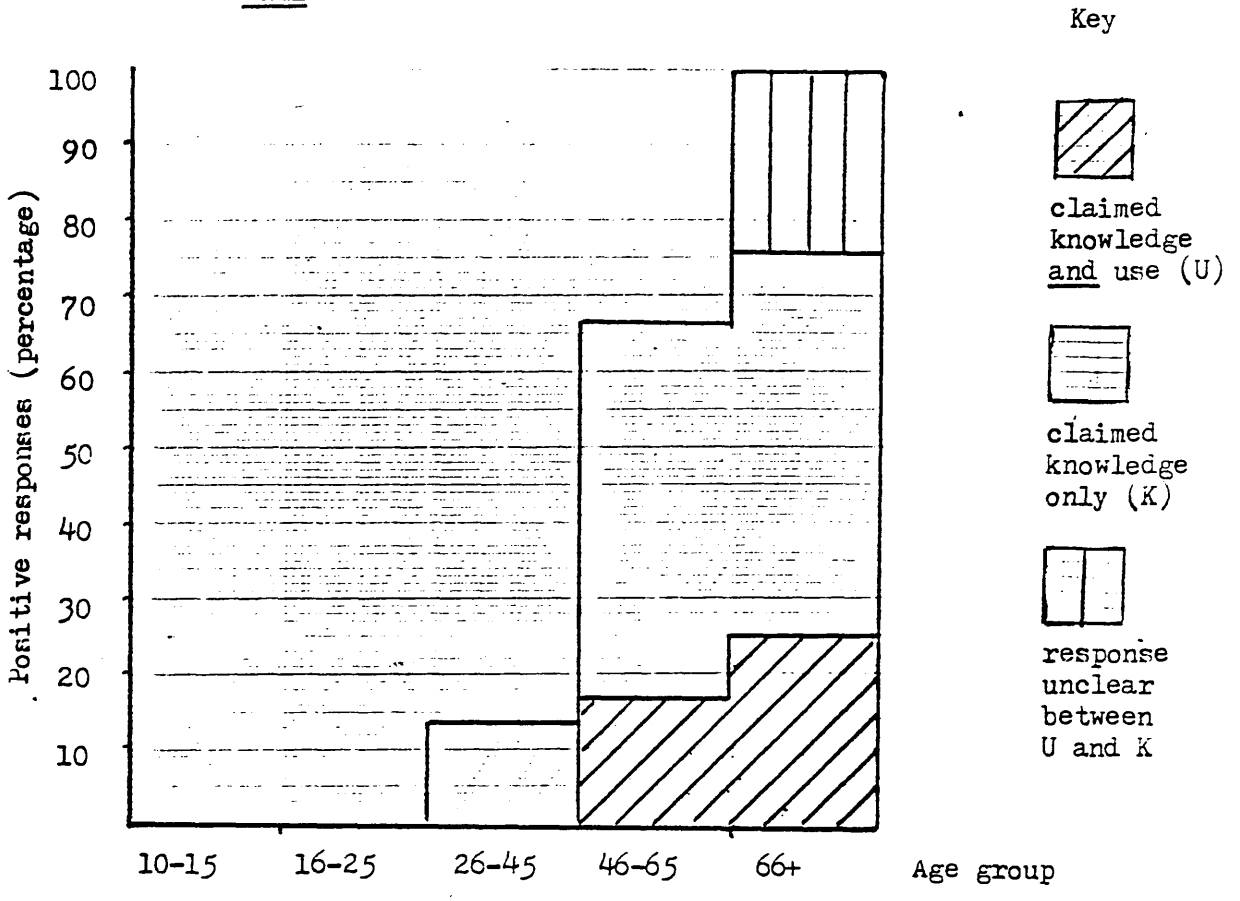


Figure 3. 68 Males' claimed knowledge and use of wall

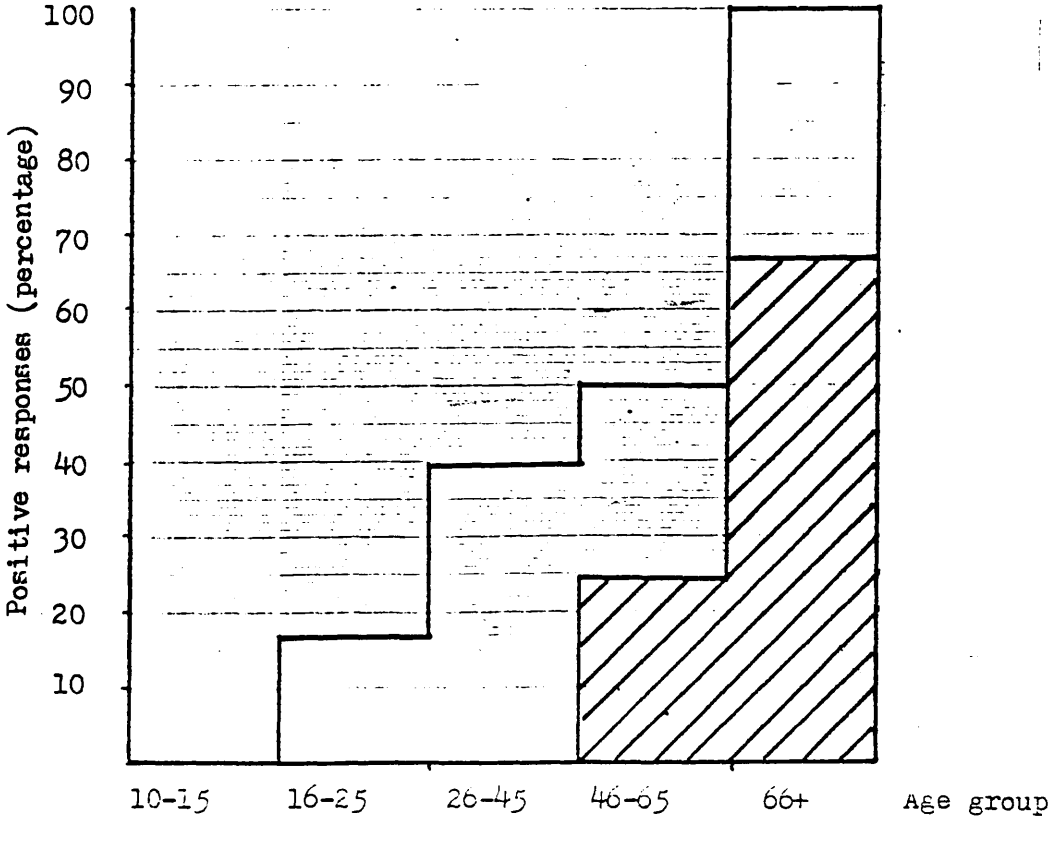


Figure 3. 69 Females' claimed knowledge and use of syne

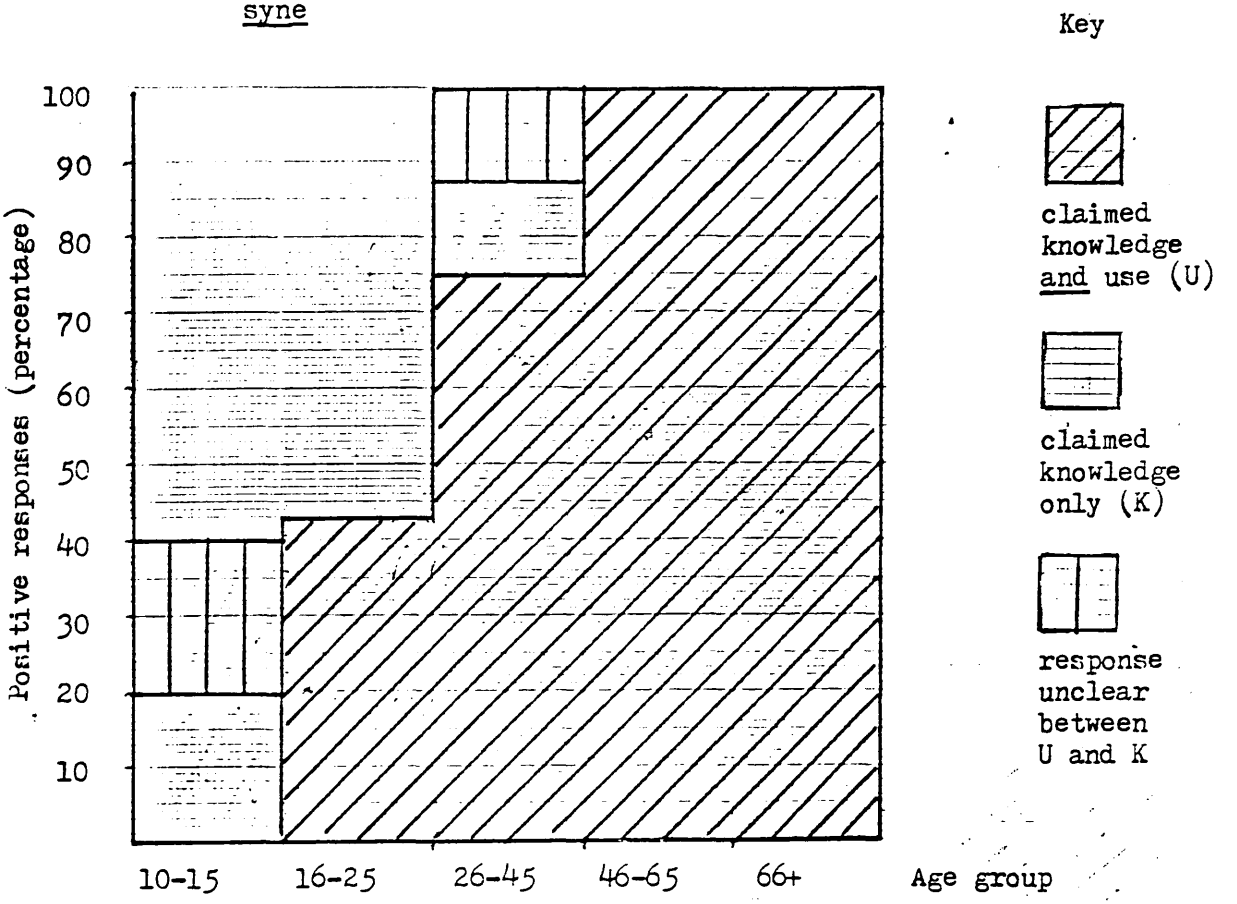


Figure 3. 70 Males' claimed knowledge and use of syne

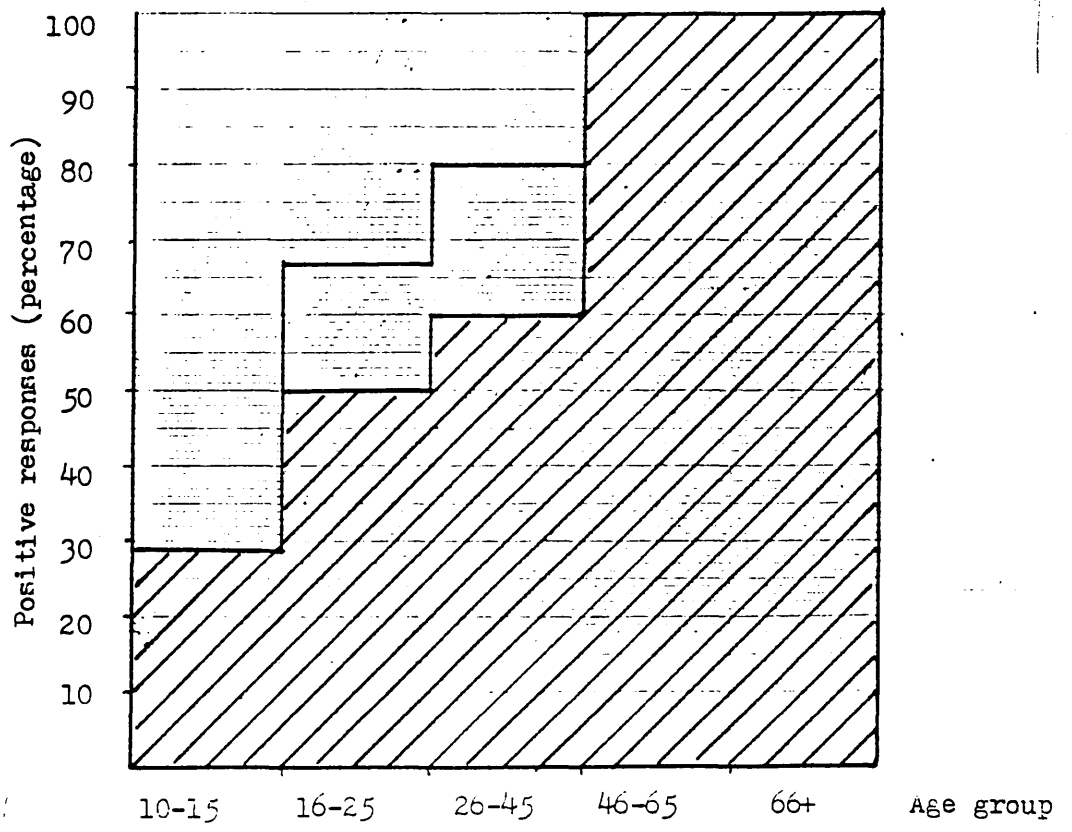


Figure 3. 71 Females' claimed knowledge and use of butts

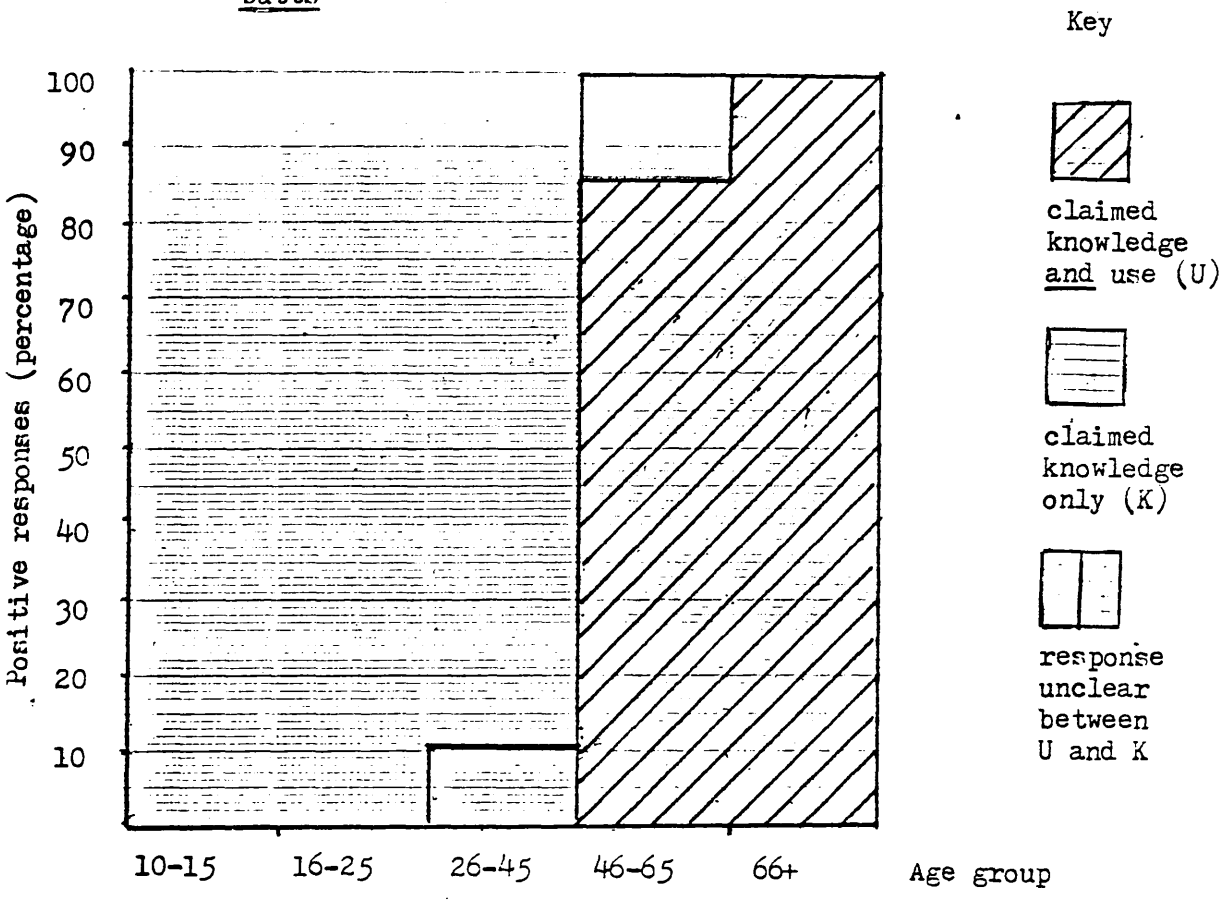


Figure 3. 72 Males' claimed knowledge and use of butts

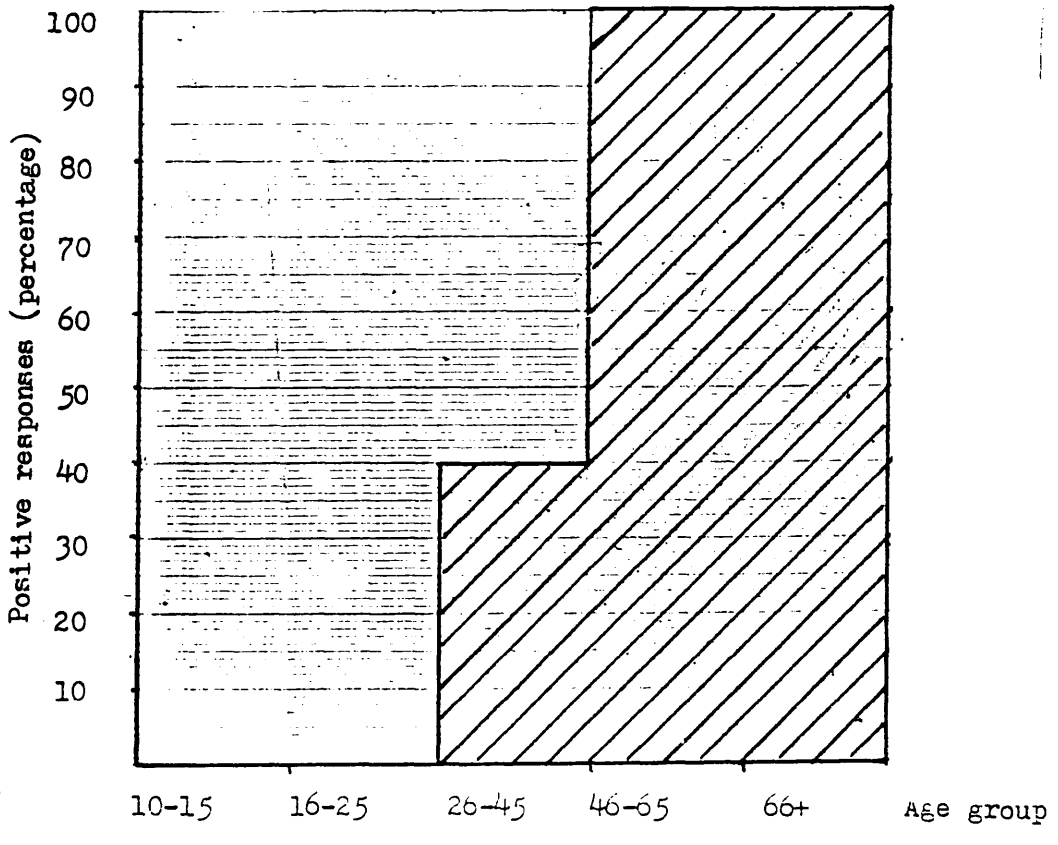


Figure 3.73 Females' claimed knowledge and use of fernietickles

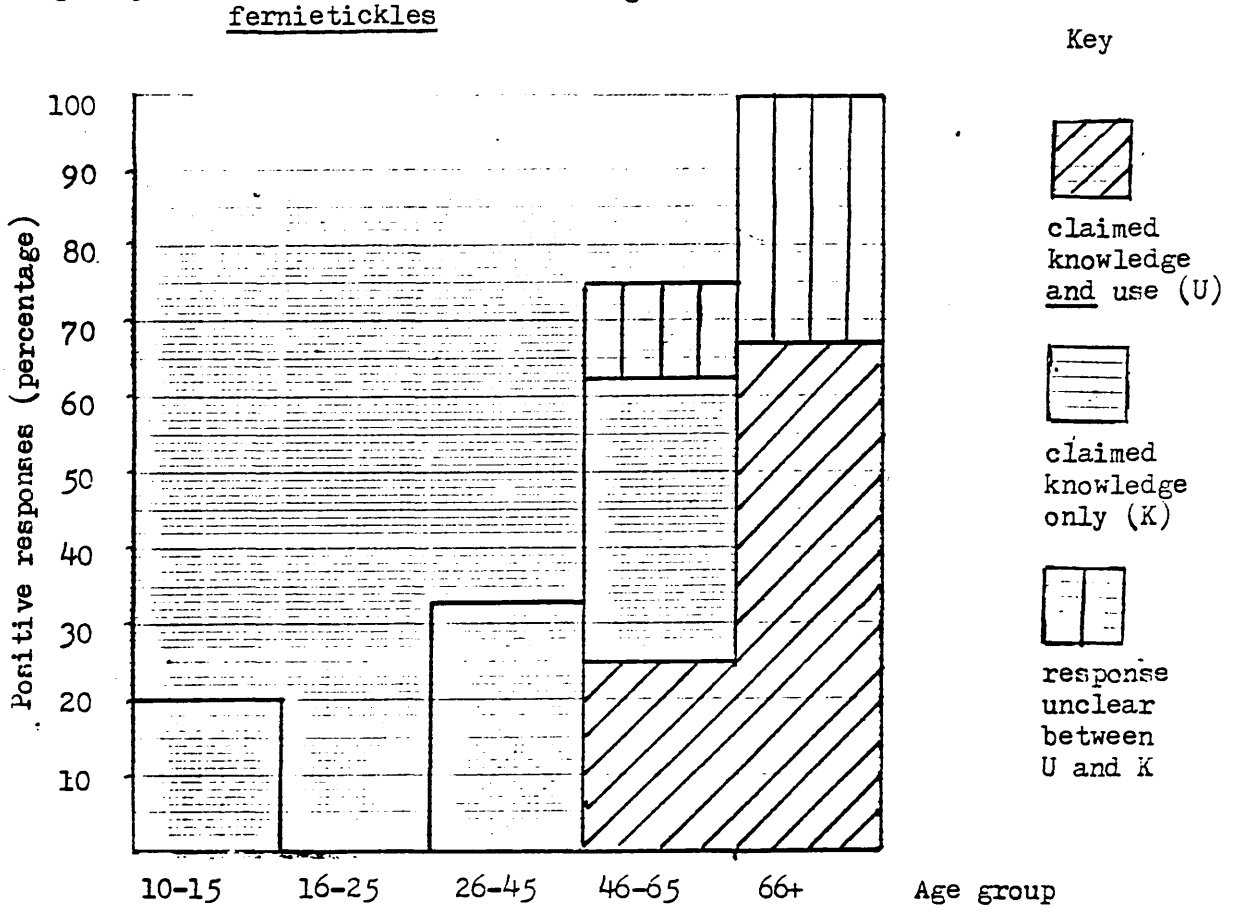


Figure 3.74 Males' claimed knowledge and use of fernietickles

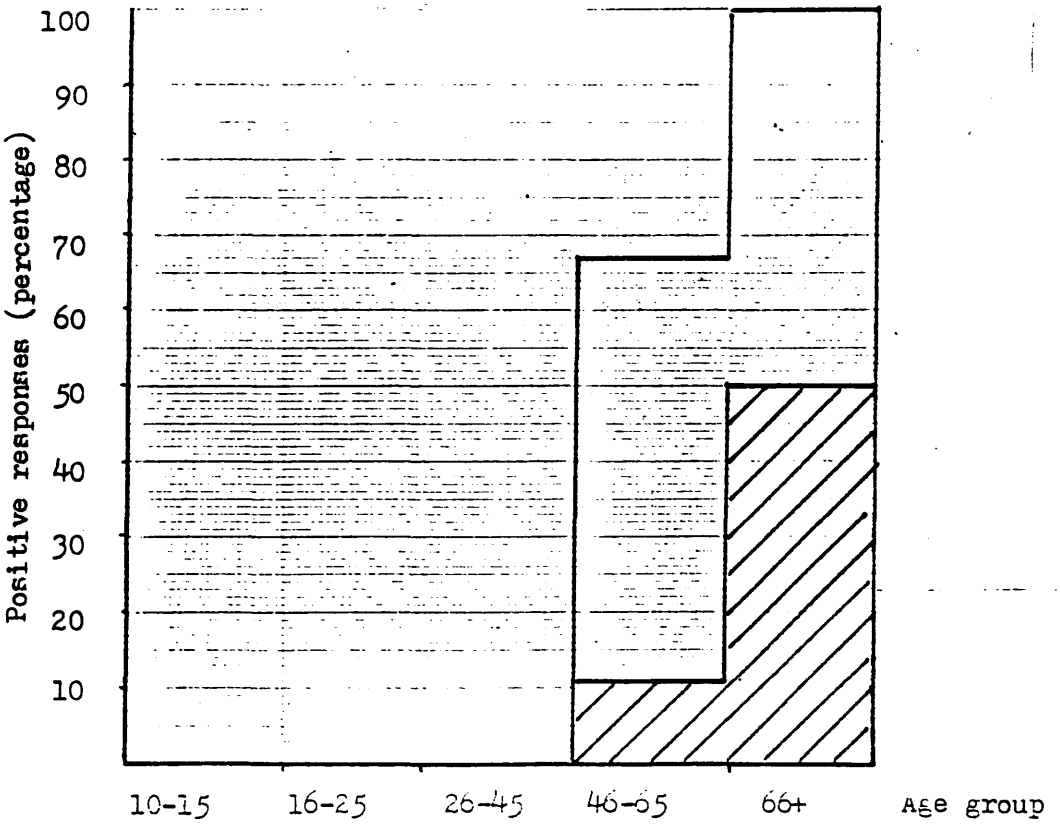


Figure 3.75 Females' claimed knowledge and use of take the spur

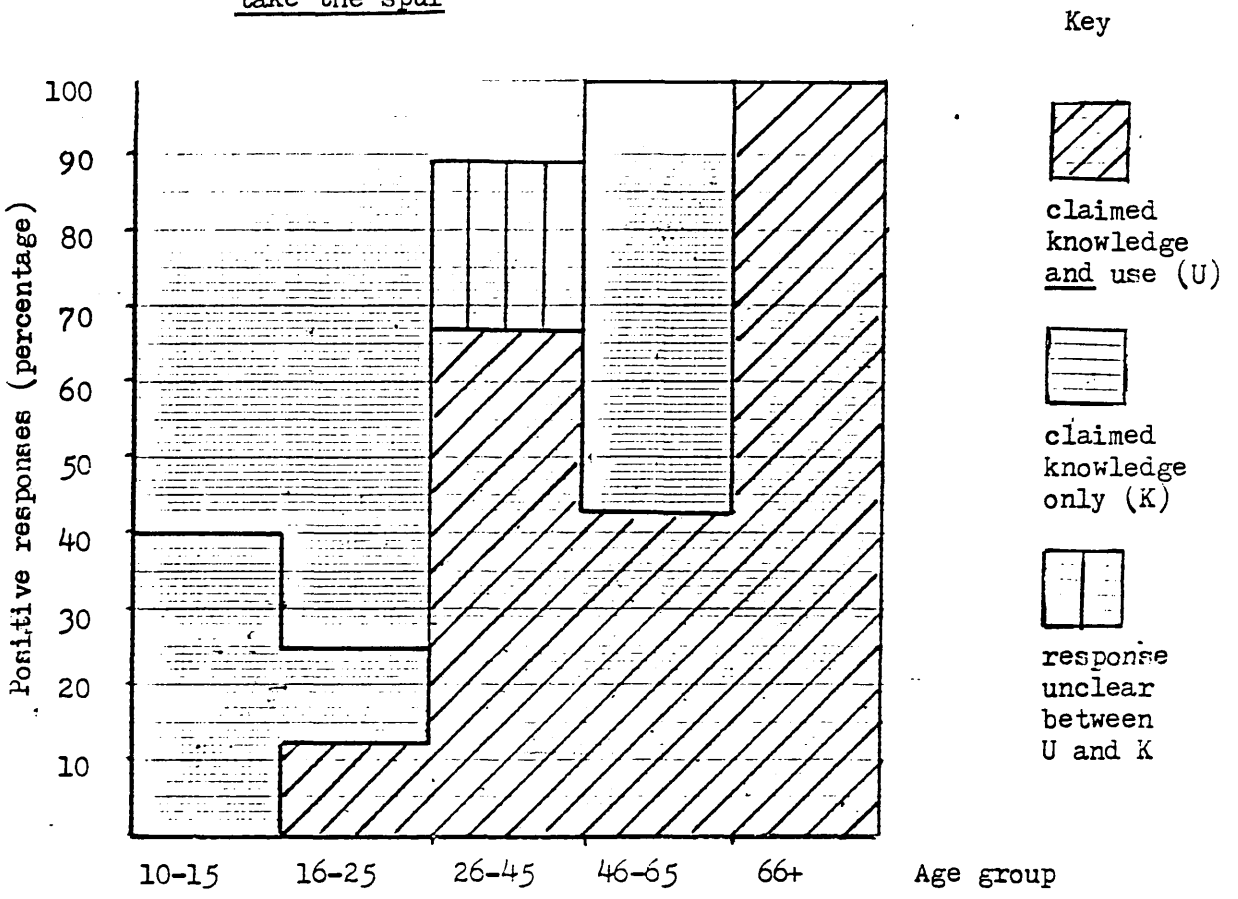


Figure 3.76 Males' claimed knowledge and use of take the spur

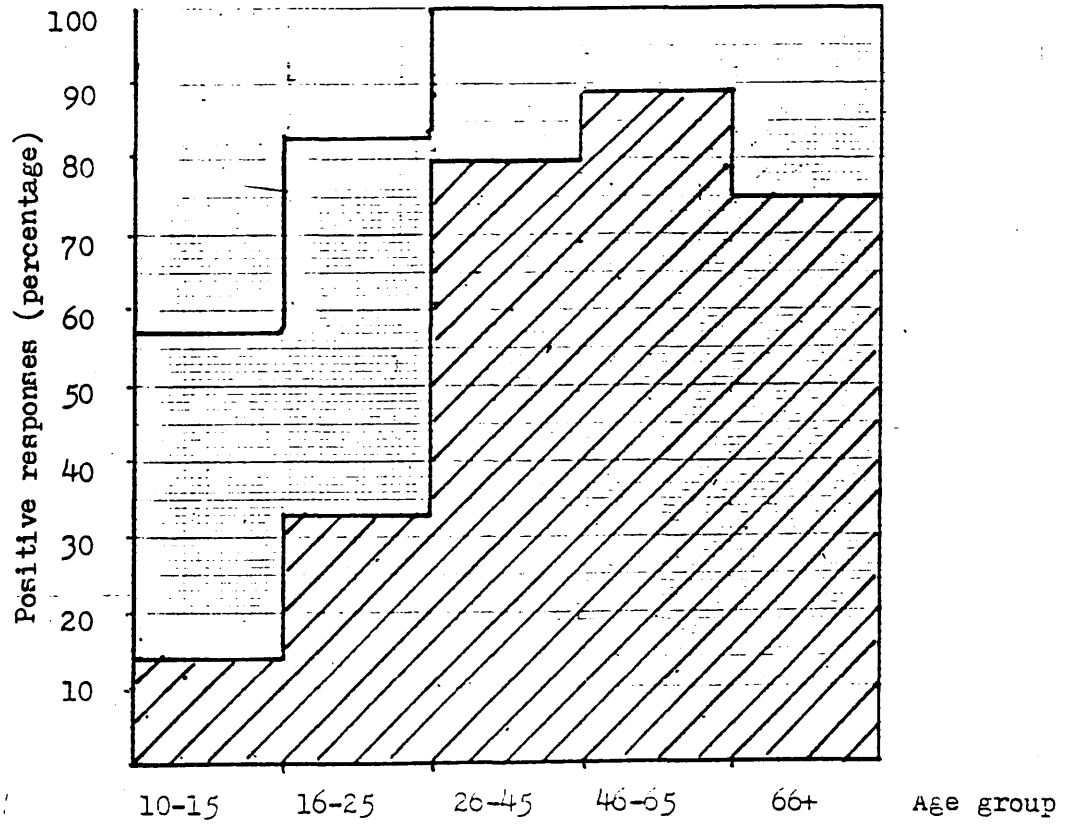


Figure 3.77 Females' claimed knowledge and use of turn it up

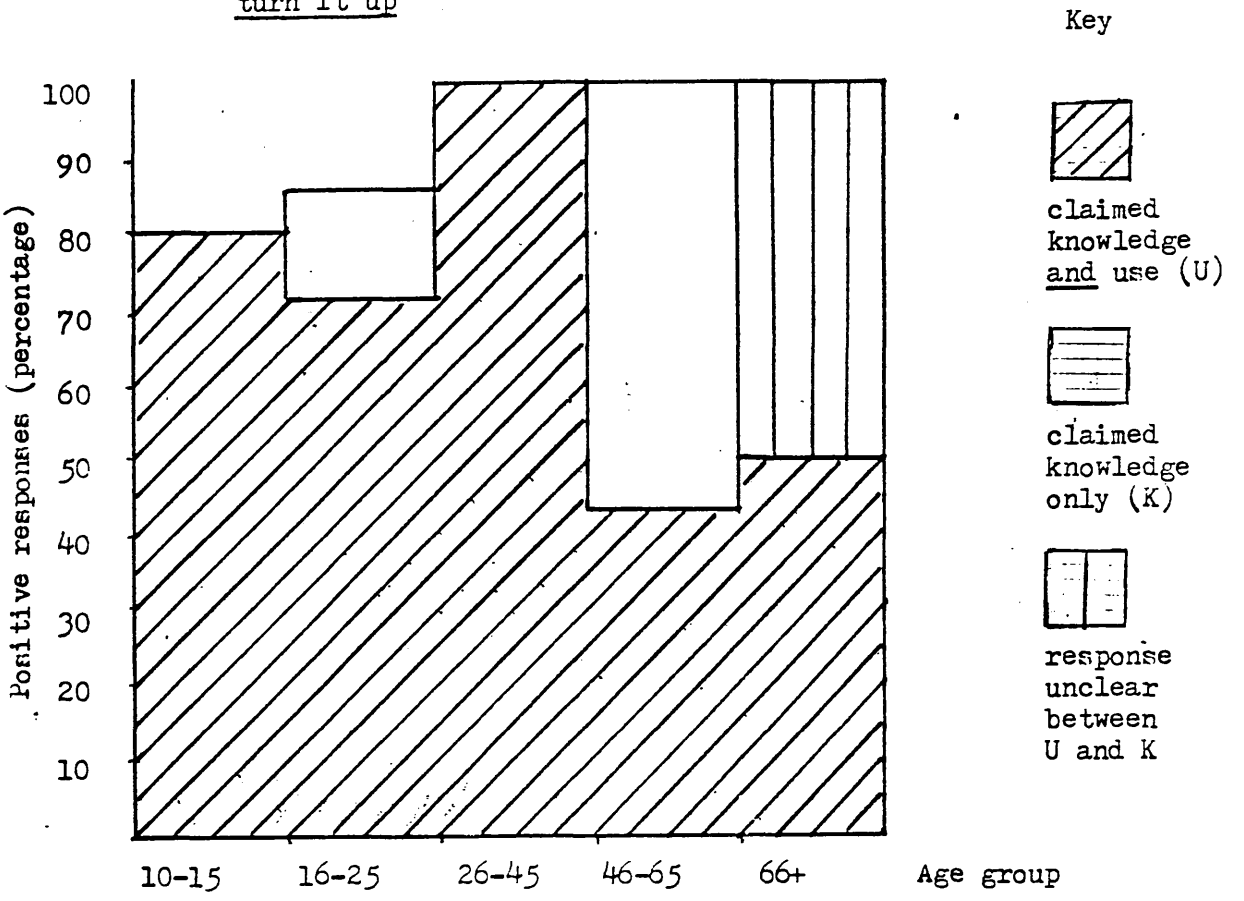


Figure 3.78 Males' claimed knowledge and use of turn it up

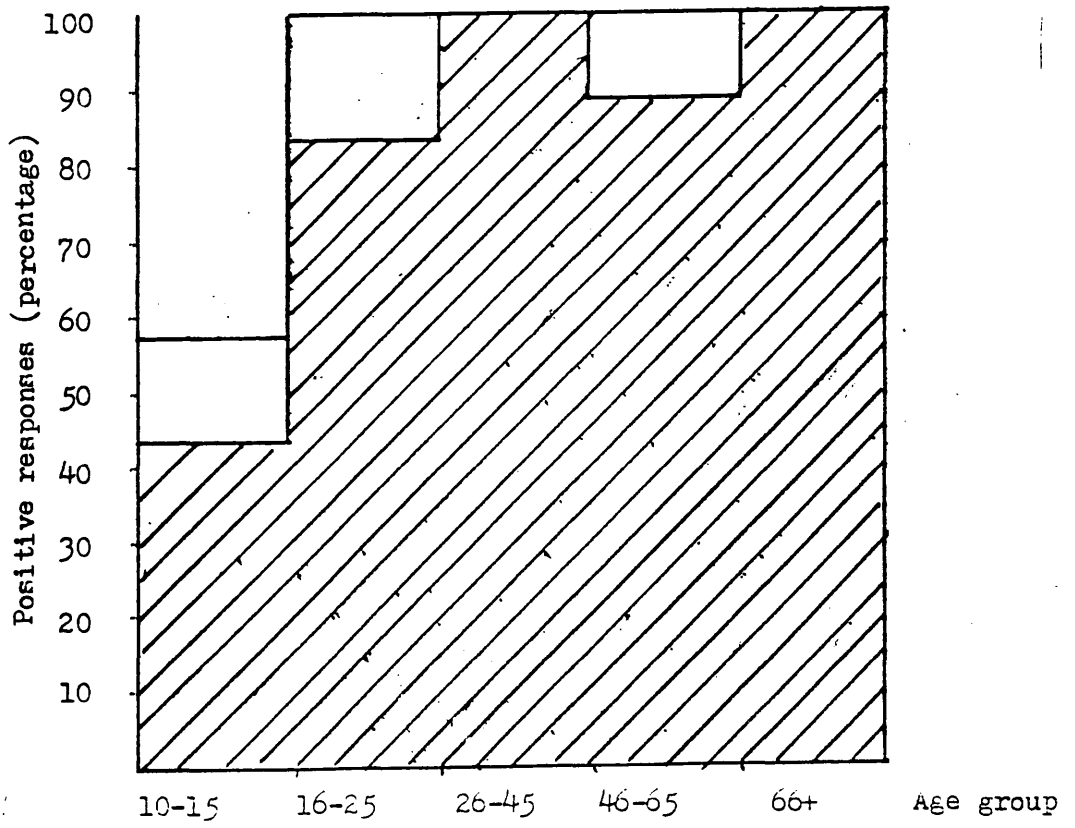


Figure 3.79 Females' claimed knowledge and use of dinghy

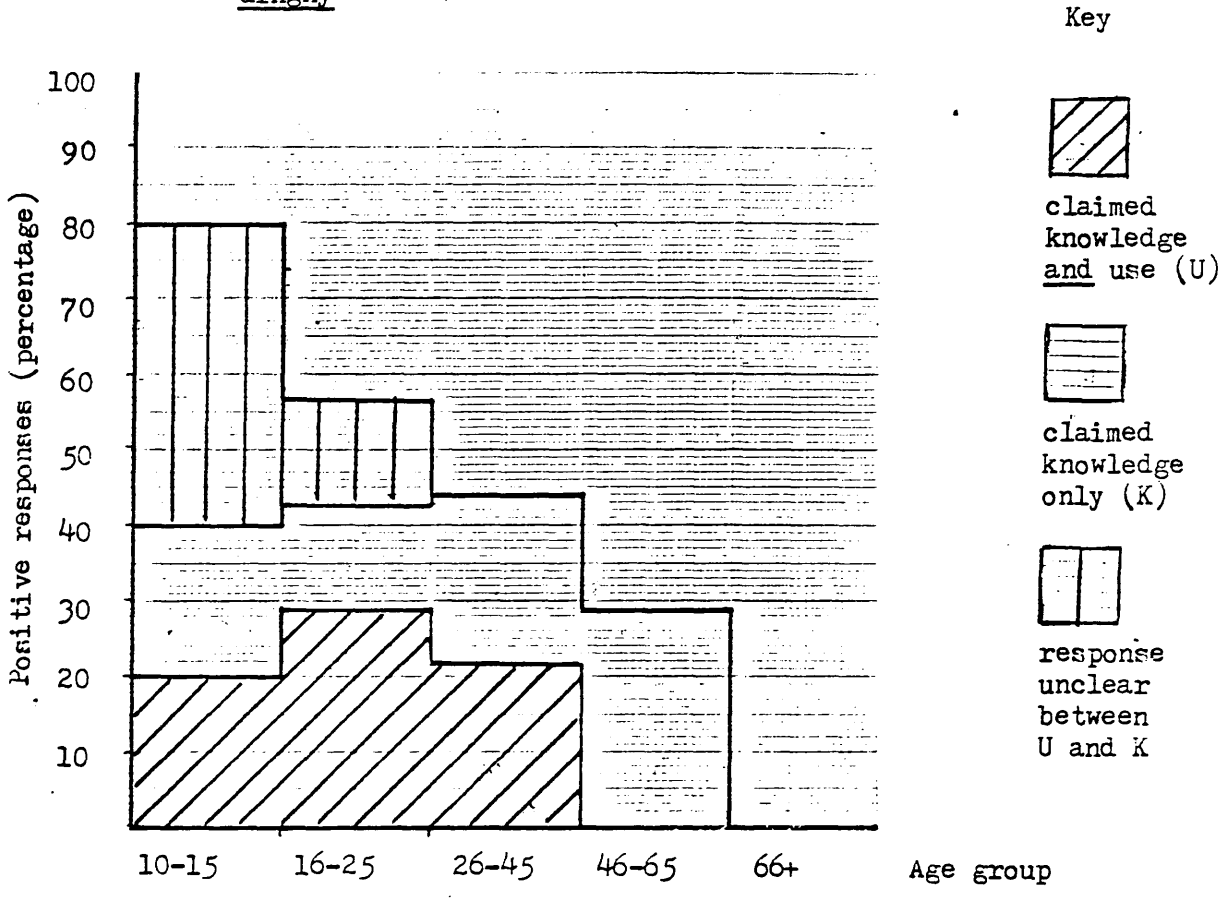


Figure 3.80 Males' claimed knowledge and use of dinghy

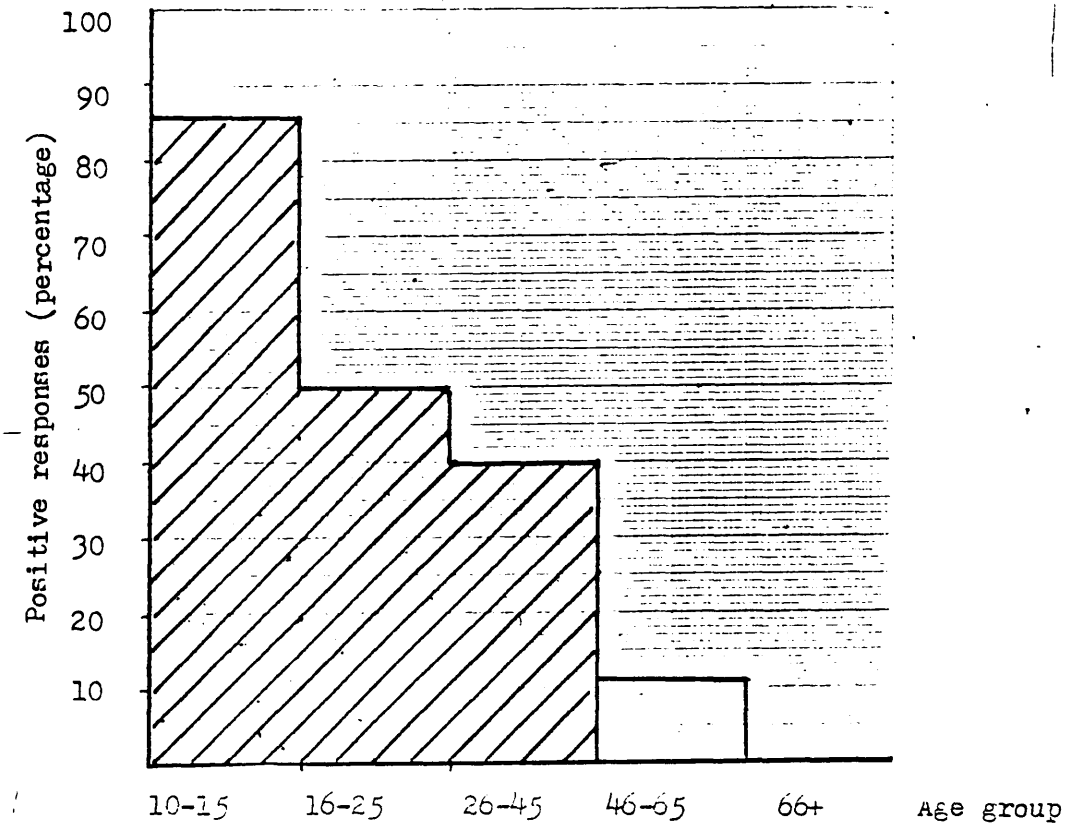


Figure 3.81 Females' claimed knowledge and use of shuftie

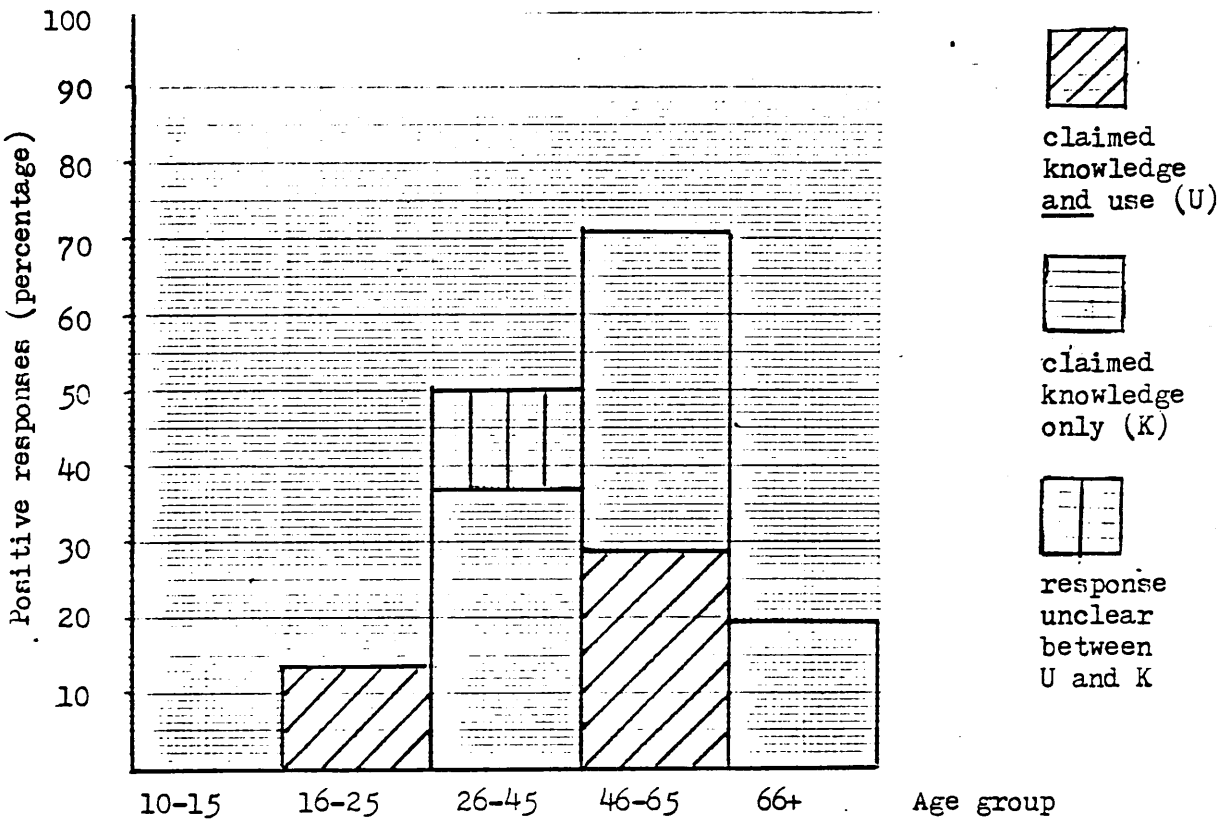


Figure 3.82 Males' claimed knowledge and use of shuftie

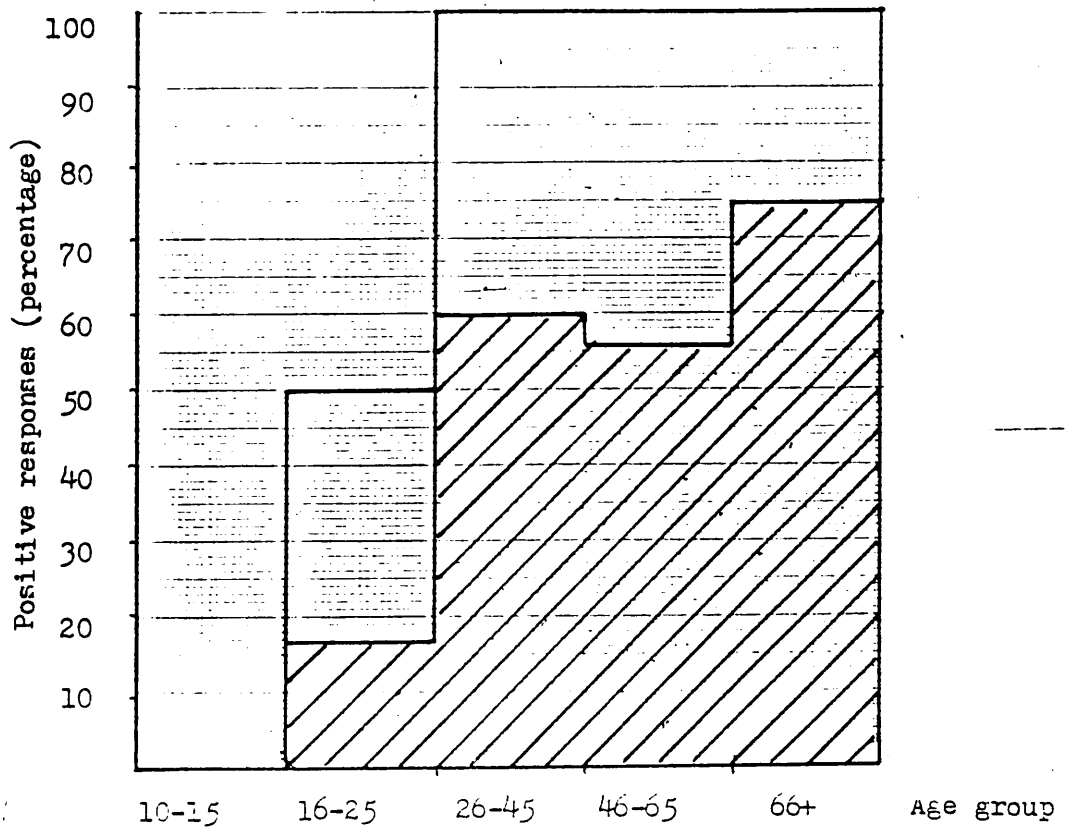


Figure 3.83 Both sexes' claimed knowledge and use of beamer

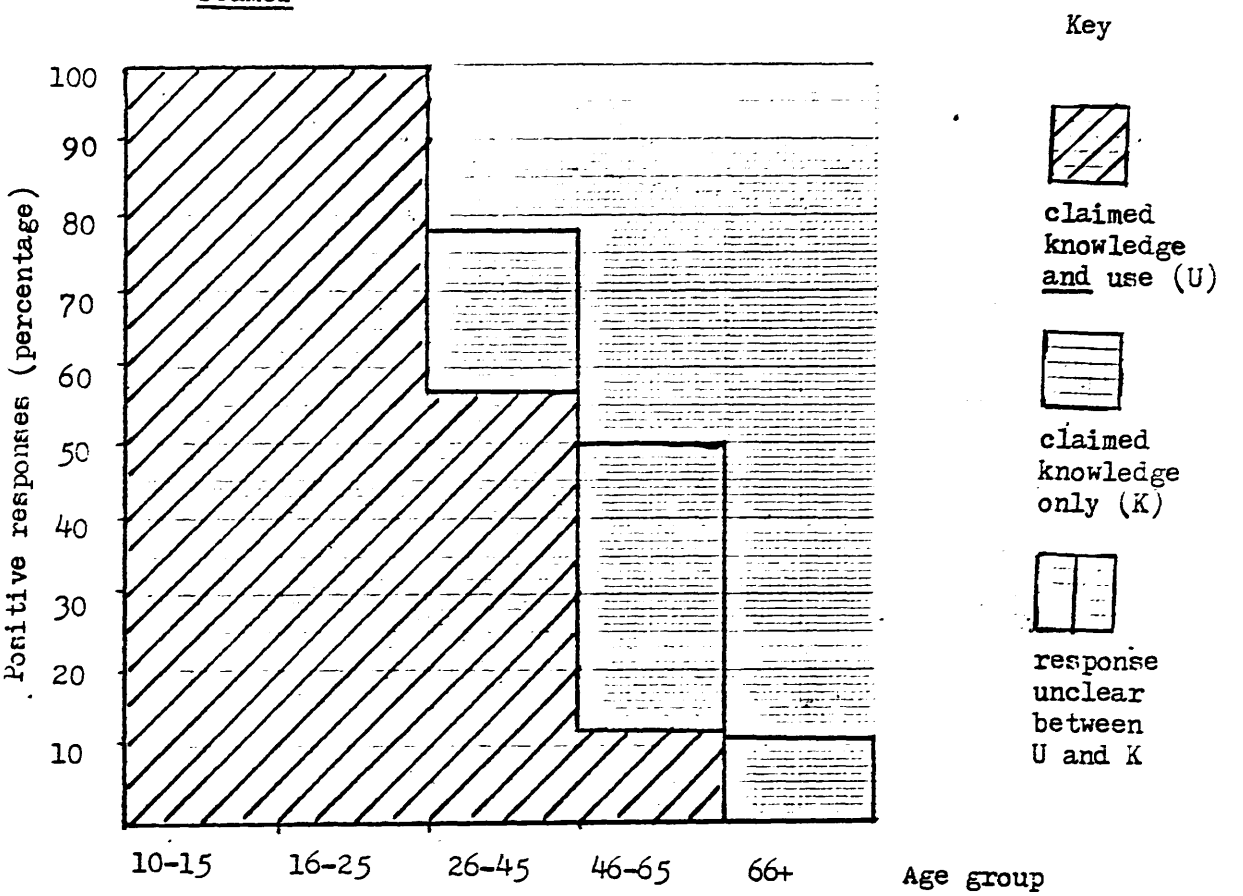


Figure 3.84 Females' claimed knowledge and use of riddie

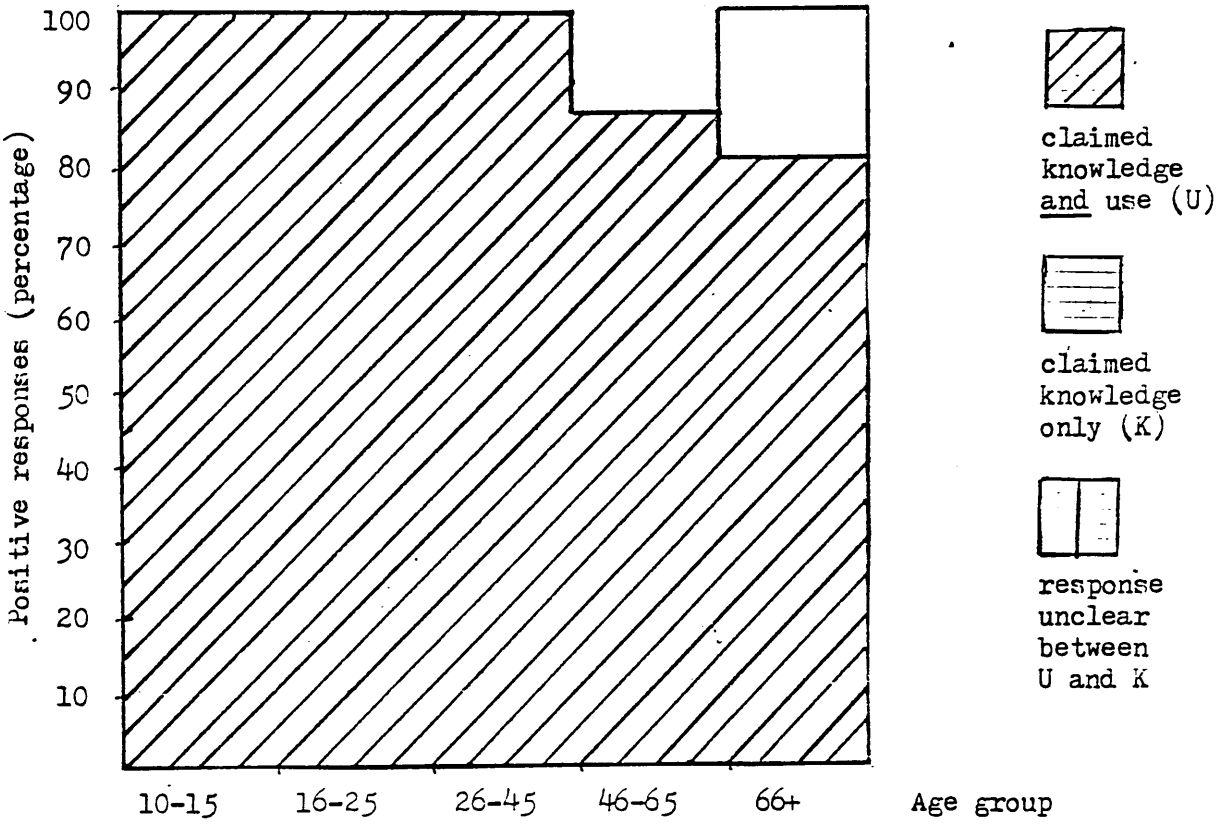


Figure 3.85 Males' claimed knowledge and use of riddie

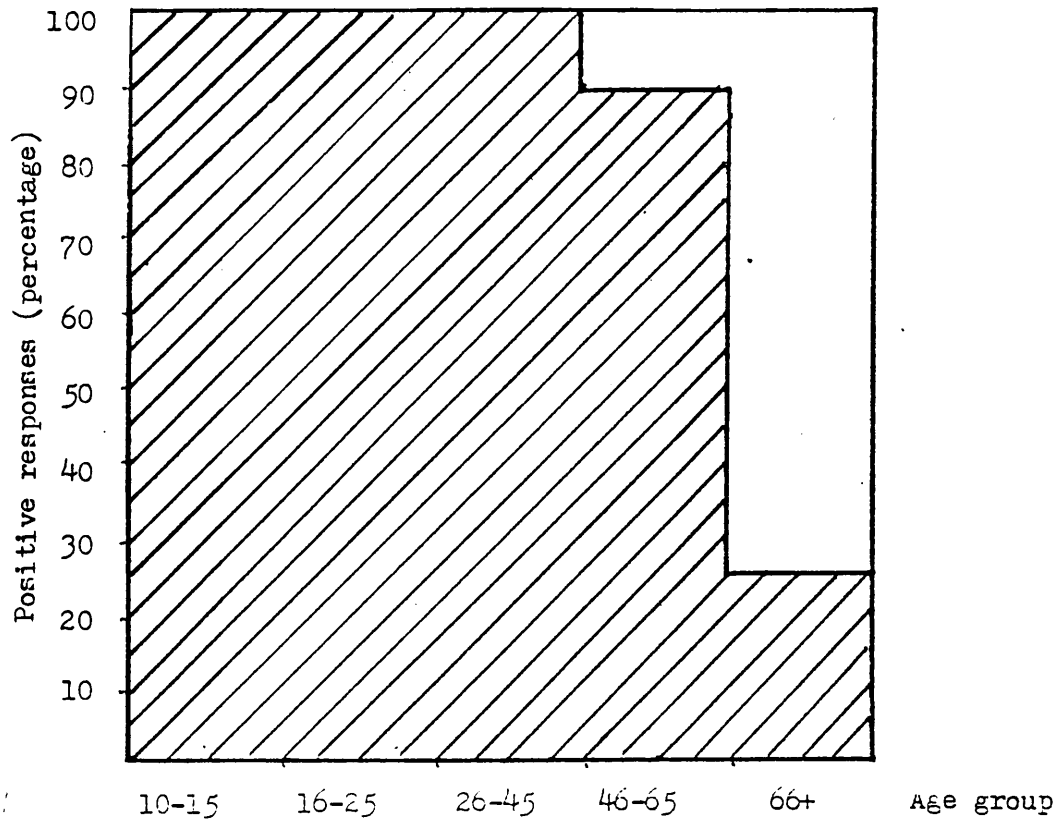


Figure 3. 86 Females' claimed knowledge and use of brassie

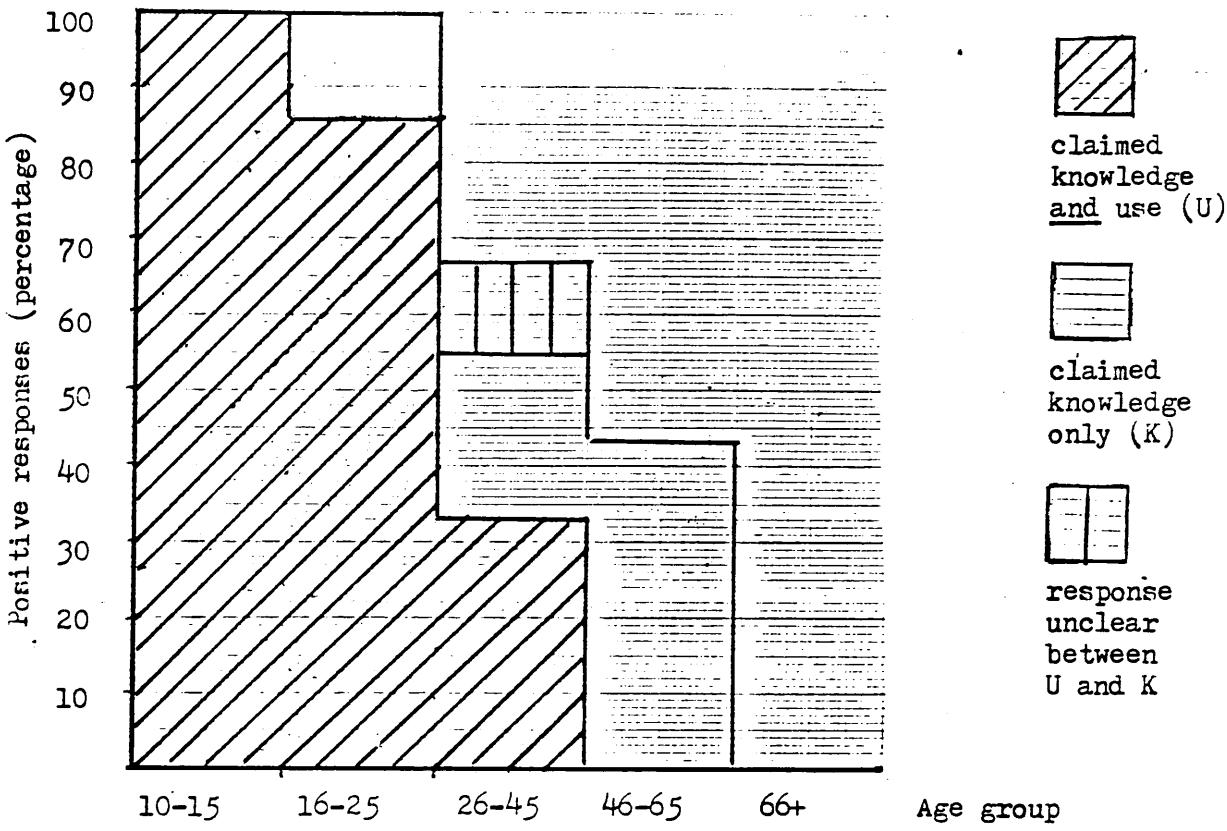


Figure 3.87 Males' claimed knowledge and use of brassie

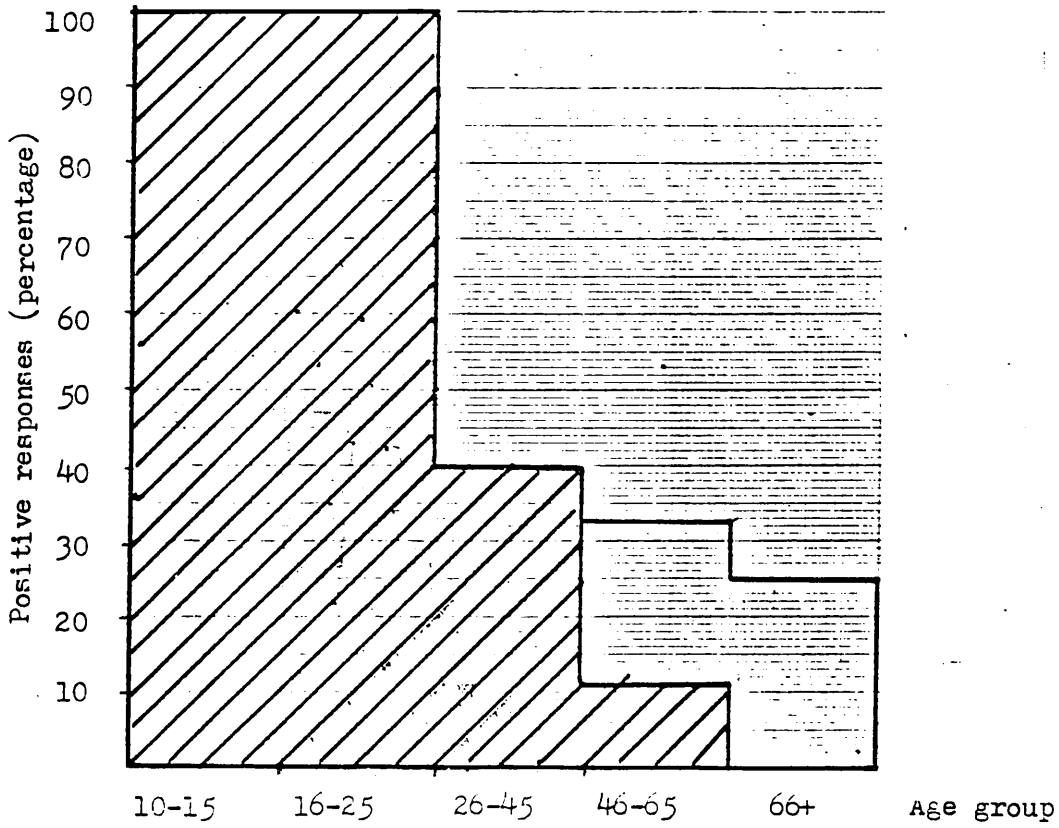


Figure 3. 88 Females' claimed knowledge and use of mingin

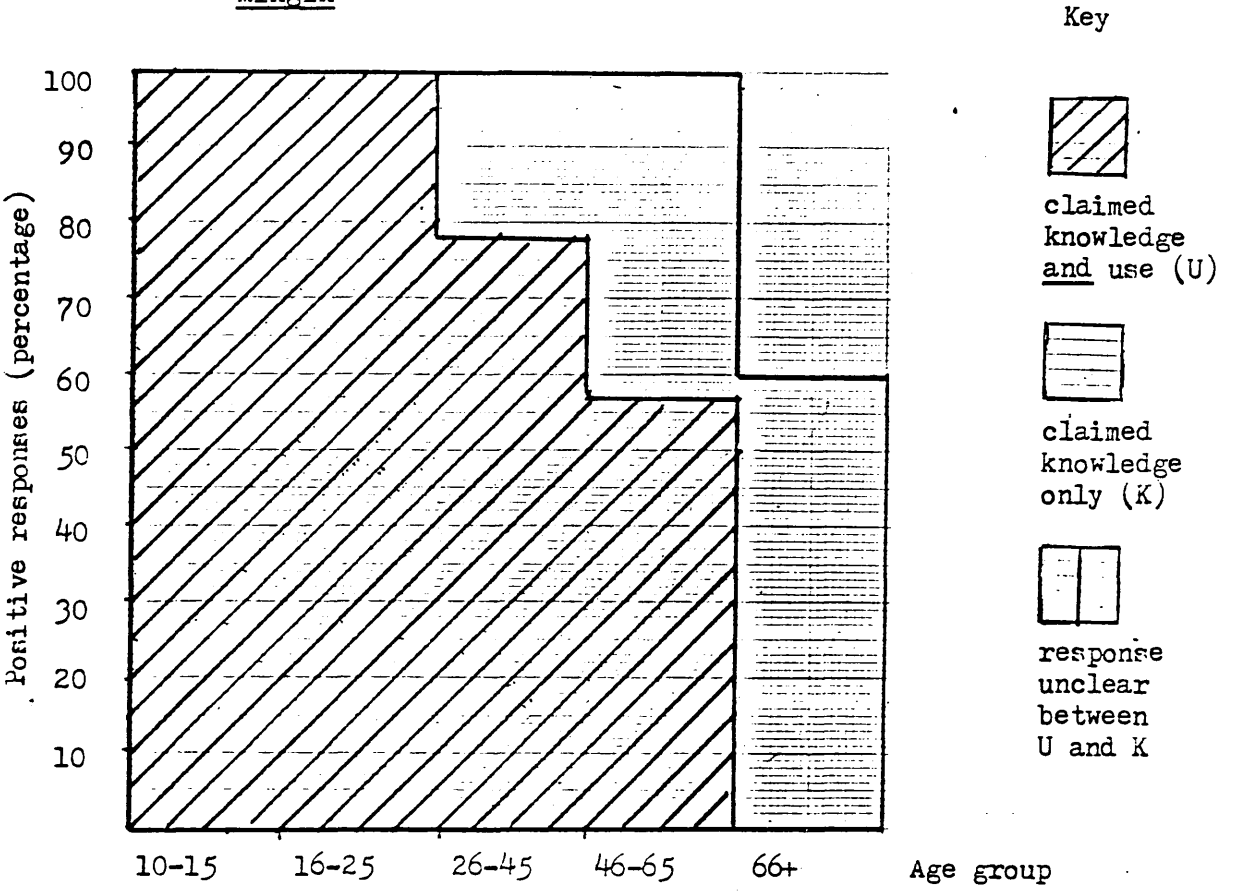


Figure 3.89 Males' claimed knowledge and use of mingin

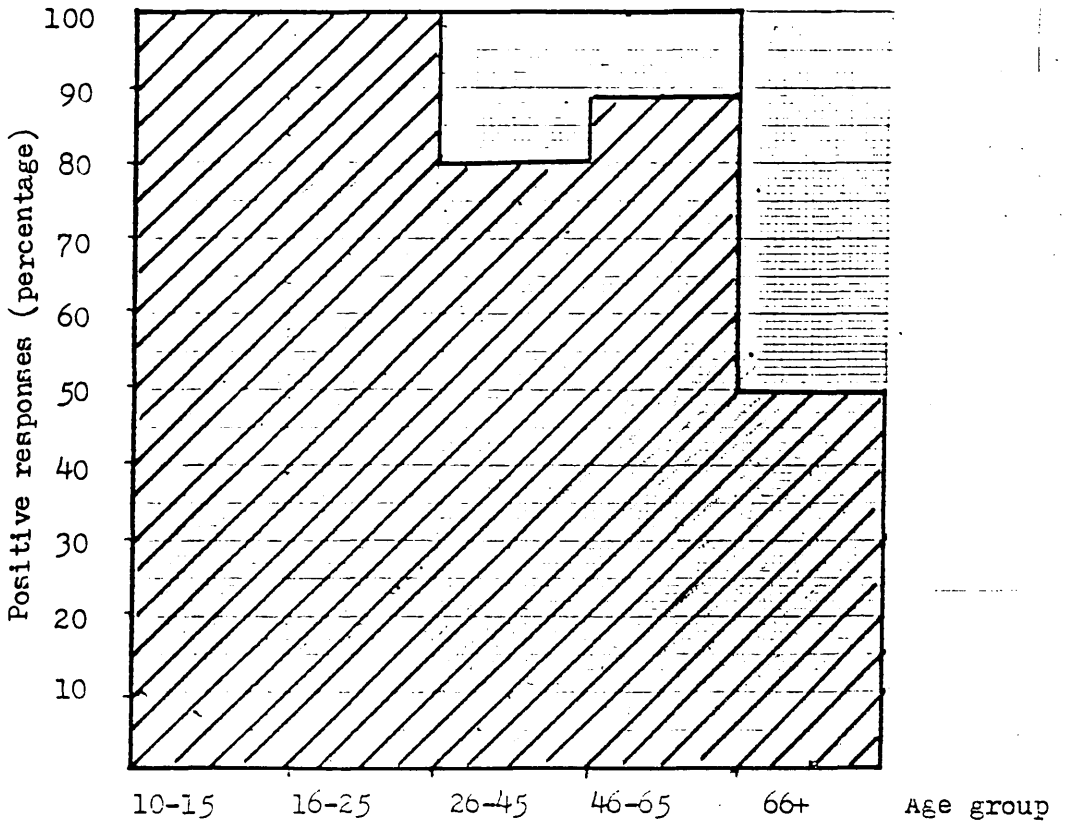


Figure 3. 90 Females' claimed knowledge and use of clingin

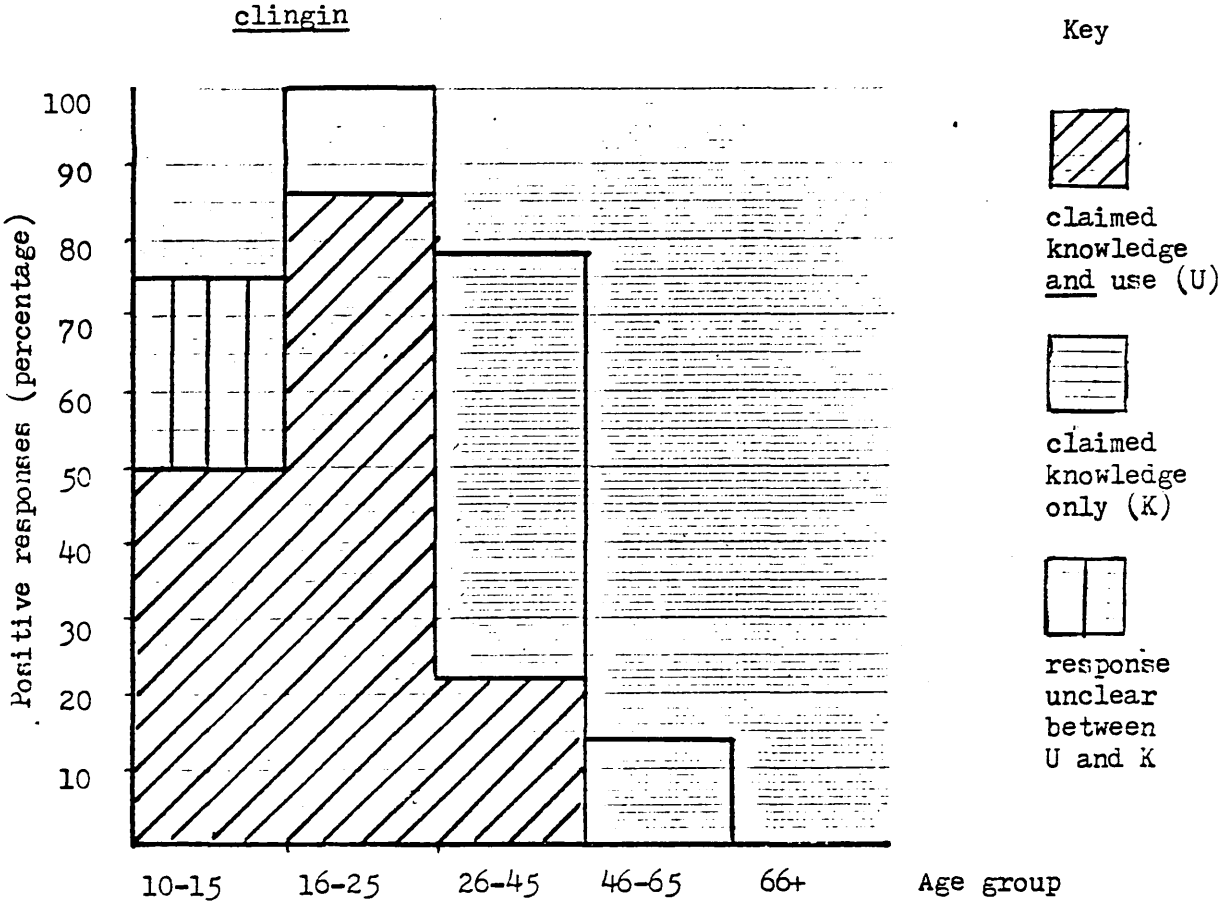


Figure 3.91 Males' claimed knowledge and use of clingin

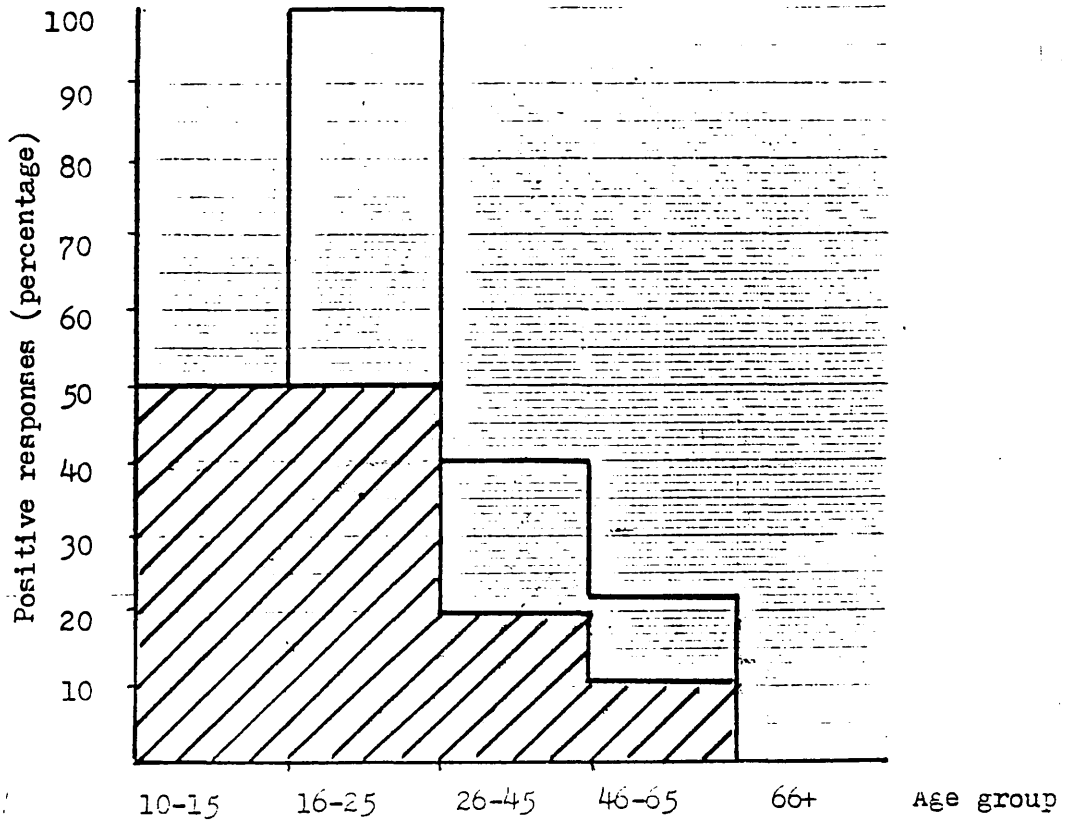


Figure 3. 92 Females' claimed knowledge and use of gingin

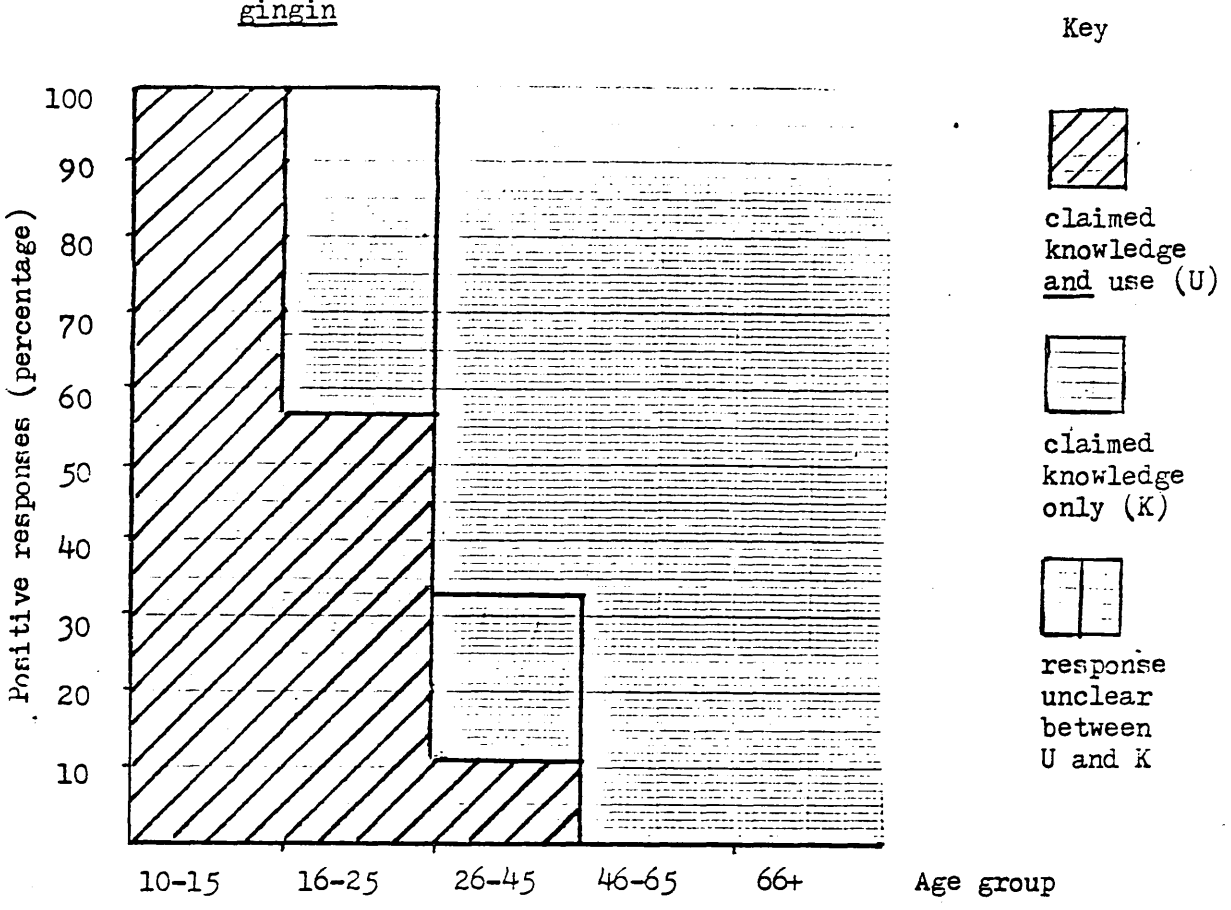


Figure 3.93 Males' claimed knowledge and use of gingin

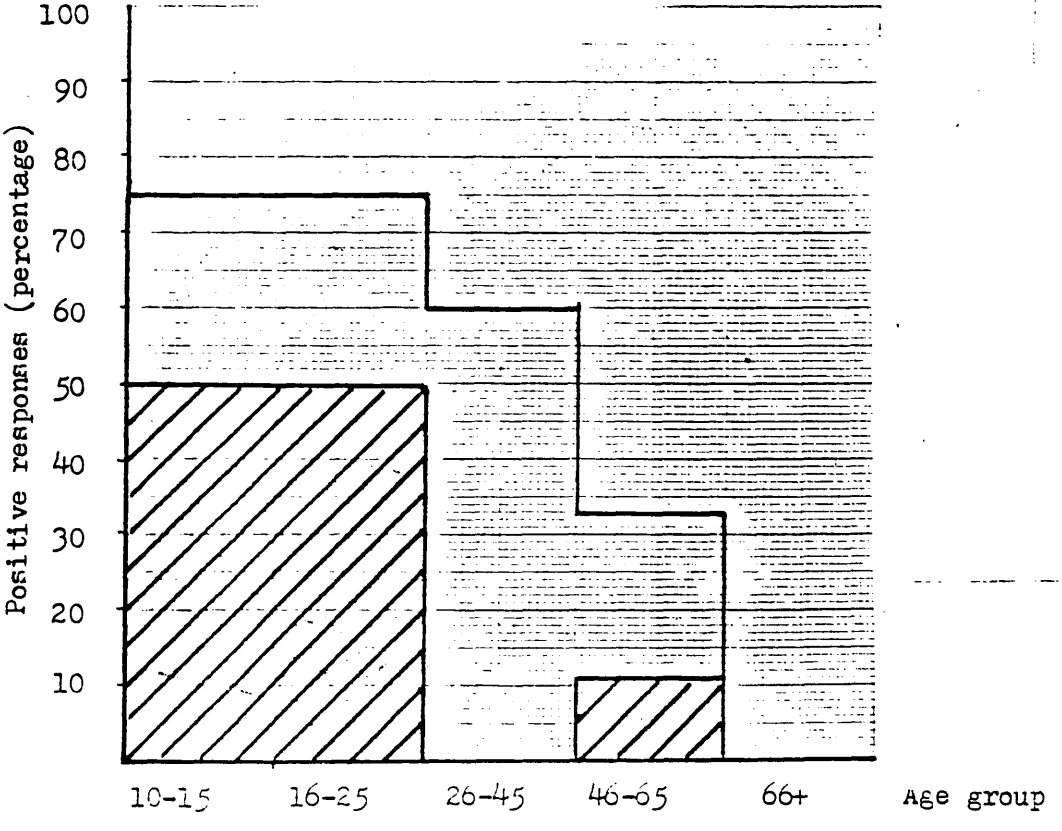


Figure 3.94 Females' claimed knowledge and use of boggin

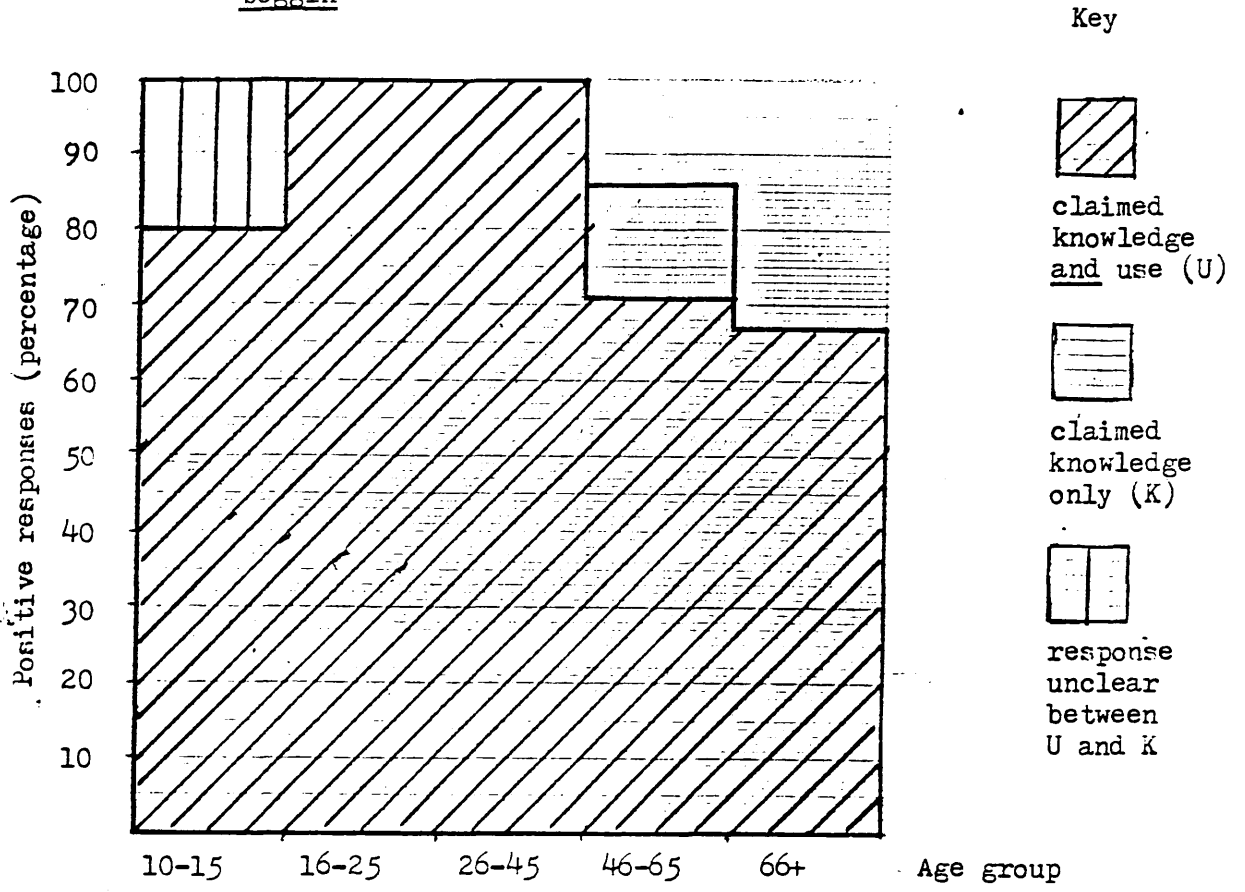


Figure 3.95 Males' claimed knowledge and use of boggin

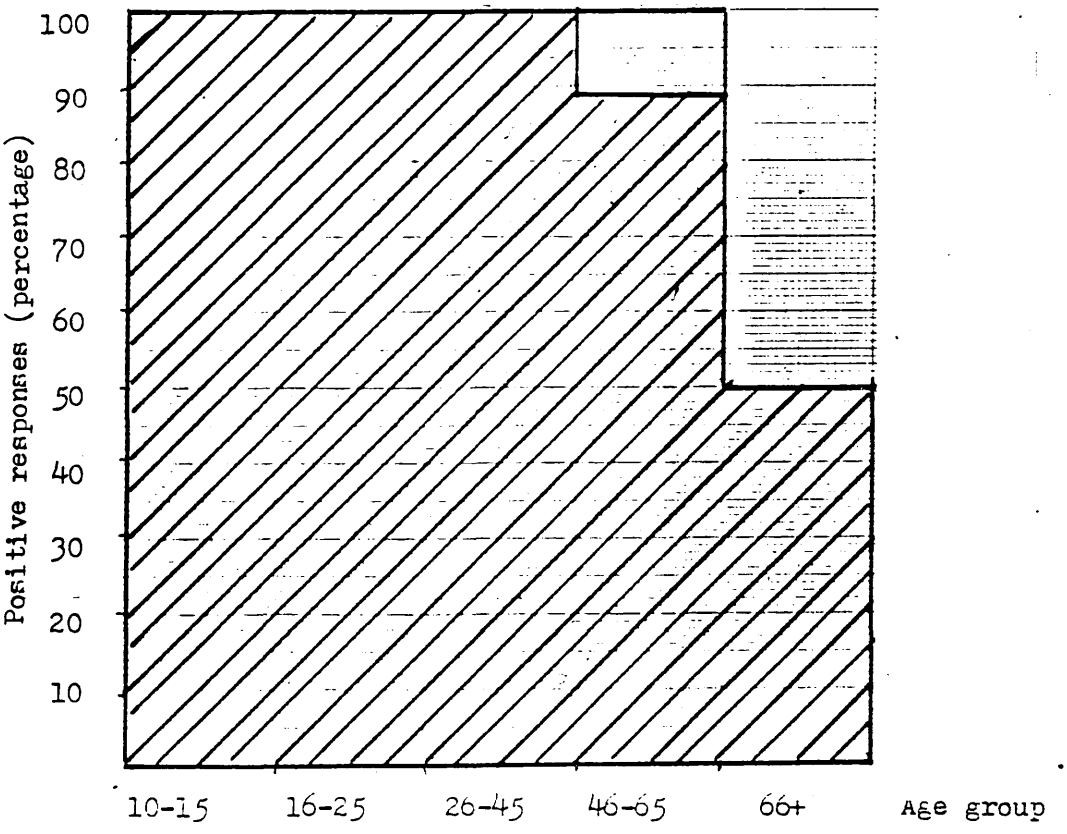


Figure 3.96 Females' claimed knowledge and use of bowfin

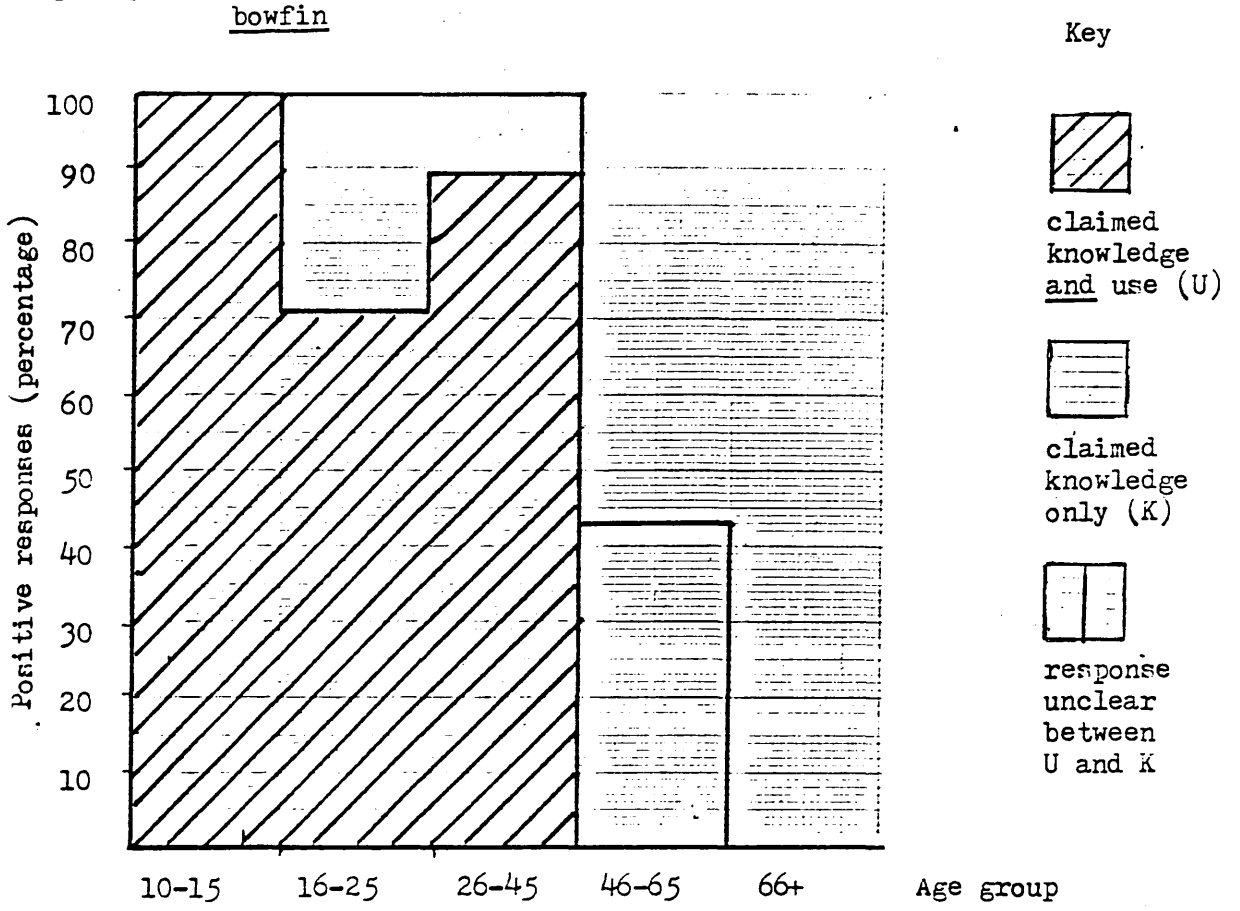


Figure 3.97 Males' claimed knowledge and use of bowfin

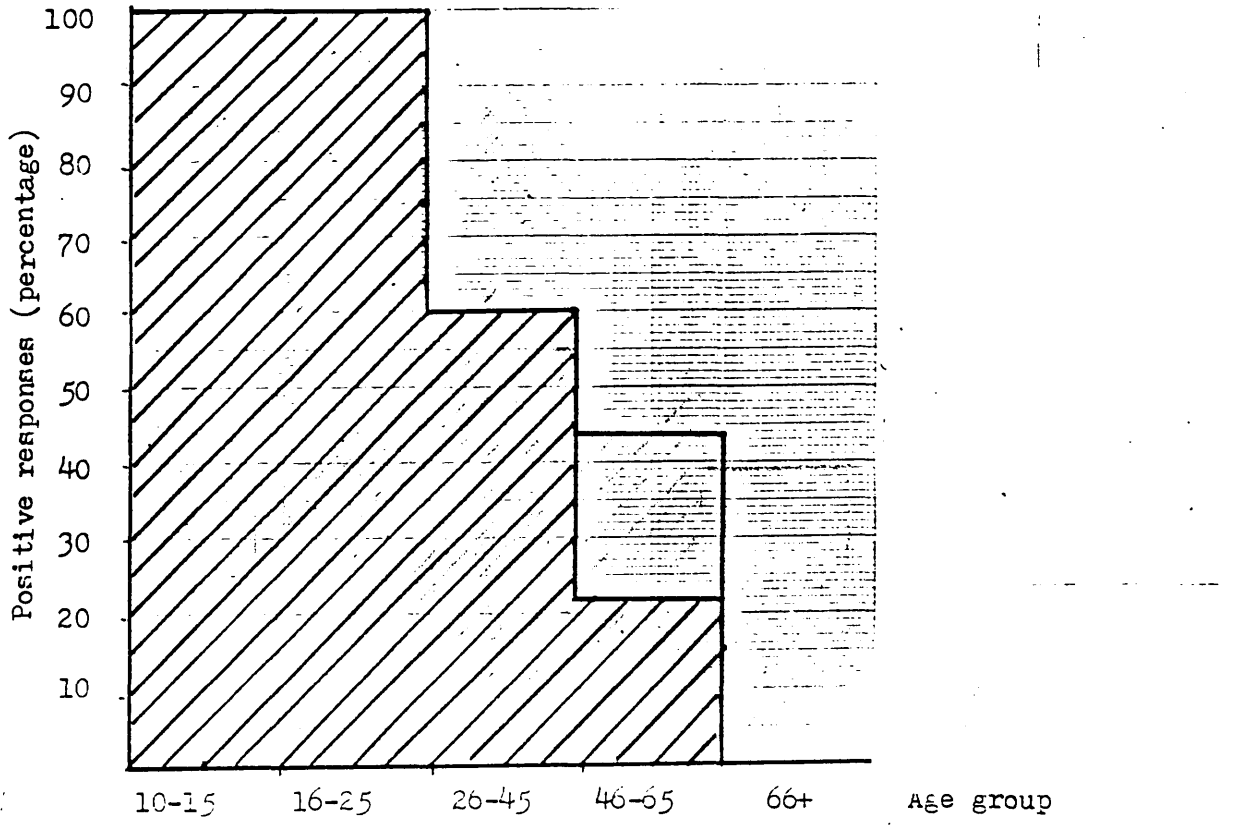


Figure 3. 98 Females' claimed knowledge and use of honkin

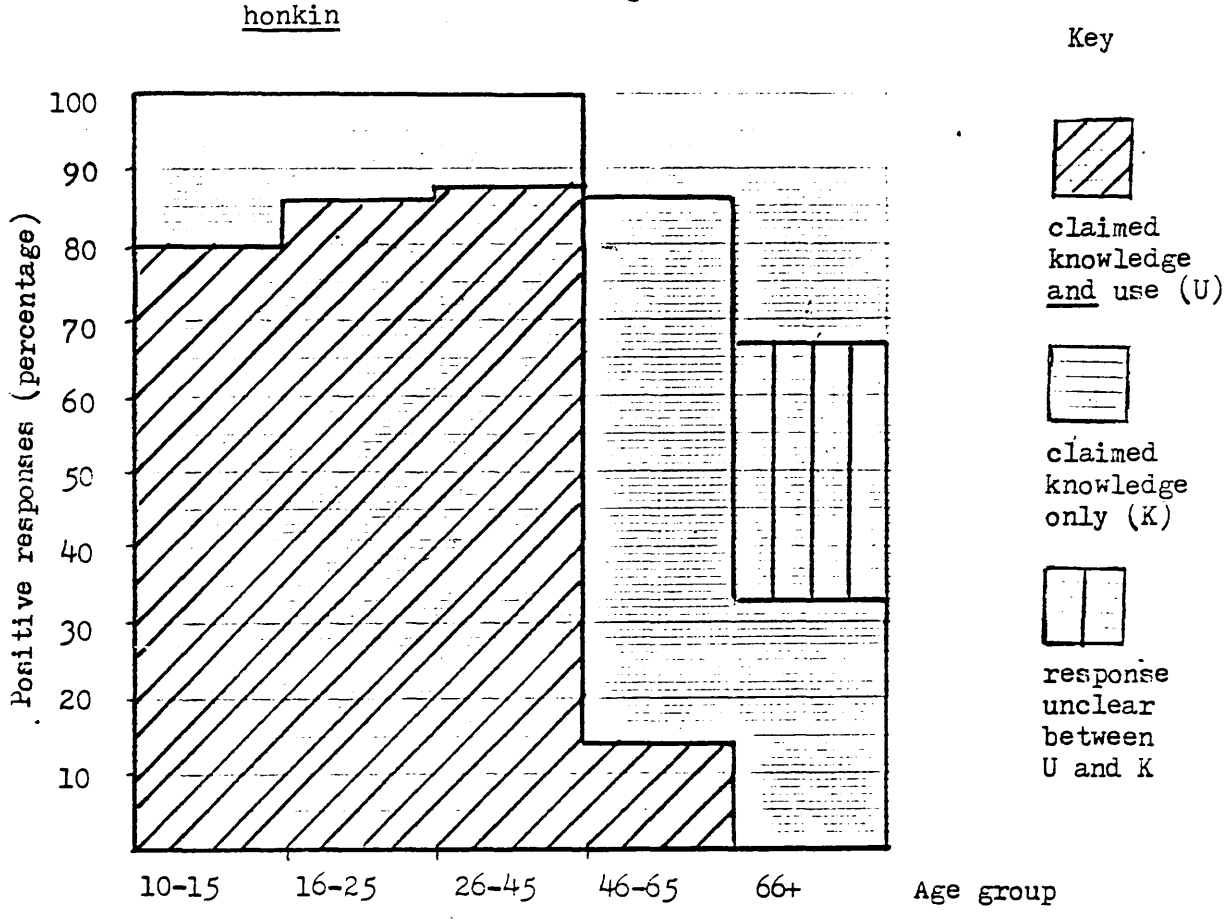


Figure 3.99 Males' claimed knowledge and use of honkin

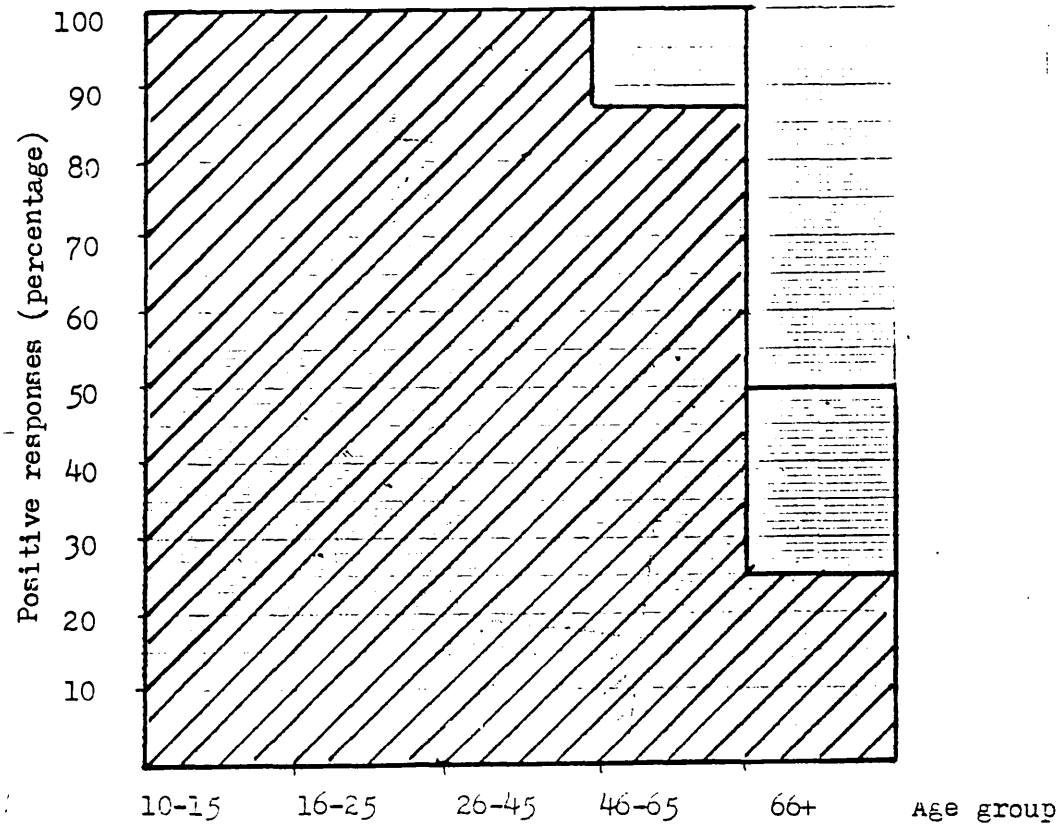


Figure 3.100 Females' claimed knowledge and use of brill

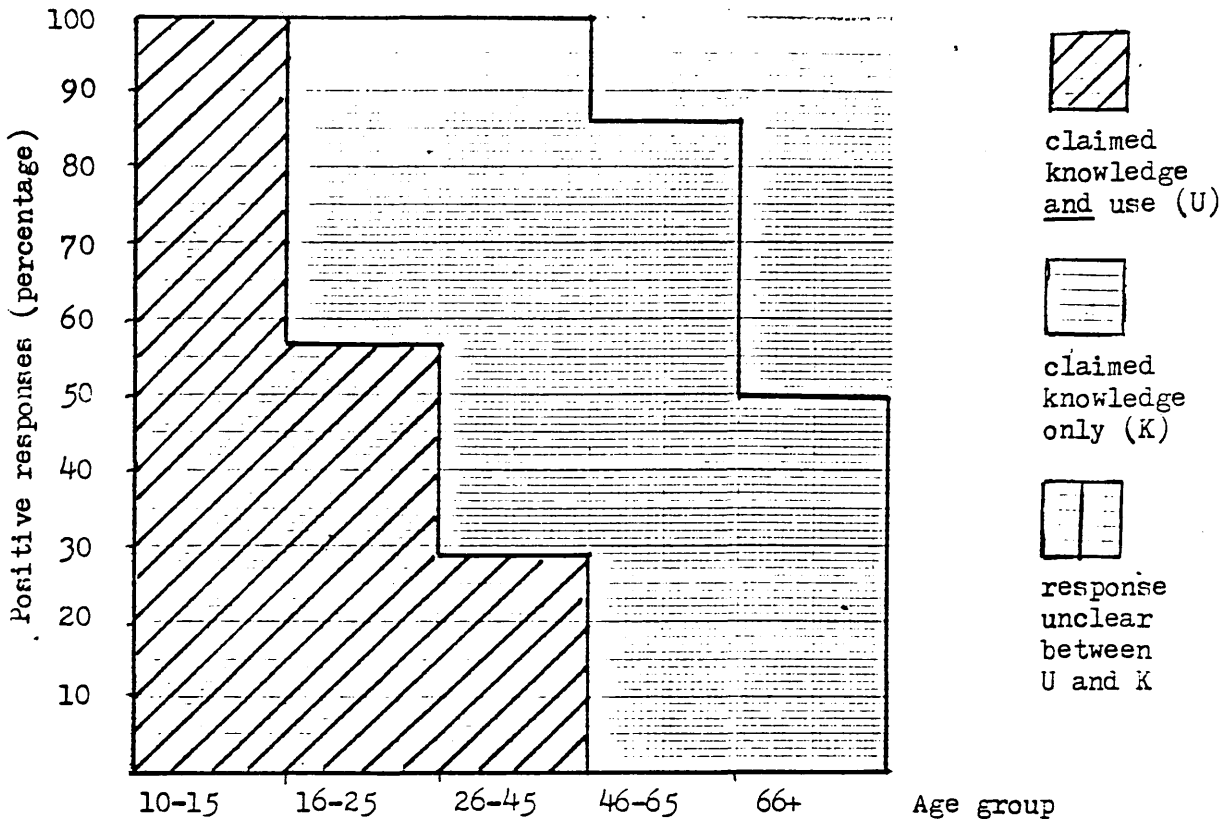


Figure 3.101 Males' claimed knowledge and use of brill

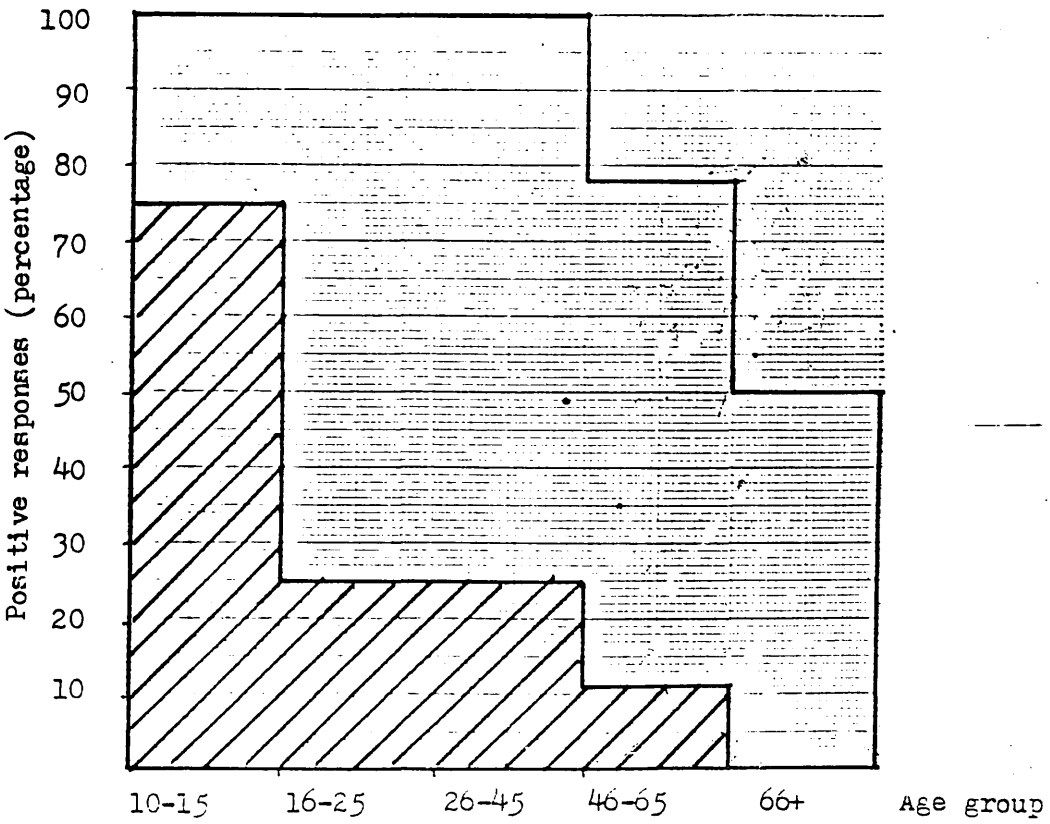


Figure 3.102 Females' claimed knowledge and use of jildi

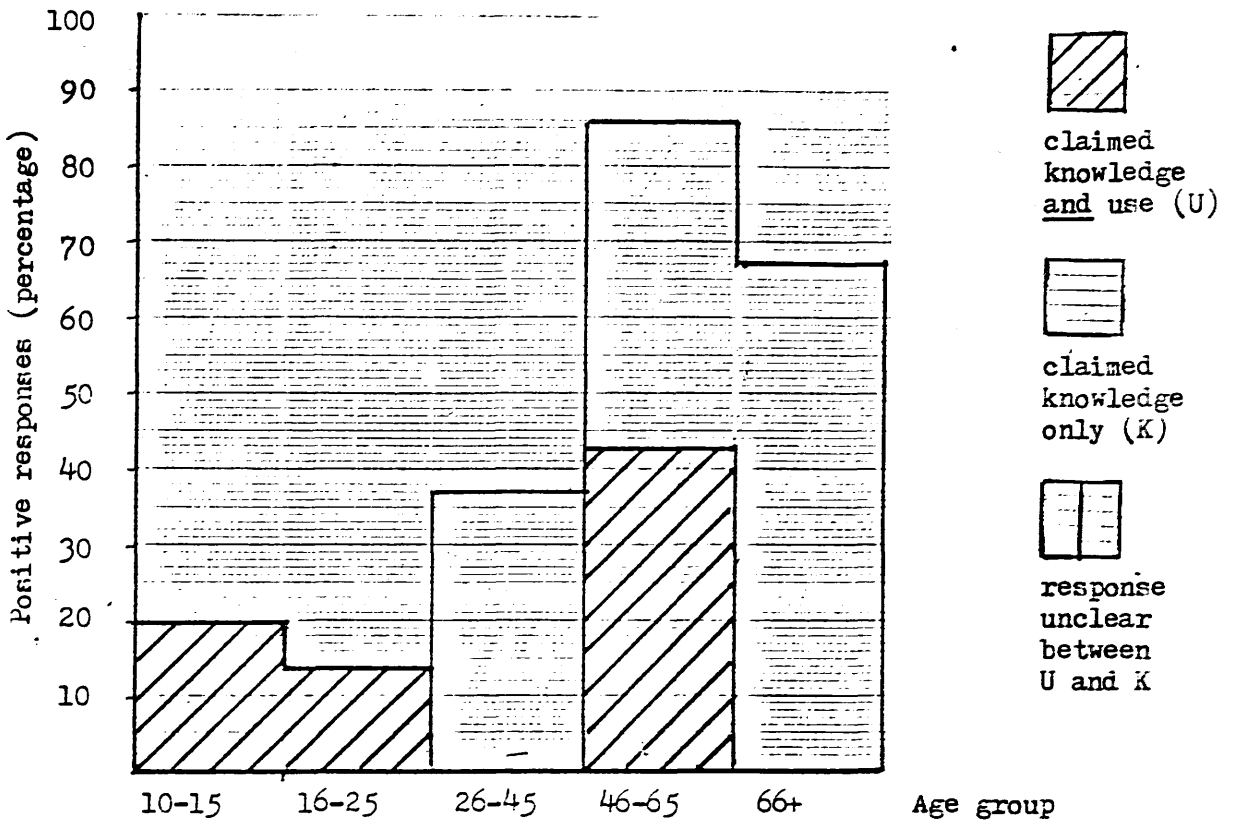


Figure 3.103 Males' claimed knowledge and use of jildi

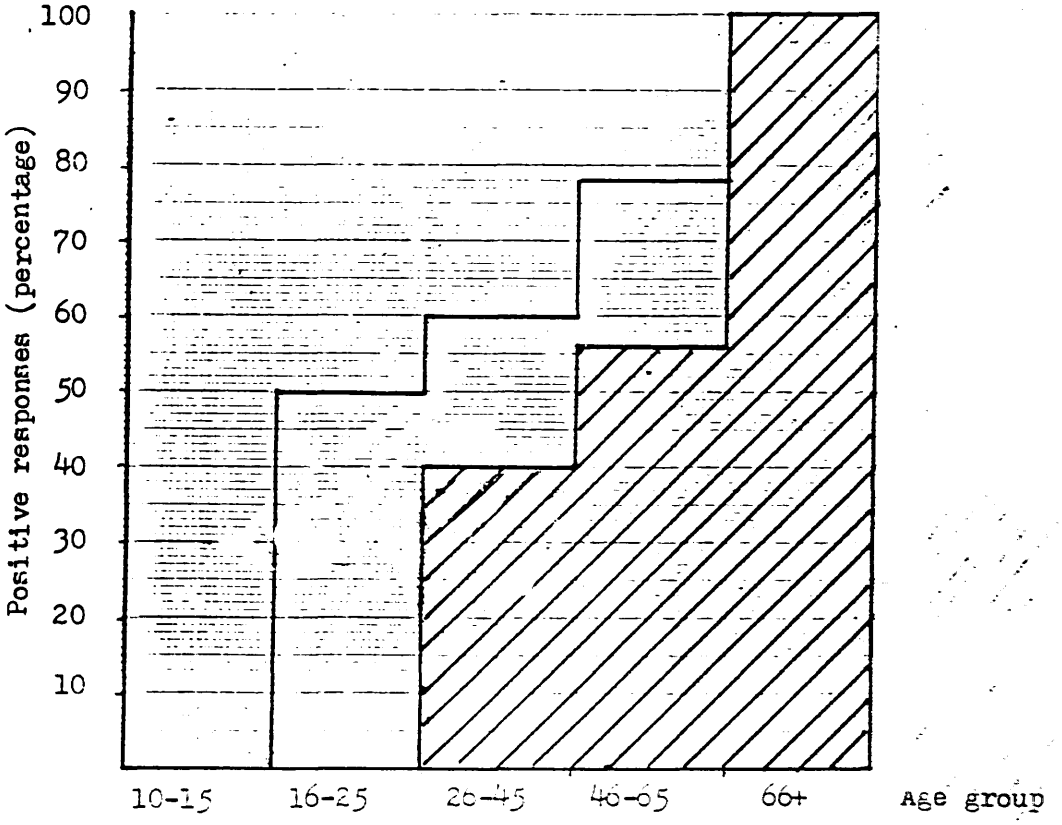


Figure 3. 104 Females' claimed knowledge and use of balloon

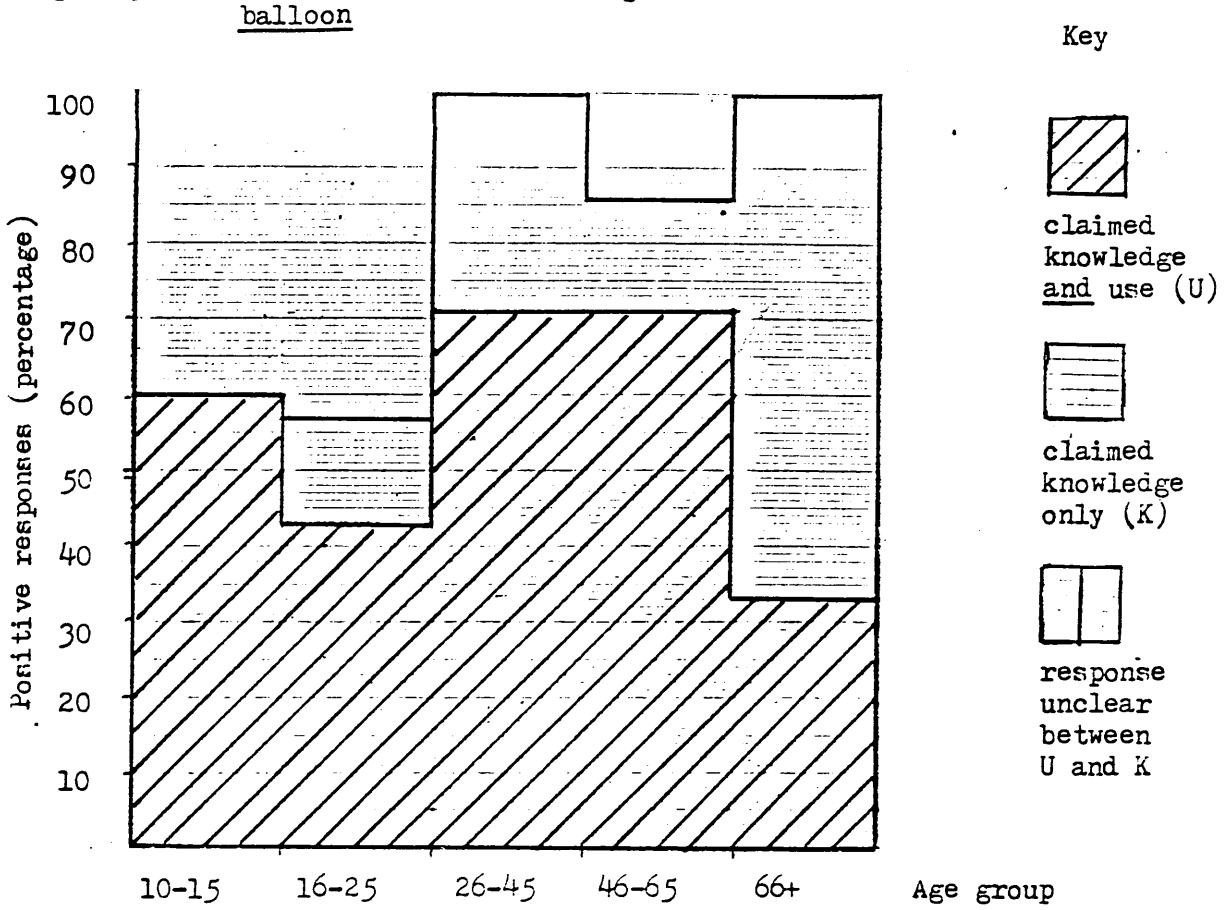


Figure 3.105 Males' claimed knowledge and use of balloon

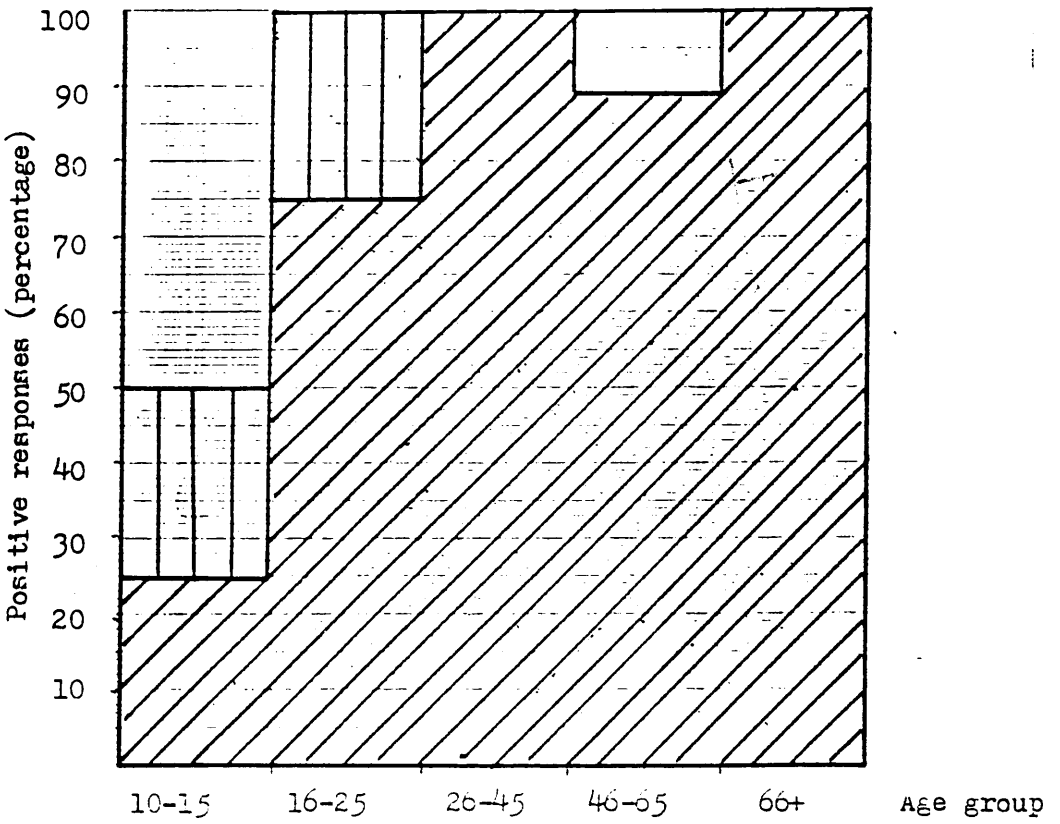


Figure 3.106 Females' claimed knowledge and use of sody-heidit

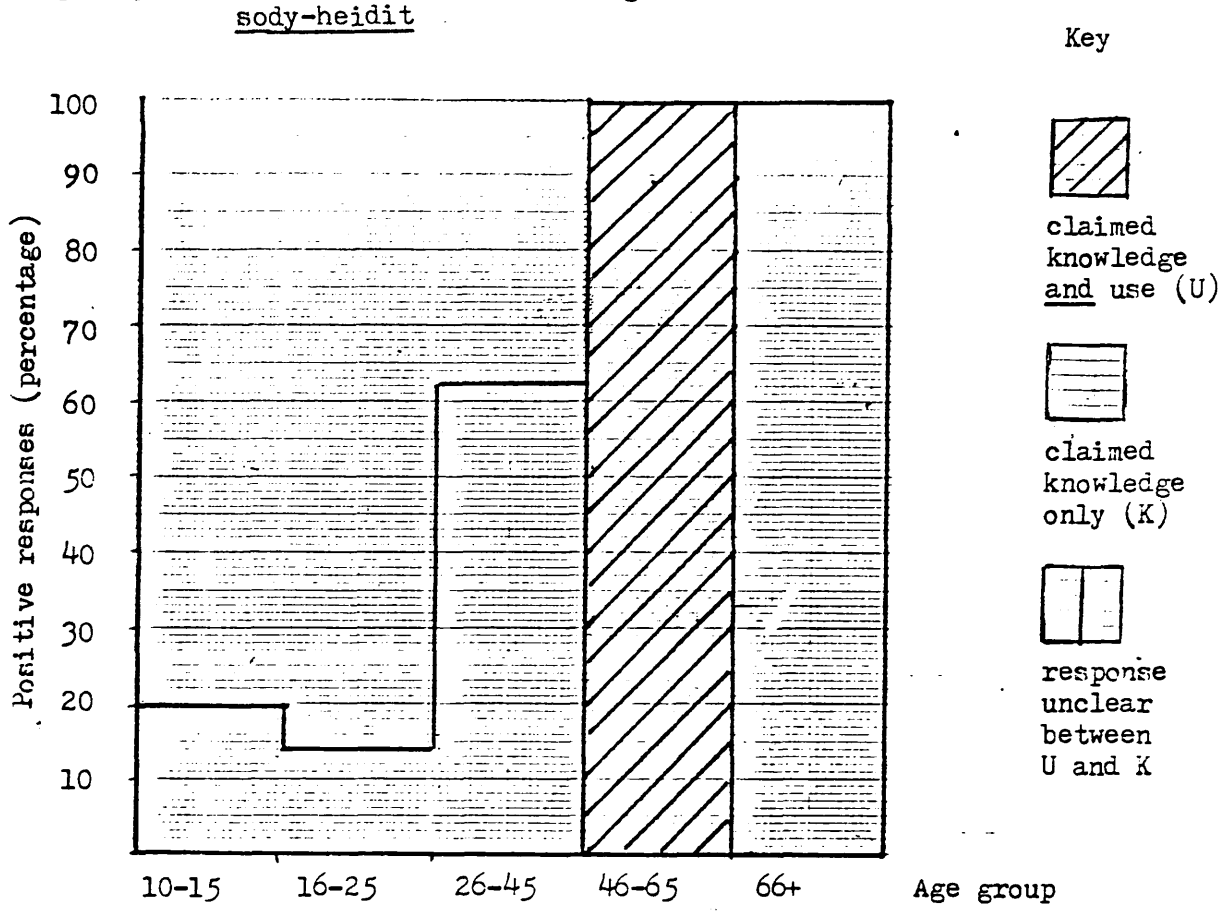


Figure 3.107 Males' claimed knowledge and use of sody-heidit

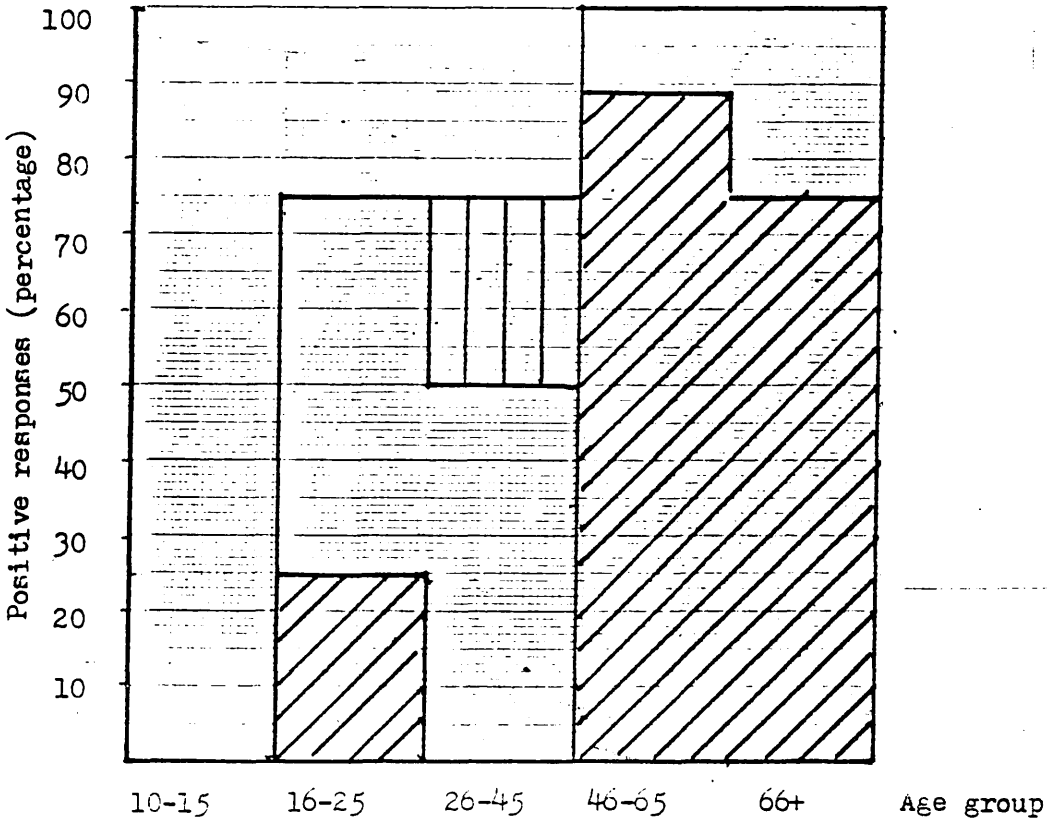


Figure 3.108 Females' claimed knowledge and use of bampot

Figure 3.109 Males' claimed knowledge and use of bampot

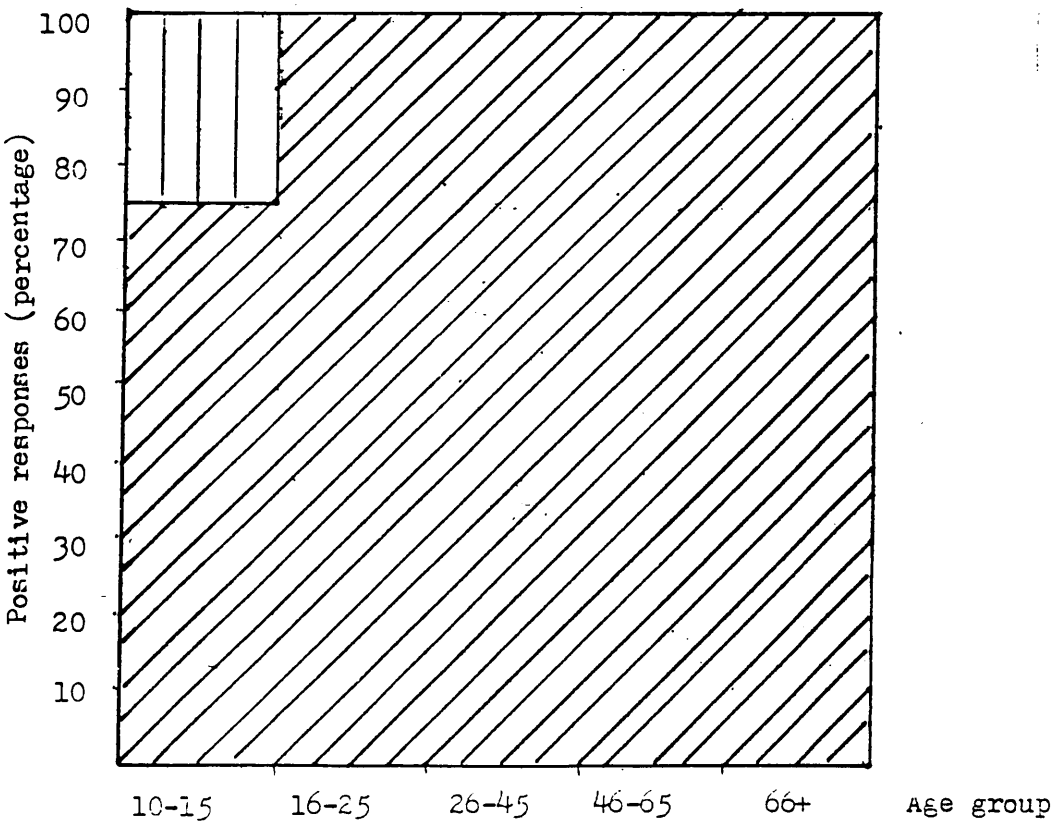


Figure 3.110 Females' claimed knowledge and use of bamstick

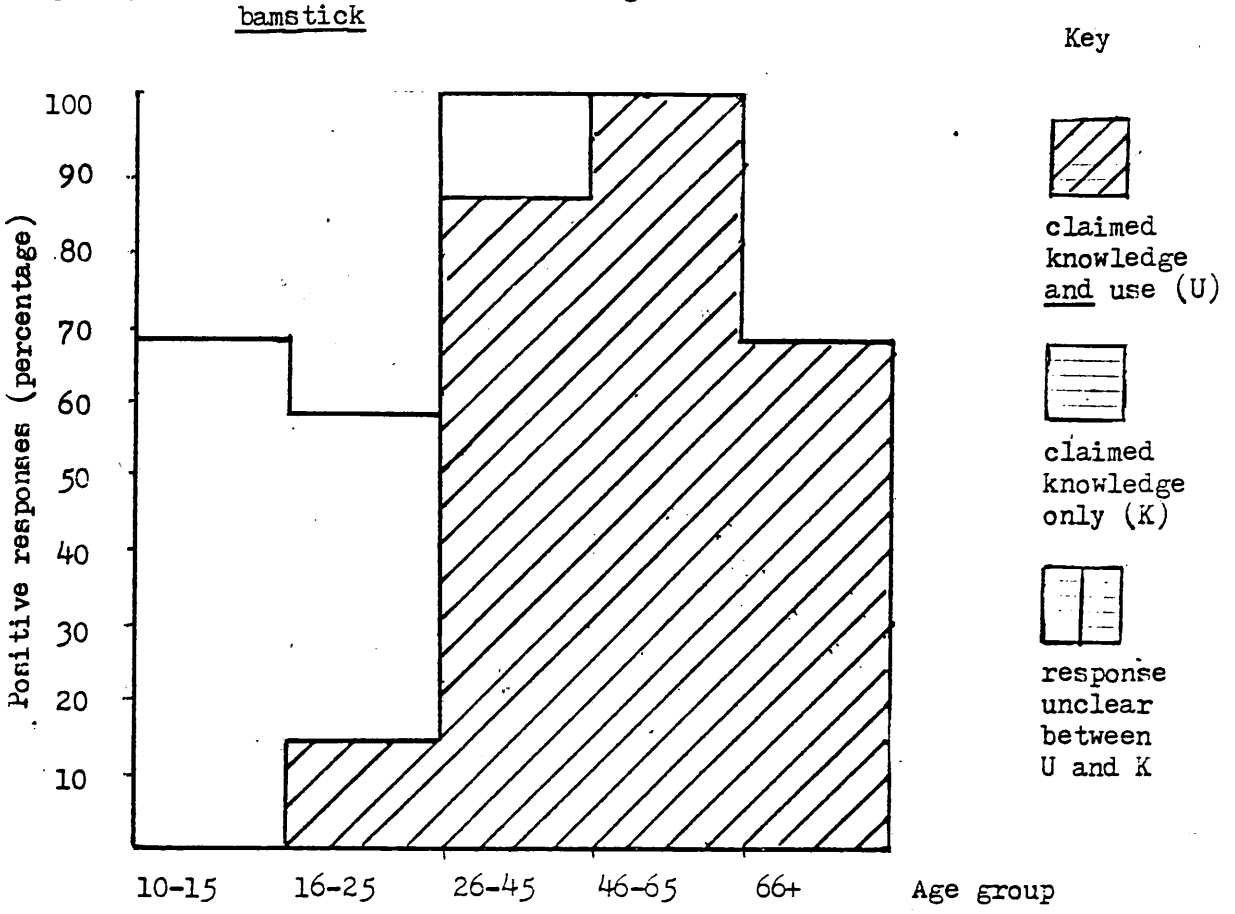


Figure 3.111 Males' claimed knowledge and use of bamstick

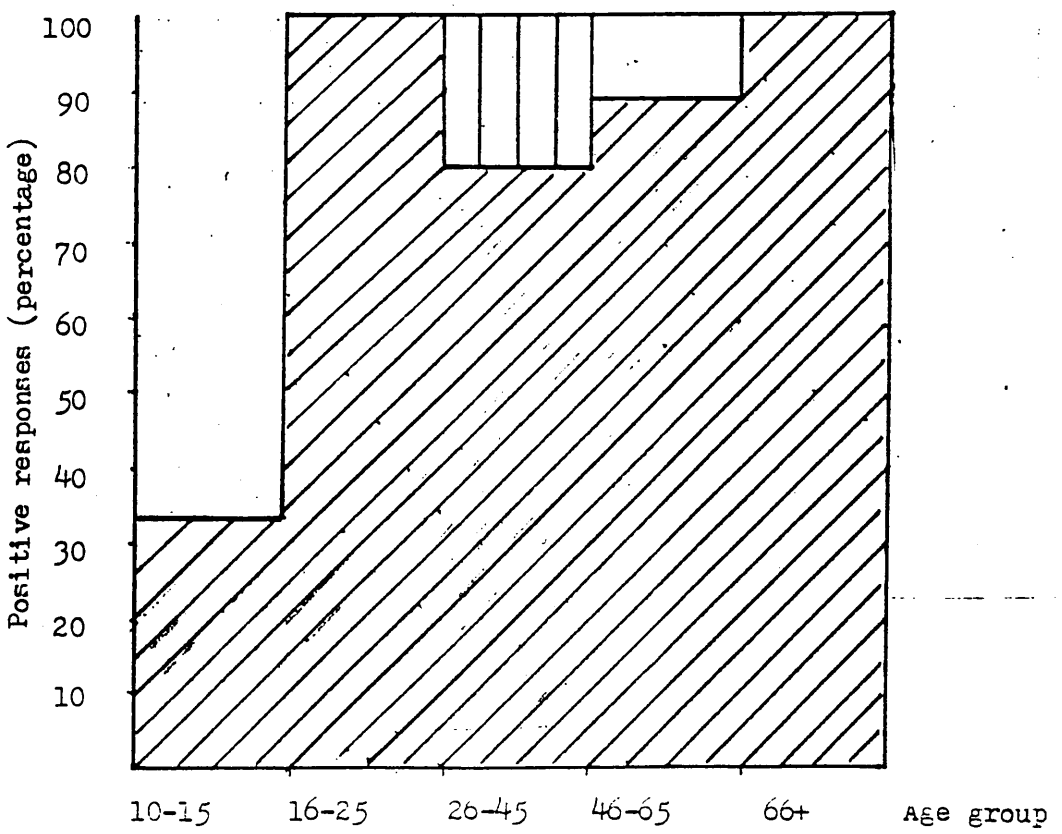


Figure 3. 112 Females' claimed knowledge and use of chanty wrassler

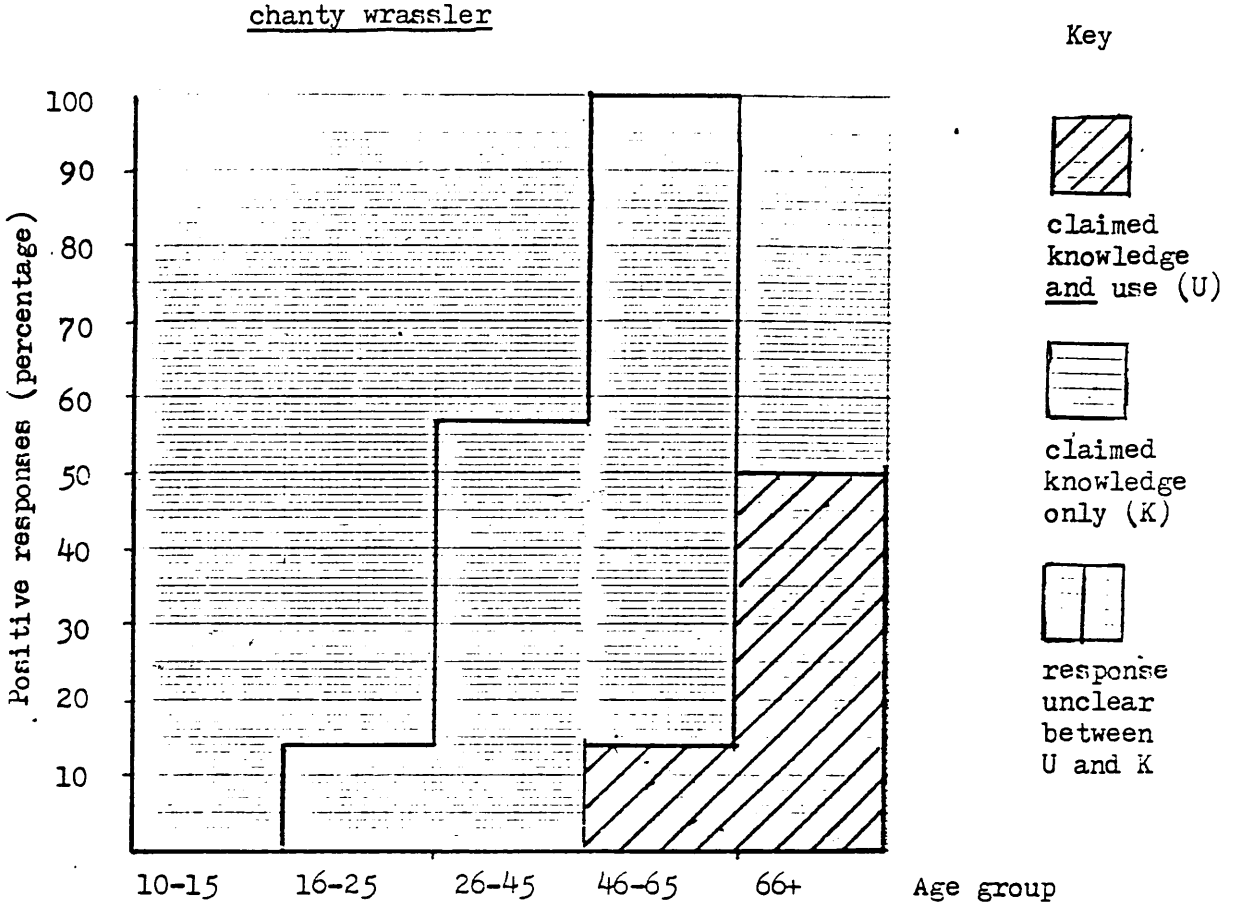


Figure 3. 113 Males' claimed knowledge and use of chanty wrassler

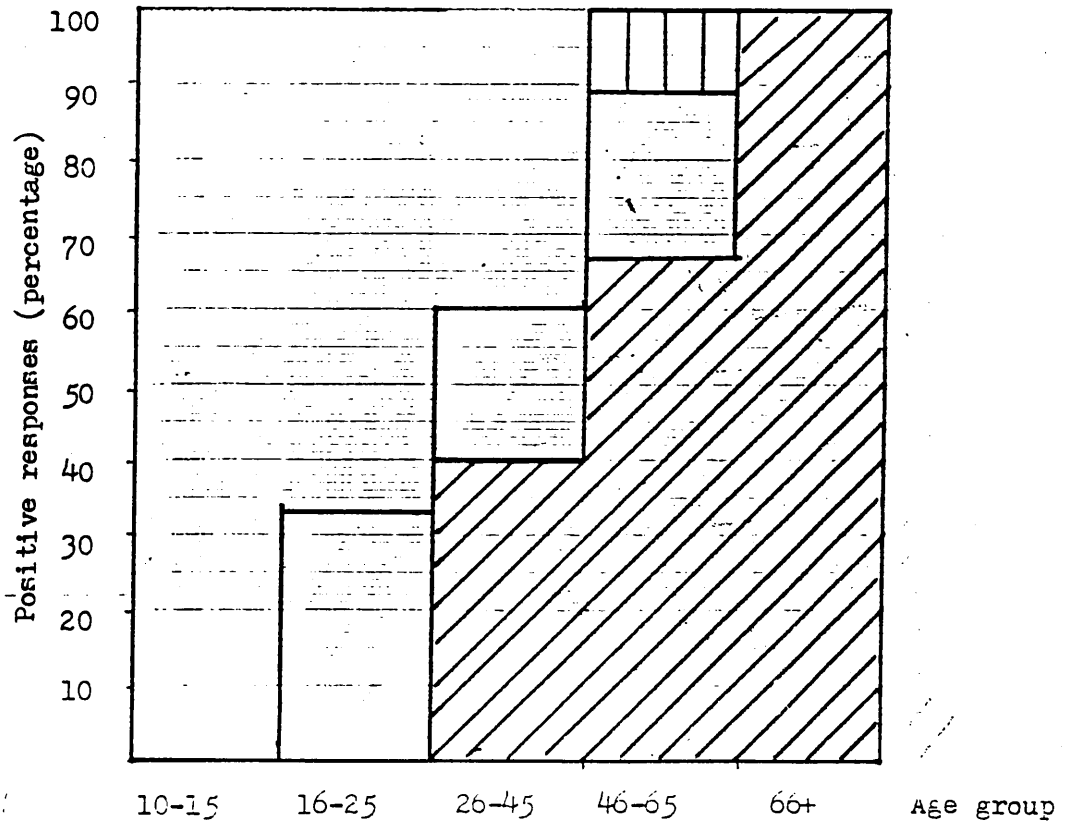


Figure 3.114 Females' claimed knowledge and use of keelie

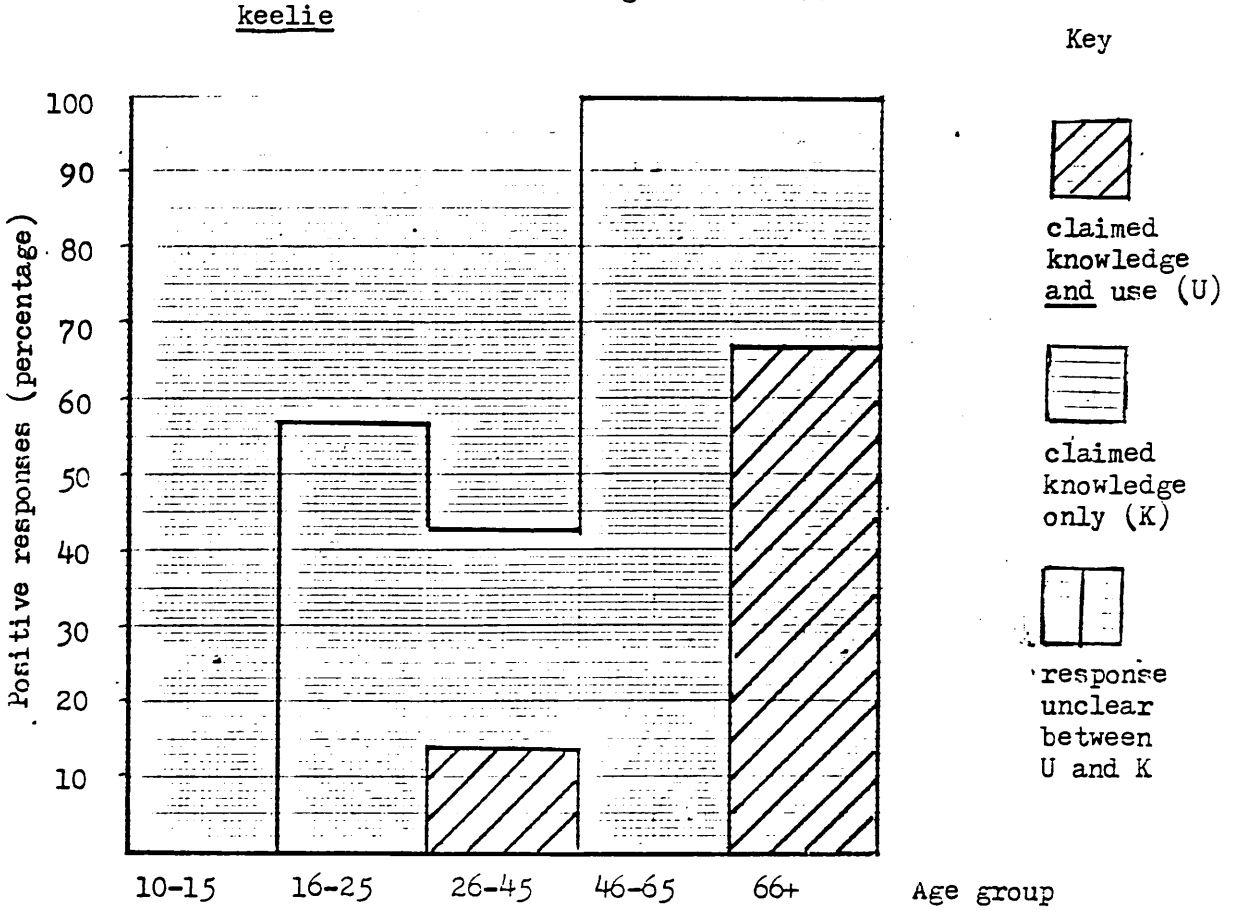


Figure 3.115 Males' claimed knowledge and use of keelie

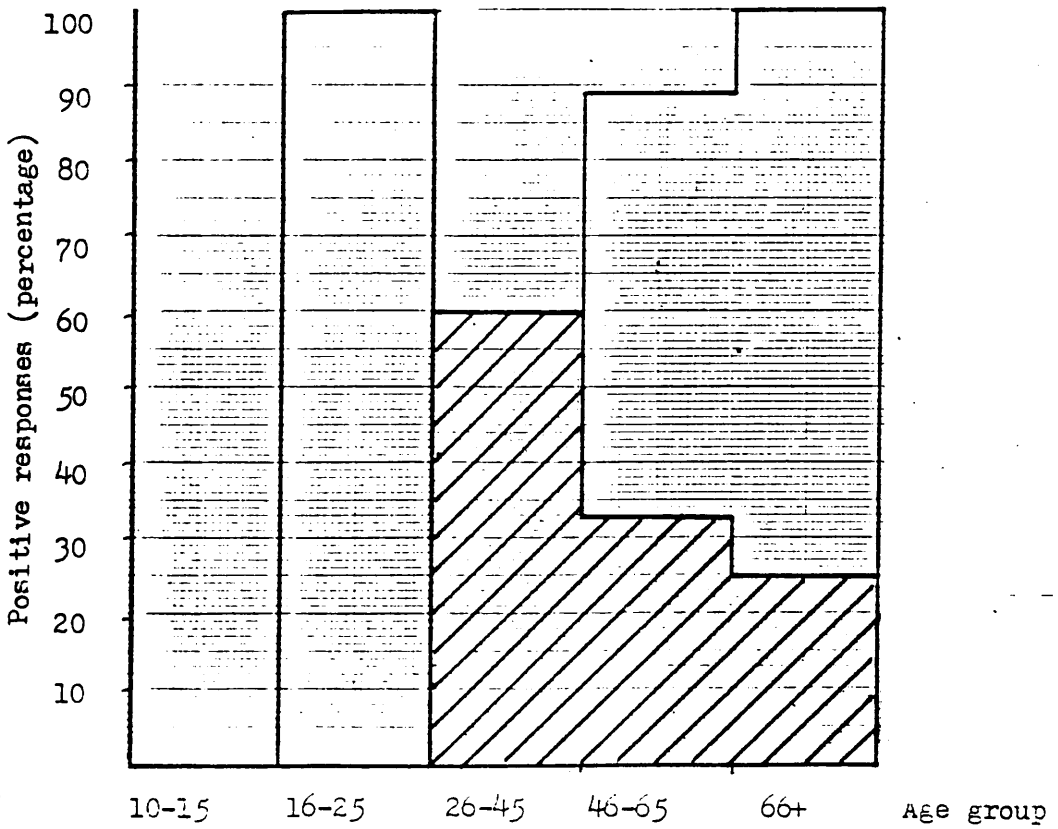


Figure 3.116 Females' claimed knowledge and use of bachle

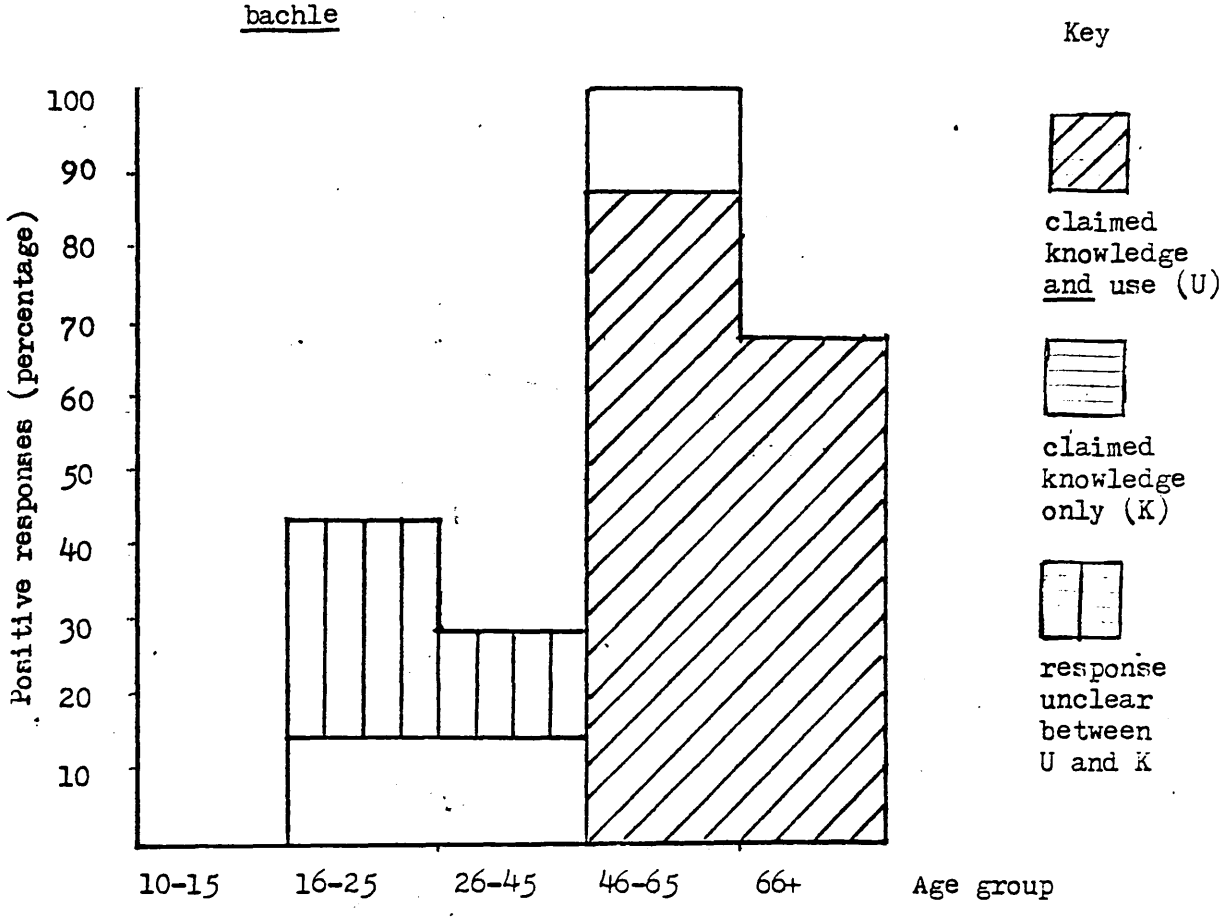


Figure 3.117 Males' claimed knowledge and use of bachle

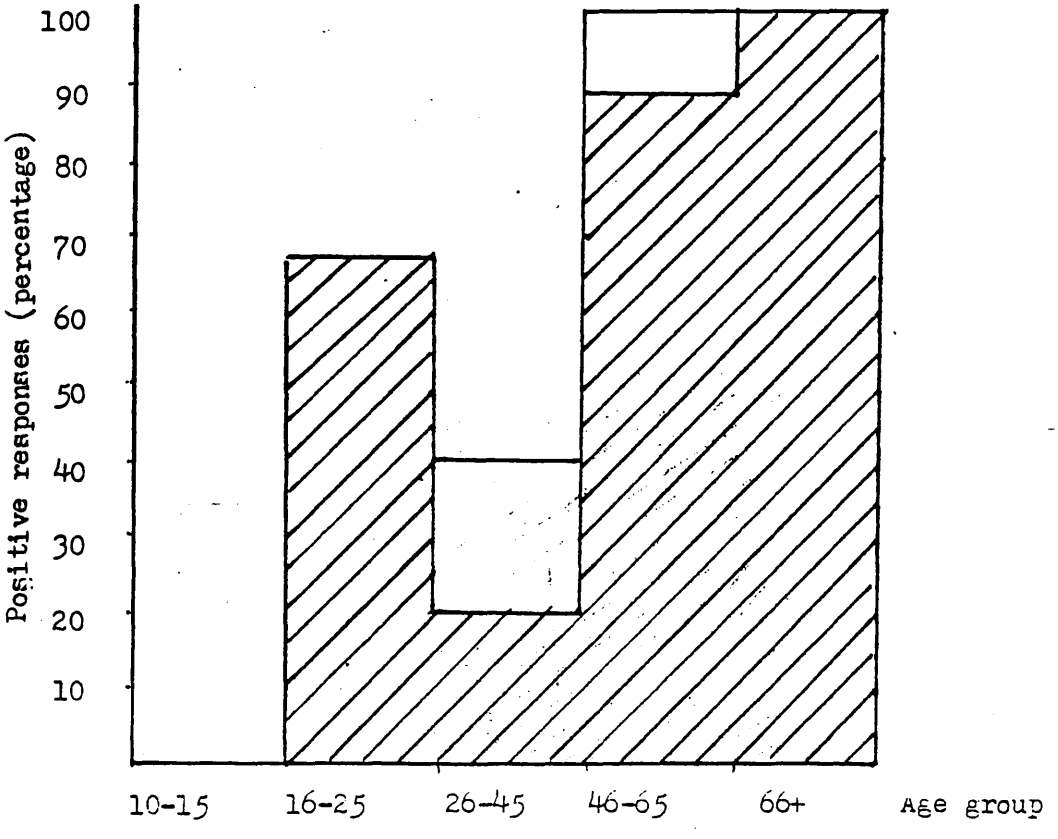


Figure 3.118 Females' claimed knowledge and use of bun

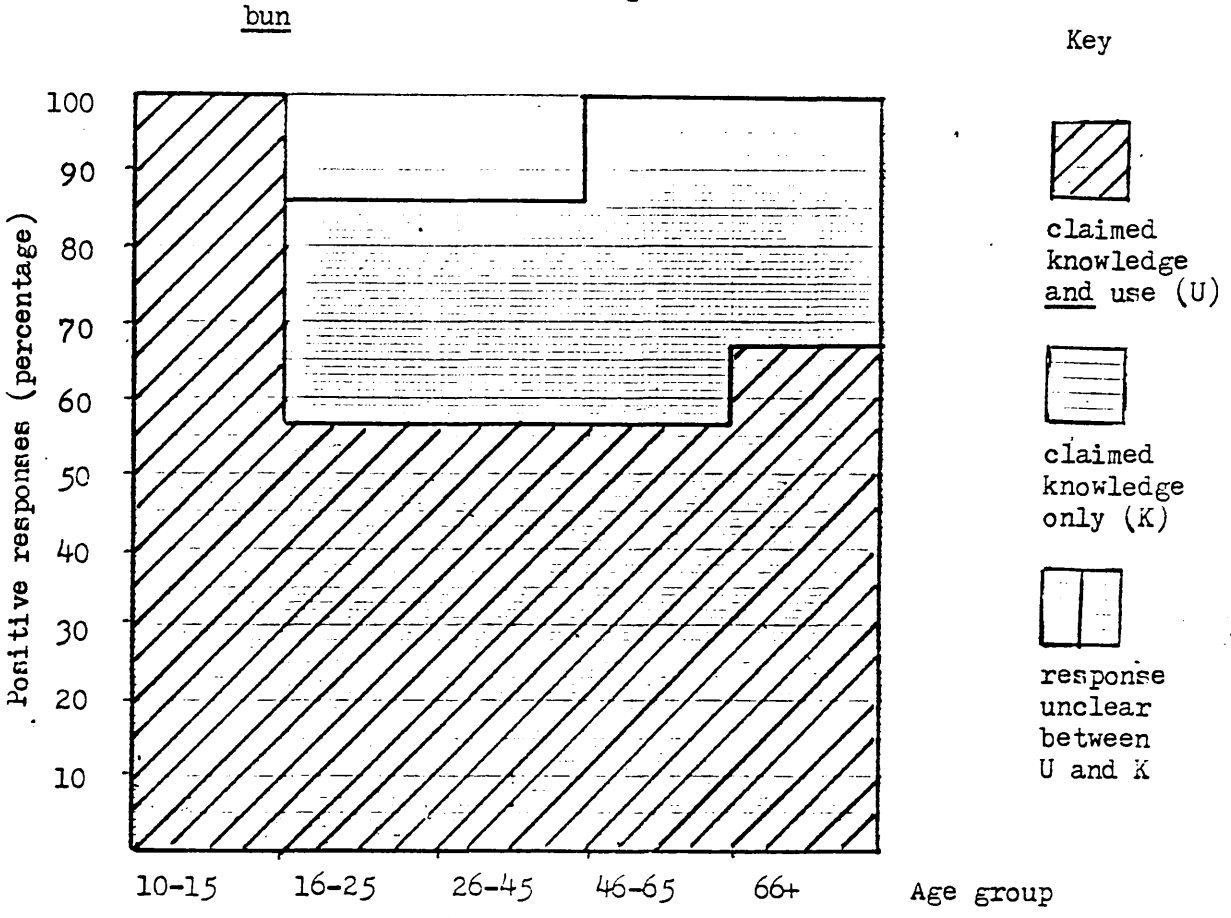


Figure 3.119 Males' claimed knowledge and use of bun

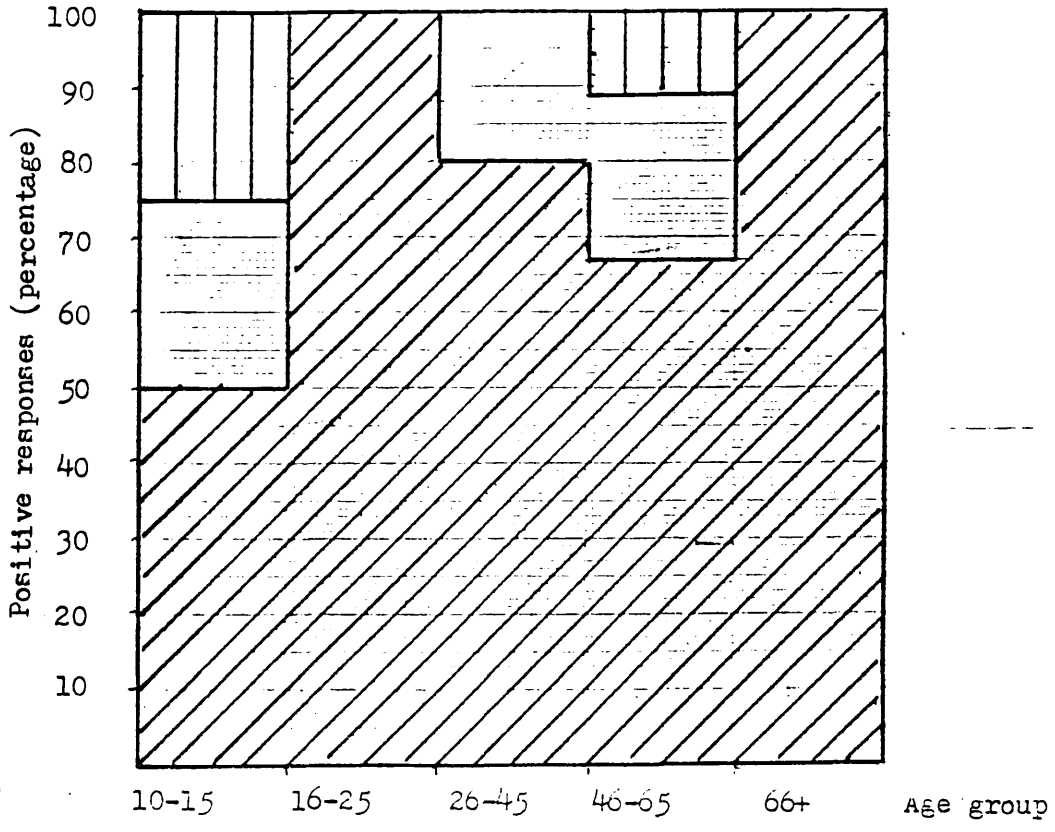


Figure 3.120 Females' claimed knowledge and use of gitter

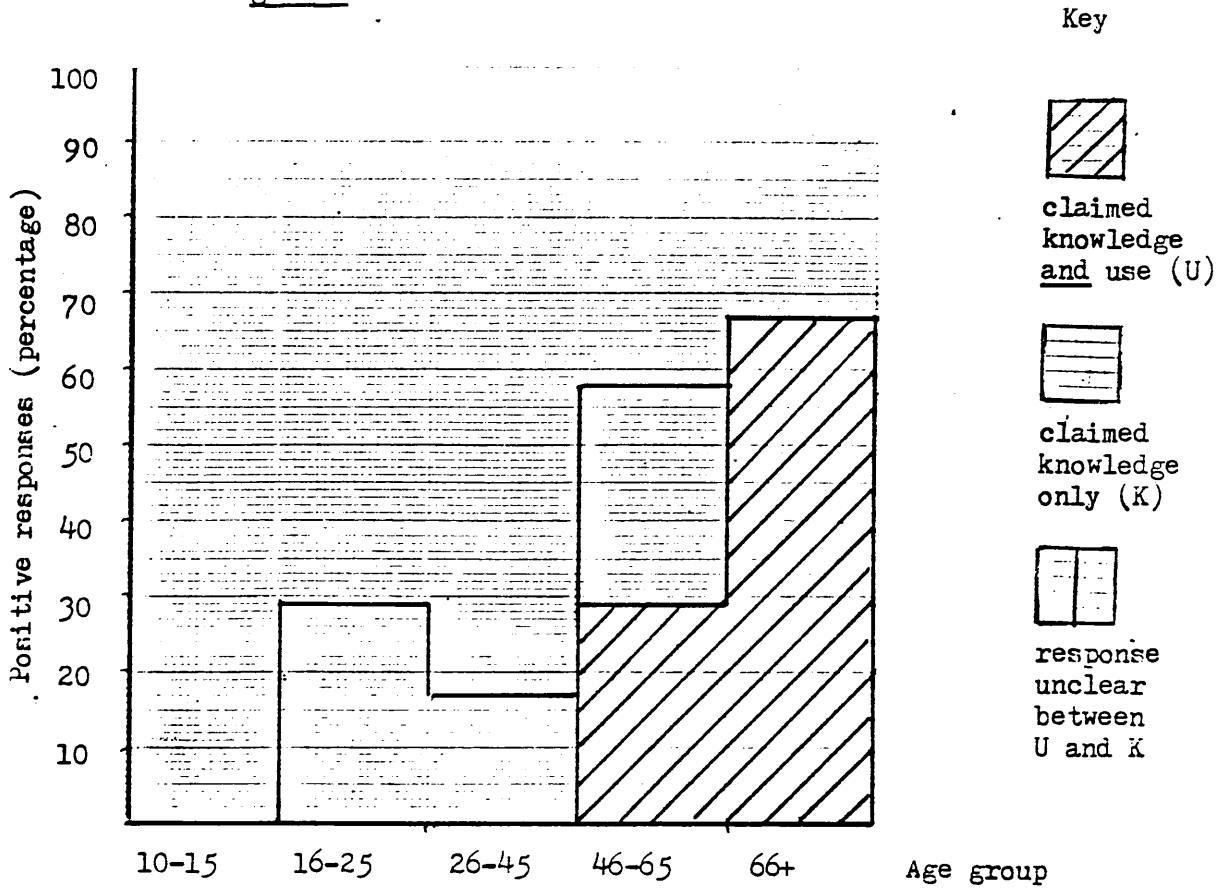


Figure 3. 121 Males' claimed knowledge and use of gitter

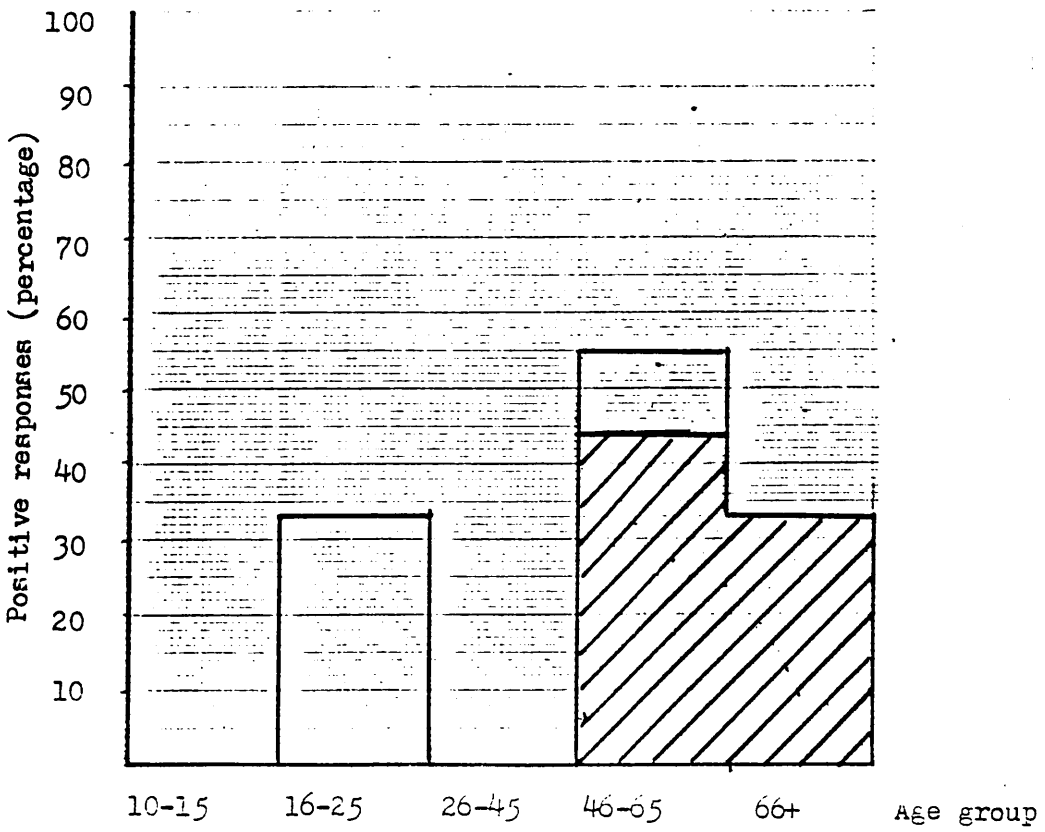


Figure 3.122 Females' claimed knowledge and use of boot

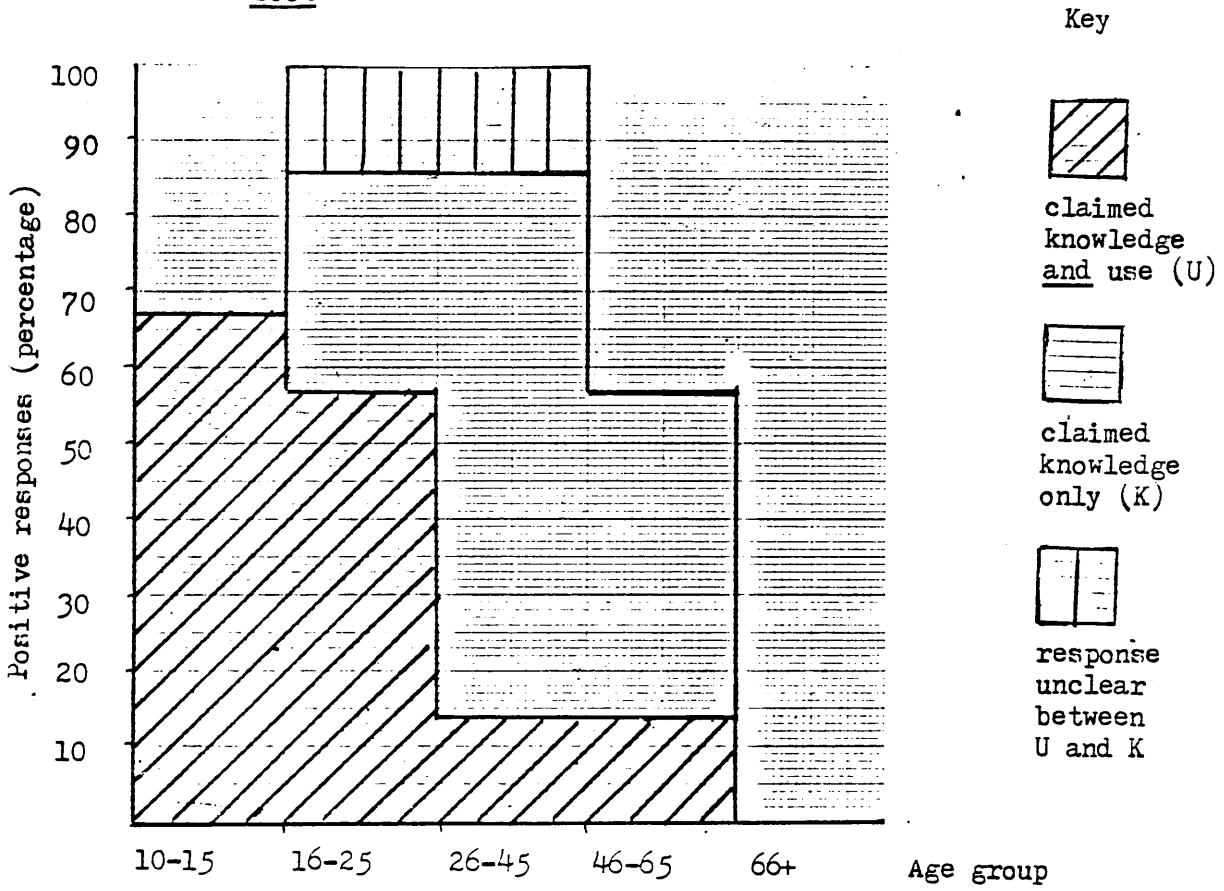


Figure 3. 123 Males' claimed knowledge and use of boot

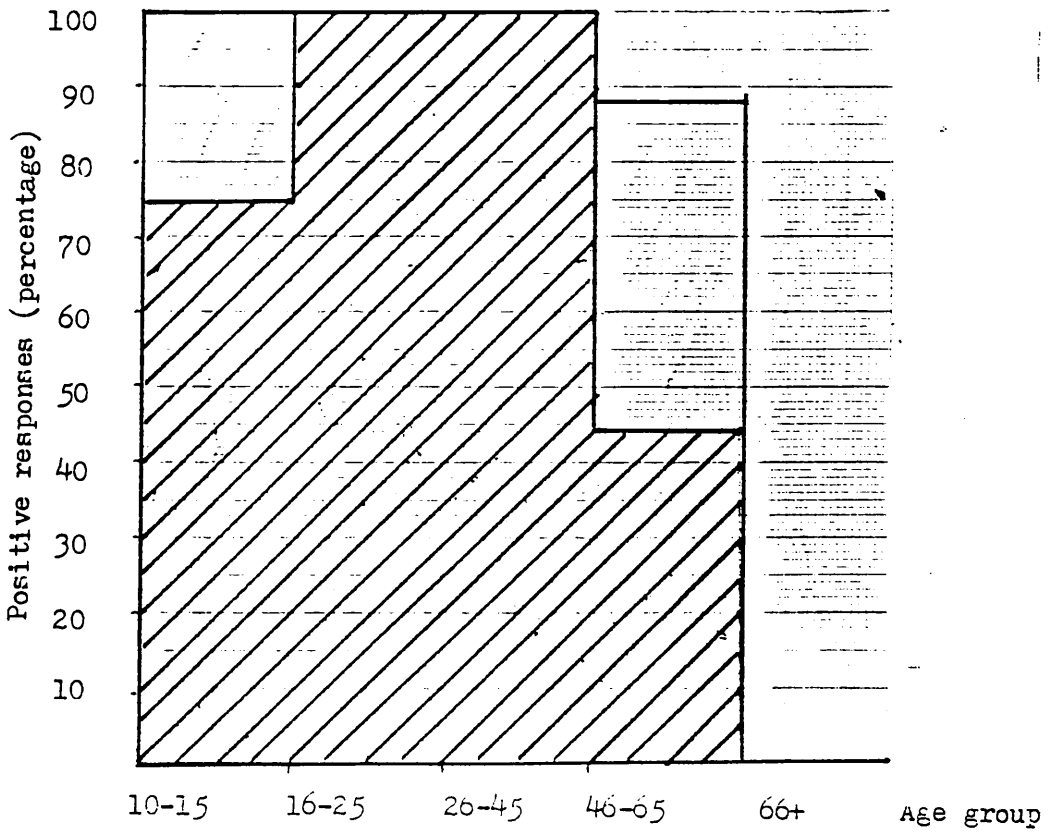


Figure 3. 124 Females' claimed knowledge and use of mingmong

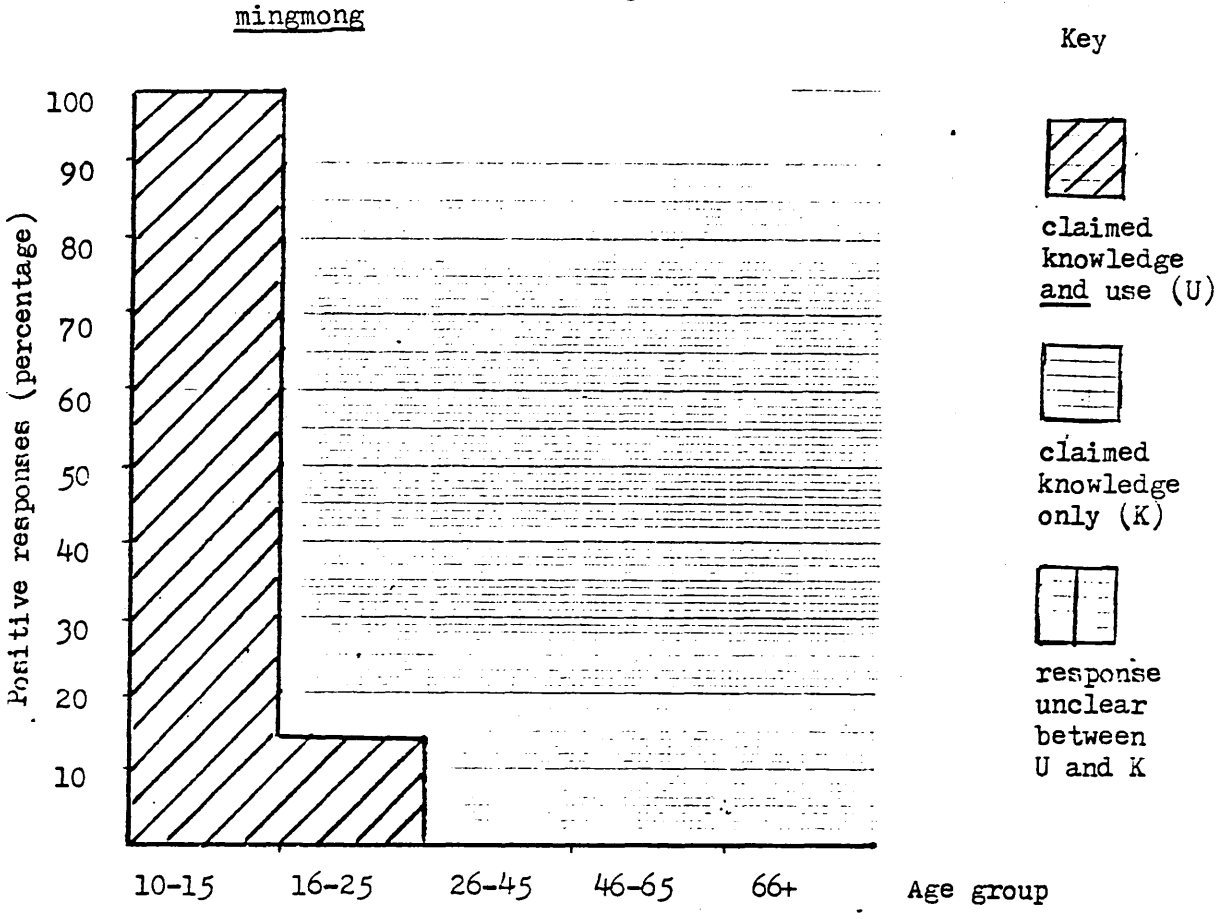


Figure 3.125 Males' claimed knowledge and use of mingmong

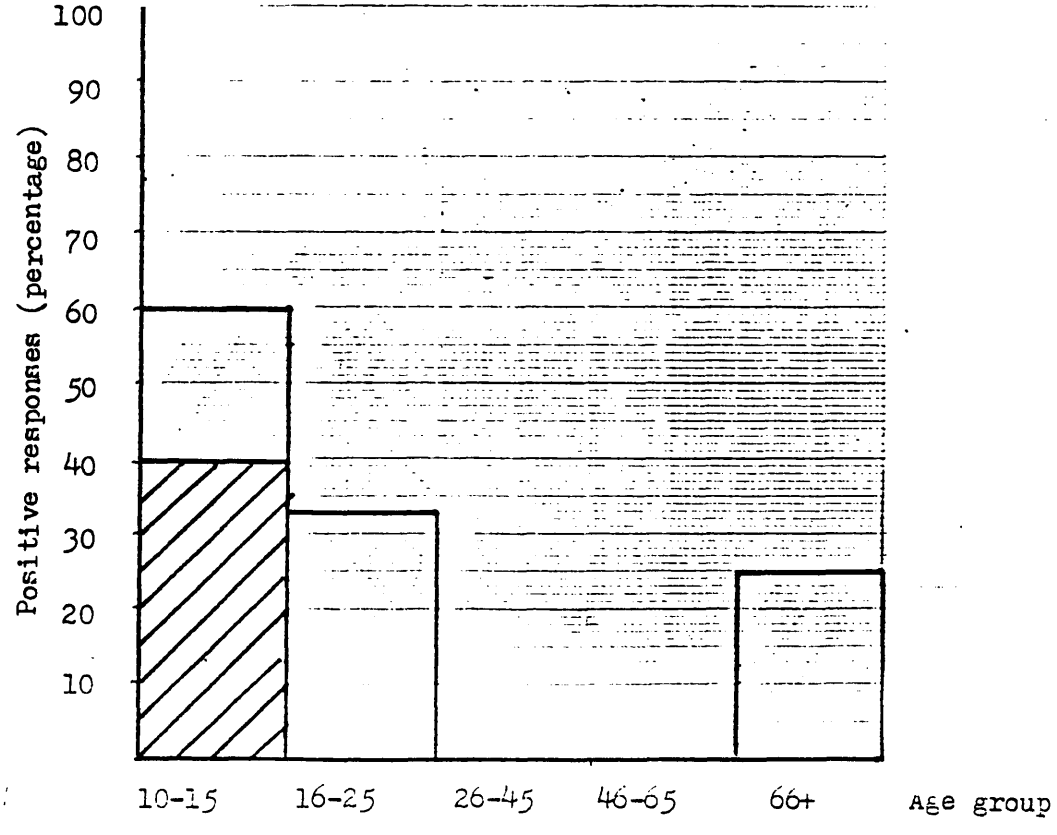


Figure 3.126 Females' claimed knowledge and use of put the hems on

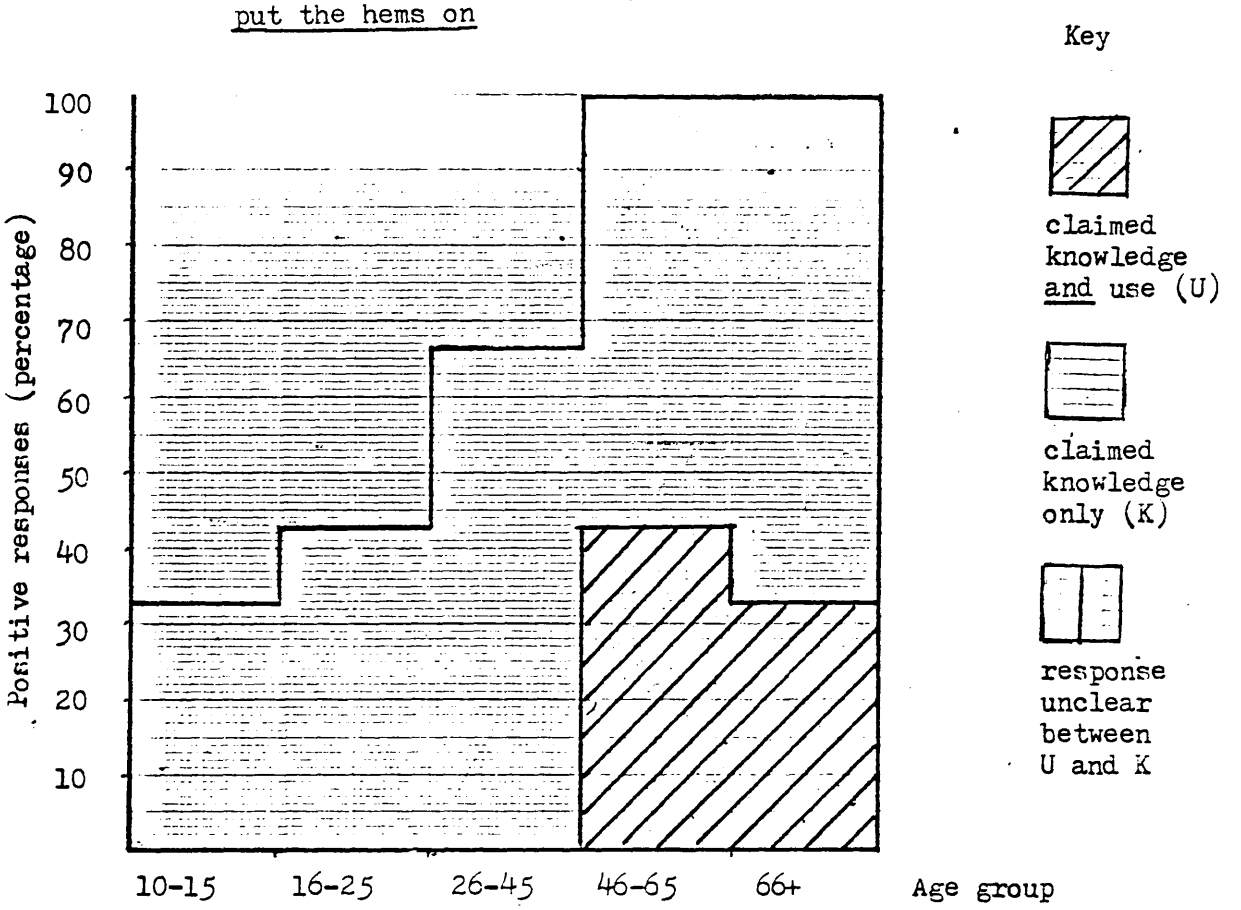


Figure 3.127 Males' claimed knowledge and use of put the hems on

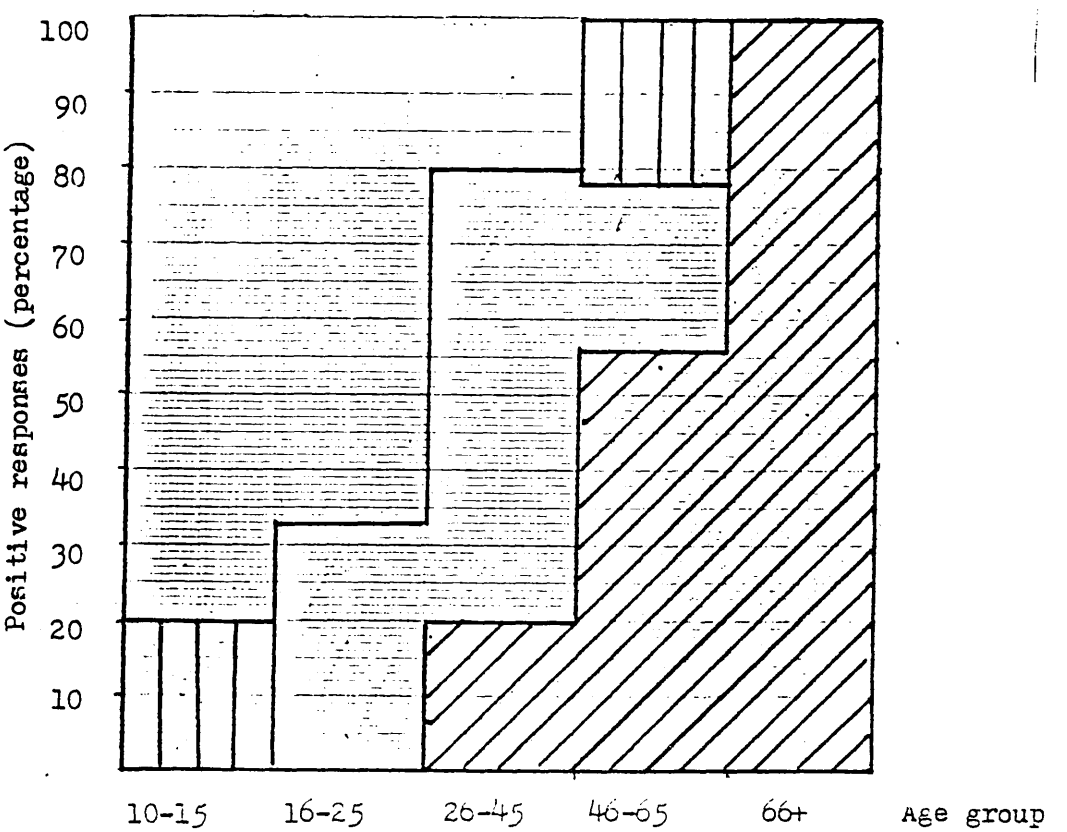


Figure 3.128 Females' claimed knowledge and use of sherrickin

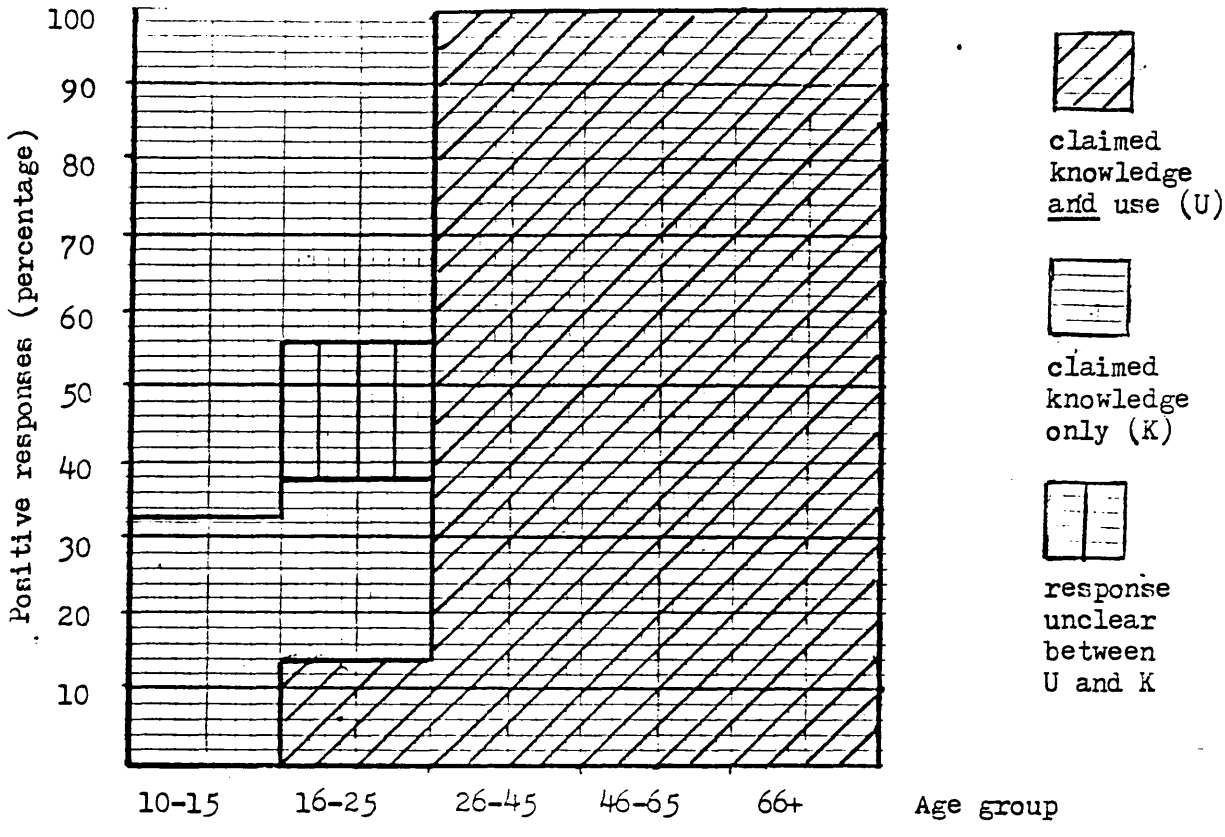
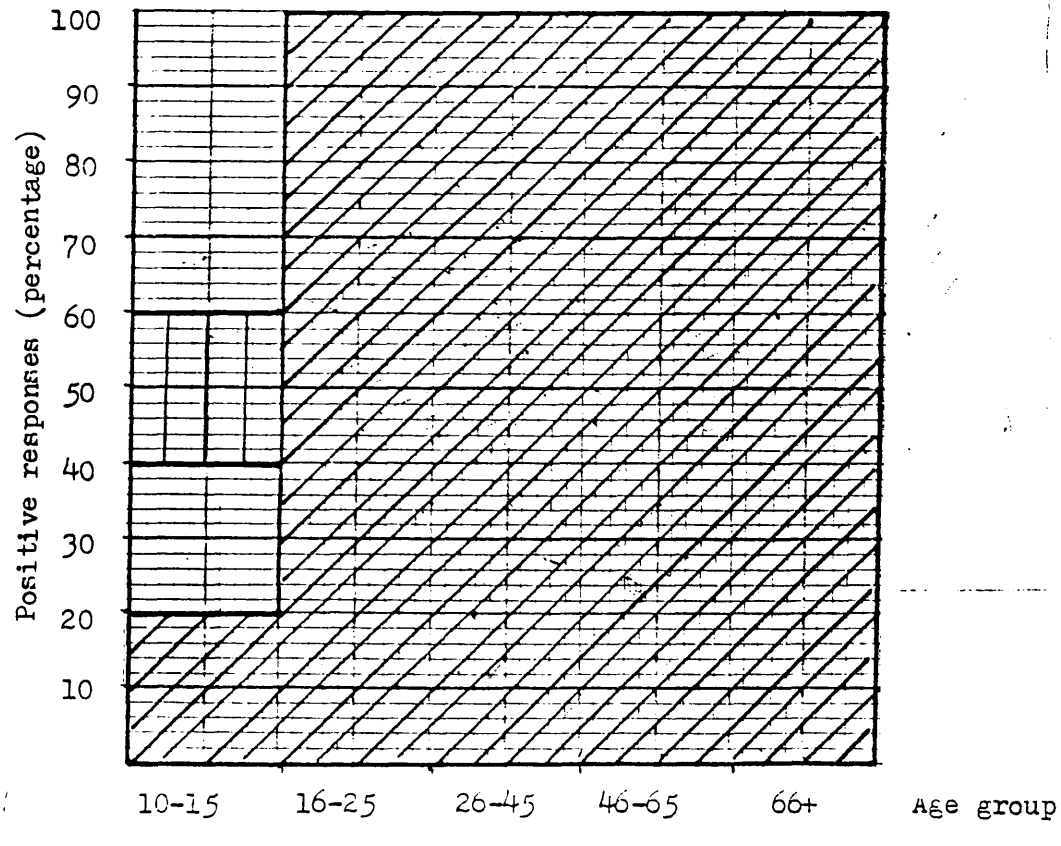


Figure 3.129 Males' claimed knowledge and use of sherrickin



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